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W. Dölle-F



*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ :*  
OR, A  
COLLECTION  
Of { LIVES,  
LETTERS,  
POEMS;  
WITH  
CHARACTERS  
OF

Sundry PERSONAGES:  
And other Incomparable PIECES of  
LANGUAGE and ART.  
Also Additional Letters to several Persons,  
not before Printed.

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BY THE  
Curious Pencil of the Ever Memorable  
Sir *HENRY WOTTON* K<sub>t</sub>.  
Late Provost of *Eaton College*.

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The Fourth *Edition*, with *Additions* of several Letters to the Lord *Zouch*, never publish'd till now.

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L O N D O N,  
Printed for *B. Tooke*, at the *Ship* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, and *T. Sawbridge* at the *Three Flower de Luce's* in *Little Britain*, 1685.

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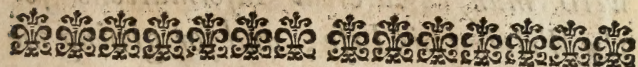


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1685

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TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
**PHILIP**  
EARL of *Chesterfield*,  
Lord Stanhop of Shelford.

My Lord,

**I** HAVE conceived many Reasons, why I ought in Justice to Dedicate these Reliques of Your Great Uncle, Sir Henry Wotton, to Your Lordship; some of which are, that both Your Grand-mother and Mother had a double Right to them by a Dedication when first made Publick; as also, for their assisting me then, and since,



## THE EPISTLE

with many Material Informations for the Writing his Life; and for giving me many of the Letters that have fallen from his curious Pen: so that they being now dead, these Reliques descend to You, as Heir to them, and the inheritor of the memorable Bocton Palace, the Place of his Birth, where so many of the Ancient, and Prudent, and Valiant Family of the Wottons lie now Buried; whose remarkable Monuments You have lately Beautified, and to them added so many of so great Worth as hath made it appear, that at the Erecting and adorning them, You were above the thought of Charge, that they might, if possible, (for 'twas no easie undertaking) hold some proportion with the Merits of Your Ancestors.

My Lord, These are a part of many more Reasons that have inclin'd me to this Dedication; and these, with the Example of a Liberty that is not given, but  
now



now too usually taken by many Scriblers, to make trifling Dedications, might have begot a boldness in some Men of as mean as my mean Abilities to have undertaken this. But indeed, my Lord, though I was ambitious enough of undertaking it ; yet, as Sir Henry Wotton hath said in a Piece of his own Character, That he was condemn'd by Nature to a bashfulness in making Requests : so I find my self (pardon the Parallel) so like him in this, that if I had not had more Reasons than I have yet exprest, these alone had not been powerful enough to have created a Confidence in me to have attempted it. Two of my unexpressed Reasons are (give me leave to tell them to Your Lordship and the World) that Sir Henry Wotton; whose many Merits made him an Ornament even to your Family, was yet so humble, as to acknowledge to be his Friend; and died in a belief that I was so : since which time, I have made



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THE EPISTLE, &c.

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him the best return of my Gratitude for his Condescension, that I have been able to express, or he capable of receiving : and, am pleased with my self for so doing.

My other Reason of this boldness, is, an encouragement (very like a command) from Your Worthy Cousin, and my Friend, Mr. Charles Cotton, who hath assured me, That You are such a Lover of the memory of Your Generous Uncle, Sir Henry Wotton, that if there were no other Reason than my endeavors to preserve it, yet, that that alone would secure this Dedication from being unacceptable.

I wish, that not he, nor I be mistaken ; and that I were able to make You a more Worthy Present.

My Lord, I am and will be

Your Humble and most

Feb. 27. 1672.

Affectionate Servant,

Izaak Walton.





A N

# ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

YOU may be pleas'd to take notice, that in this last Relation of Sir *Henry Wotton's* Life, 'tis both enlarg'd, and some small errors rectified ; so that I may now be confident, there is no material mistakes in it.

There is in this Impression an Addition of many Letters ; in which, the spirit with which they were writ, will assure them to be Sir *Henry Wotton's*.

For his Merits, they are above my expressions ; and for that reason, the Reader is requested to take to what I have said of him in his Life, these following Testimonies.

I. That his Work of *Architecture* is Translated into Latin, Printed with the Great *Vitruvius*, and this Elogy prefixed,

HENRICUS WOTTONIUS *Anglo Cantianus, Thomæ Optimi Viri Filius natu minimus, à Serenissimo Jacobo 1<sup>o</sup>, MAGNÆ BRITAN-*



TANIA, &c. Rege, in Equestrem Titulum ascitus :  
ejusdémque ter ad Remp. VENETAM Legatus  
Ordinarius ; semel ad Confœderatarum Provincia-  
rum Ordines in Juliacensi negotio ; bis ad Carolum  
Emmanuelem Sabaudia Ducem ; semel ad unitos  
Superioris Germaniæ Principes in Conventu He-  
ilbrunnensi ; postremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum  
Ducem Wirtenbergensem, civitates Imperiales,  
Argentinam Ulmámque, & ipsum Romanorum  
Imperatorem Ferdinandum II, Legatus extraor-  
dinarius ; Tandem hoc didicit,  
ANIMAS SAPIENTIORES FIERI  
QUIESCENDO.

II. The second testimony is that of the  
great Secretary of Nature, the Lord Chancel-  
lor Bacon, who thought it not beneath Him to  
collect some of the Apothegems and sayings of  
this Author.

III. Sir Richard Baker in his Chronicle of  
*England* sets to his Seal also in a passage thus ;  
(speaking of men of Note in King James his  
time).--Sir Henry Wotton was sent Ambassa-  
dor into *Italy*--and indeed the Kingdom  
yielded not a fitter man to match the Caprici-  
ousness of the *Italian* wits. A man of so able  
dexterity with his Pen, that he hath done him-  
self much wrong, and the Kingdom a great  
deal more, in leaving no more of his Writings  
behind him.



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AN ACCOUNT  
Of the WORK.

**N**ow of the *Work* it self, Thou shalt find in  
it many curious things about

*Architecture.*

*Fountains.*

*Picture.*

*Groves.*

*Sculpture.*

*Aviaries.*

*Landskip.*

*Conservatories of rare*

*Magnetical experiments.*

*beasts.*

*Gardens.*

*Fish-ponds.*

And also many observations of the *Myst-*  
*eries* and *Labyrinths* in *Courts* and *States*, deli-  
vered in *Lives*, *Letters* to, and *Characters* of  
sundry Personages: As,

*Observations* and *Characters* (which He took  
in his Employments abroad) of these Dukes of  
*Venice*,

*Giovanni Bembo*

*Nani.*

*Priuli.*

*Donato.*

*Giustiniano.*

*Ferdin. Gr. Duke of*  
*Tuscany.*

An Account of *Folcarini.*

Of the *Arch-Duke Leopold.* Of *Count Tampire.*

*Artists* and *Famous men* mentioned.

*Tyco-brabe.*

*Count Bevilacqua.*

*Kepler.*

*Leon Alberti.*

*Aldro-*



*Aldrovandus.*  
*Albert Durer.*  
*Palladio.*

*Philip D'Orme.*  
*Anto. Labaca censured.*  
*Michael Angelo B.*  
*Sir Henry Fanshaw.*

Observations (at home) of the Courts of  
Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles*,  
with *Lives* and *Characters* of

*Earl of Essex.*

*Duke of Buckingham.*  
*Of K. Charles I.*

Characters and observations of

*Queen Elizabeth.*  
*E. of Essex Father.*  
*E. of Leicester.*  
*E. of Essex Employments.*  
*Arch. B. Whitgift.*  
*M. Anthony Bacon.*  
*Sir Robert Cecil.*  
*The Cecilians.*  
*Walter Devereux.*  
*Sir Philip Sidney.*  
*Sir Walter Raleigh.*  
*Secretary Cuff.*  
*Of K. James.*  
*K. Charles.*  
*Q. Mary.*

*Q. of Bohemia.*  
*Duke of Buckingham.*  
*Spanish Journey.*  
*L. Bacon.*  
*L. Treasurer Weston.*  
*L. Treasurer Fuxton.*  
*Bp. Bedel.*  
*Isle of Rheeze.*  
*Of the Dukes Ominous*  
*presages.*  
*Countess of Denbigh,*  
*Arch-Bishop.*  
*B. of Ely.*  
*Part of the Authors*  
*own Character.*

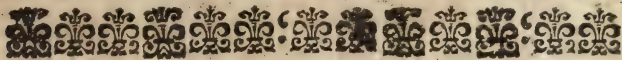
Censures of

*Felton.*  
*D. Eggletham.*

*Stamford.*  
*Scioppius.*

THE





THE  
L I F E  
O F  
Sir HENRY WOTTON.



SIR Henry Wotton (whose Life I now intend to write ) was born in the Year of our Redemption 1568 in *Boſton-hall*, (commonly called *Boſton*, or *Bouſton* - place, or Palace ) in the Pariſh of *Boſton Malherb*, in the fruitful Country of *Kent*: *Boſton-hall* being an ancient and goodly *Structure*, beautifying, and being beautified by the Pariſh Church of *Boſton Malherb* adjoining unto it; and both ſeated within a fair Park of the *Wottons*, on the Brow of ſuch a *Hill*, as gives the advantage of a large Proſpect, and of equal *pleaſure* to all Beholders.

But this Houſe and Church are not remarkable for any thing ſo much, as for that the memorable Family of the *Wottons* have ſo long inhabited the one, and now lie buried in the other, as appears by their many *Monuments* in that Church: the *Wottons* being a Family that had brought forth divers Perſons eminent for Wiſdom and Valour; whoſe Heroick Acts, and Noble Employments, both in  
*England*



## The life of Sir Henry Wotton.

*England* and in Foreign parts, have adorned themselves and this Nation; which they have served abroad faithfully, in the discharge of their great trust, and prudently in their Negotiations with several Princes; and also served at home with much Honour and Justice, in their wise managing a great part of the publick Affairs thereof, in the various times both of War and Peace.

But, lest I should be thought by any that may incline either to deny or doubt this Truth, not to have observed *moderation* in the commendation of this Family: and also, for that I believe the *merits* and *memory* of such Persons ought to be thankfully recorded, I shall offer to the consideration of every Reader, out of the testimony of their *Pedegree*, and our *Chronicles*, a part (and but a part) of that just Commendation which might be from thence enlarged, and shall then leave the indifferent Reader to judge, whether my error be an *excess* or *defect* of Commendations.

Sir Robert Wotton of *Bocton Malherb* Knight was born about the Year of Christ 1460: he living in the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, was by him trusted to be Lieutenant of *Guisnes*, to be Knight Porter, and Comptroler of *Callais*, where he died, and lies honourably buried.

Sir *Edward Wotton* of *Bocton Malherb* Knight, (Son and Heir of the said Sir Robert) was born in the Year of Christ 1489, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh: he was made Treasurer of *Callais*, and of the Privy Council to King *Henry* the Eight,

who offered him to be Lord Chancellor of *England*; but (saith \* *Hollinshed*) out of a vertuous modesty he refused it.

\* *In his Chronicle.*

Thomas



## The Life of Sir Henry Wotton.

*Thomas Wotton* of *Boston Malherb* Esquire, Son and Heir of the said *Sir Edward*, (and the Father of our *Sir Henry*, that occasions this Relation) was born in the Year of Christ 1521 : he was a Gentleman excellently educated, and studious in all the *Liberal Arts*, in the knowledge whereof, he attained unto a great perfection ; who, though he had (besides those abilities, a very noble and plentiful Estate, and the ancient Interest of his *Predecessors*) many invitations from Queen *Elizabeth* to change his Country Recreations and Retirement for a Court-offering him a Knight-hood, (she was then with him at his *Boston-hall*) and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable and more profitable employment under Her ; yet he humbly refused both, being a man of great modesty, of a most plain and single heart, of an ancient freedom, and integrity of mind. A commendation which *Sir Henry Wotton* took occasion often to remember with great gladness, and thankfully to boast himself the Son of such a Father : From whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was always practised by himself, and which he ever both commended and cherished in others. This *Thomas* was also remarkable for Hospitality, a great Lover, and much beloved of his Country ; to which may justly be added, that he was a Cherisher of Learning, as appears by that excellent Antiquary *Mr. William Lambert*, in his Perambulation of *Kent*.

This *Thomas* had four Sons, *Sir Edward*, *Sir James*, *Sir John*, and *Sir Henry*.

*Sir Edward* was Knighted by Queen *Elizabeth*, and made Comptroler of her Majesties Household. He was (saith *Cambden*) a man remarkable for many and great Employments in the State, during Her  
Reign,



## The life of Sir Henry Wotton.

Reign; and sent several times *Ambassador* into Foreign Nations. After Her death, he was by King *James* made Comptroller of his Household, and called to be of his Privy Council, and by him advanced to be *Lord Wotton*, *Baron of Merley in Kent*, and made Lord Lieutenant of that County.

Sir *James* (the second Son) may be numbred among the Martial Men of his Age, who was in the 38 of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign (with *Robert Earl of Suffex*, *Count Lodowick of Nassaw*, *Don Christophoro*, Son of *Antonio*, King of *Portugal*, and divers other Gentlemen of Nobleness and Valour) Knighted in the Field near *Cadiz* in *Spain*, after they had gotten great Honour and Riches, besides a notable retaliation of injuries by taking that Town.

Sir *John*, being a Gentleman excellently accomplished, both by Learning and Travel, was Knighted by Queen *Elizabeth*, and by Her look'd upon with more than ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but Death in his younger years put a period to his growing hopes.

Of Sir *Henry*, my following discourse shall give an account.

The descent of these fore-named *Wottons* were all in a direct Line; and most of them and their actions, in the memory of those with whom we have conversed: But if I had looked so far back as to Sir *Nicholas Wotton*, (who lived in the Reign of King *Richard* the Second) or before him, upon divers others of great note in their several Ages, I might by some be thought tedious; and yet others may more justly think me negligent, if I omit to mention *Nicholas Wotton*, the fourth Son of Sir *Robert*, whom I first named.

This *Nicholas Wotton* was Doctor of Law, and some-time



## The Life of Sir Henry Wotton.

time *Dean* both of *York* and *Canterbury* : a man whom God did not only bless with a long life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to employ them in the service of his Country, as is testified by his \* *Cambden* several Employments ; \* having in his *Bri-* been sent nine times *Ambassador* unto *tannia*. foreign Princes ; and by his being a *Privy-Councillor* to King *Henry* the eighth, to *Edward* the sixth, to Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth* ; who also, after he had been during the Wars between *England*, *Scotland* and *France*, three several times (and not unsuccessfully) employed in Committies for settling of peace betwixt this and those Kingdoms, died (saith learned *Cambden*) full of Commendations for Wisdom and Piety.---- He was also by the Will of King *Henry* the eighth, made one of his Executors, and chief Secretary of State to his Son, that pious Prince *Edward* the sixth.---- Concerning which *Nicholas Wotton*, I shall say but this little more ; That he refused (being offered it by Queen \* *Hollinshed*. *Elizabeth*) to be \* *Arch-bishop* of *Can-* *terbury*, and that he died not rich, though he lived in that time of the dissolution of *Abbeys*.

More might be added : but by this it may appear that Sir *Henry Wotton*, was a branch of such a kindred as left a Stock of Reputation to their Posterity such reputation, as might kindle a generous emulation in strangers, and preserve a noble ambition in those of his Name and Family, to perform Actions worthy of their Ancestors.

And, that Sir *Henry Wotton* did so, might appear more perfectly than my Pen can express it, if of his many surviving friends, some one of higher parts and employ-  
ment,



## The life of Sir Henry Wotton.

ment, had been pleased to have commended his to Posterity; But, since some years are now past, and they have all (I know not why) forborn to do it; my gratitude to the memory of my dead friend,

\* Sir Edward Bish  
Clarentieux King  
of Arms, M. Charles  
Cotton, and Mr.  
Nick Oudert  
sometime Sir Hen.  
Wotton's Servant.

and the renewed request of some  
\* that still live sollicitous to see  
this duty performed; these have  
had a power to perswade me to un-  
dertake it; which, truly, I  
have not done, but with some dis-  
trust of mine own Abilities, and  
yet so far from despair, that I am

modestly confident my humble language shall be accepted,  
because I shall present all Readers with a Commixture of  
truth, and Sir Henry Wotton's merits.

This being premised, I proceed to tell the Reader, that the Father of Sir Henry Wotton was twice married, first to *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of Sir *John Rudstone* Knight; after whose death, though his inclination was averse to all Contentions; yet, necessitated he was to several Suits in Law: in the prosecution whereof, (which took up much of his time, and were the occasion of many Discontents) he was by divers of his friends earnestly perswaded to a re-marriage; to whom he as often answered, That if ever he did put on a resolution to marry, he was seriously resolved to avoid three sorts of persons:

namely, those { that had Children.  
                          { that had Law-suits.  
                          { that were of his Kindred.

And yet, following his own Law-suits, he met in *Westminster-Hall* with Mrs. *Elionora Morton*, Widow to *Robert Morton* of *Kent* Esq; who was also



## The Life of Sir Henry Wotton.

also engaged in several Suits in Law: and, he observing her Comportment at the time of hearing one of her Causes before the Judges, could not but at the same time, both compassionate her Condition, and affect her Person: (for, *the tears of Lovers, or Beauty drest in sadness*, are observ'd to have in them a Charming Eloquence; and, to become very often too strong to be resisted) which I mention, because it prov'd so with this *Thomas Wotton*, for although there were in her a concurrence of all those accidents, against which he had so seriously resolved; yet, his affection to her grew then so strong, that he resolved to sollicite her for a Wife; and did, and obtained her.

By her (who was the Daughter of Sir *William Finch* of *Eastwel* in *Kent*) he had only *Henry* his youngest Son.--His Mother undertook to be Tutors unto him during much of his Childhood; for whose care and pains, he paid her each day with such visible signs of future perfection in Learning, as turned her employment into a pleasing-trouble: which she was content to continue, till his Father took him into his own particular care, and disposed of him to a Tutor in his own House at *Boston*.

And, when time and diligent instruction, had made him fit for a removal to an higher Form (which was very early) he was sent to *Winchester-School*: a place of strict Discipline and Order: that so, he might in his youth be moulded into a Method of living by Rule, which his wise Father knew to be the most necessary way, to make the future part of his life, both happy to himself, and useful for the discharge of all business, whether publick or private.



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## The Life of Sir Henry Wotton.

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And, that he might be confirmed in this *regularity*, he was at a fit age removed from that *School*, to be a Commoner of *New-College* in *Oxford*; both being founded by *William Wickham*, Bishop of *Winchester*.

There he continued, till about the eighteenth year of his Age: and was then transplanted into *Queens-College*; where within that year, he was by the chief of that College, perswasively enjoined to write a Play for their private use: (it was the Tragedy of *Tancredo*) which was so interwoven with Sentences, and for the Method and exact personating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared, he had in a sleight employment, given an early, and a solid testimony of his future abilities. And though there may be some sower dispositions, which may think this not worth a *memorial*; yet, that wise Knight *Baptista Guarini* (whom learned *Italy* accounts one of her ornaments) thought it neither an uncomely, nor an unprofitable employment for his Age.

But I pass to what will be thought more serious.

About the twentieth year of his Age, he proceeded Master of *Arts*; and at that time read in Latine three Lectures *de Oculo*: wherein, he having described the *Form*, the *Motion*, the curious *composition* of the *Eye*: and, demonstrated, how of those very many, every *humour* and *nerve* performed its distinct Office, so as the God of Order hath appointed, without mixture or confusion; and all this, to the advantage of man, to whom the *Eye* is given, not only as the Bodies guide, but, whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the  
Soul,



## The Life of Sir Henry Wotton.

Soul, this, in an instant apprehends and warns him of *danger* : teaching him in the very eyes of others to discover, *wit, folly, love and hatred* : After he had made these Observations he fell to dispute this Optique Question, *Whether we see by the Emission of the Beams from within, or Reception of the species from without* ? and, after that, and many other like learned disquisitions, he, in the Conclusion of his *Lectures*, took a fair occasion to beautifie his Discourse with a Commendation of the blessing and benefit of *Seeing* : By which, we do not only discover Natures Secrets : but, with a continued content (for the eye is never weary of seeing) behold the great Light of the World, and by it, discover the Fabrick of the Heavens, and both the Order and Motion of the Celestial Orbs ; nay, that if the eye look but downward, it may rejoyce to behold the bosom of the Earth, our common Mother, embroidered and adorned with numberless and various Flowers, which man sees daily grow up to perfection, and then silently moralize his own condition, who in a short time (like those very Flowers) decays, Withers, and quickly returns again to that Earth, from which both had their first being.

These were so exactly debated, and so Rhetorically heightned, as, among other admirers, caused that learned Italian, *Albericus Gentilis* (then Professor of the Civil Law in Oxford to call him *Henrice mi ocelle* ; which dear expression of his, was also used by divers of Sir Henry's dearest Friends, and by many other persons of Note, during his stay in the University.

But his stay there was not long ; at least, not so long as his Friends once intended : for, the year after Sir Henry proceeded Master of Arts, his Father (whom Sir Henry did never mention without



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## The Life of Sir Henry Wotton.

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this, or some like reverential expression; as, *That good man my Father*; or, *My Father the best of Men*: about that time, this good man changed this for a better life; leaving to Sir *Henry*, as to his other younger Sons, a Rent charge of an hundred Mark a year, to be paid for ever, out of some one of his Mannors of a much greater value.

And here, though this good man be dead, yet I wish a Circumstance or two that concern him, may not be buried without a Relation; which I shall undertake to do, for that I suppose, they may so much concern the Reader to know, that I may promise my self a pardon for a short Digression.

**I**N the year of our Redemption, 1553. *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury* (whom I formerly mentioned) being then Ambassador in *France*, dream'd, that his Nephew, this *Thomas Wotton*, was inclined to be a party in such a project, as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the loss of his life, and ruin of his *Family*.

Doubtless, the good Dean did well know, that common Dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts; or, of the business of the day past; or, are the result of our over engaged affections, when we betake our selves to rest; and knew that the observation of them, may turn to silly Superstitions; as they too often do: But though he might know all this, and might also believe that Prophecies are ceased; yet, doubtless he could not but consider, that all Dreams are not to be neglected or cast away without all consideration: and did therefore rather lay this Dream aside, than intend totally to lose it; and dreaming the same again the night following, when it became a  
double



double Dream, like that of *Pharaoh* (of which double dreams, the learned have made many observations) and considering that it had no dependance on his awaking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, then, he did more seriously consider it; and, remembered that

Almighty God was pleased in a \* *St. Austin's*  
Dream to reveal and to assure \* *Mo- Confessions.*

*nica* the Mother of *St. Austin*, that he  
her Son for whom she wept so bitterly, and prayed so  
much should at last become a Christian: This I be-  
lieve, the good Dean considered; and, consider-  
ing also, that Almighty God (though the causes  
of Dreams be often unknown) hath even in these  
latter times also, by a certain illumination of the  
Soul in sleep, discovered many things that humane  
wisdom could not foresee: Upon these conside-  
rations, he resolved to use so prudent a remedy by  
way of prevention, as might introduce no great  
inconvenience either to himself or to his Nephew.  
And to that end, he wrote to the *Queen* ('twas  
*Queen Mary*) and besought her, That she would  
cause his Nephew *Thomas Wotton*, to be sent for out of  
*Kent*: and, that the *Lord* of her Council might interro-  
gate him in some such feigned Questions, as might give a  
colour for his Commitment into a favourable Prison;  
declaring, that he would acquaint her Majesty with the  
true reason of his request, when he should next become so  
happy as to see, and speak to her Majesty.

'Twas done as the *Dean* desired: and in Prison I  
must leave *Mr. Wotton*, till I have told the Reader  
what followed.

At this time a Marriage was concluded betwixt  
our *Queen Mary*, and *Philip King* of *Spain*: And  
though this was concluded with the advice, if not



## The Life of Sir Henry Wotton.

by the perswasion of her Privy-Council, as having many probabilities of advantage to this Nation : yet, divers persons of a contrary perswasion, did not only declare against it, but also raised Forces to oppose it ; believing (as they said) it would be a means to bring *England* to be under a subjection to *Spain*, and make those of this Nation slaves to *Strangers*.

And of this number Sir *Thomas Wyat* of *Boxley-Abbey* in *Kent* (betwixt whose Family, and the Family of the *Wottons*, there had been an ancient and entire friendship) was the principal Actor ; who having perswaded many of the Nobility and Gentry (especially of *Kent*) to side with him, and he being defeated, and taken Prisoner, was legally arraigned and condemned, and lost his life : So did the Duke of *Suffolk*, and divers others, especially many of the Gentry of *Kent*, who were there in several places executed as *Wyat's* assistants.

And of this number, in all probability, had Mr. *Wotton* been if he had not been confin'd : for, though he could not be ignorant that *another mans Treason, makes it mine by concealing it* ; yet he durst confess to his Uncle, when he returned into *England*, and then came to visit him in Prison, that he had more than an imitation of *Wyat's* intentions ; and, thought he had not continued actually innocent, if his Uncle had not so happily dream'd him into a Prison ; out of which place, when he was delivered by the same hand that caused his Commitment, they both considered the Dream more seriously ; and then, both joyned in praising God for it ; That God who iyes himself to no Rules, either in preventing of evil, or in shewing of mercy to those, whom of good pleasure he hath chosen to love.

And



## The Life of Sir Henry Wotton.

And this Dream was the more considerable, because that God, who in the dayes of old did use to speak to his people in visions, did seem to speak to many of this Family in dreams: of which I will also give the Reader one short particular of this *Thomas Wotton*, whose dreams did usually prove true, both in foretelling things to come, and discovering things past: And the particular is this: This *Thomas*, a little before his death, dream'd that the *University Treasury* was robbed by *Townsmen*, and poor *Scholars*; and, that the number was five: And being that day to write to his Son *Henry* at *Oxford*, he thought it worth so much pains, as by a Postscript in his Letter, to make a slight Enquiry of it; the Letter (which was writ out of *Kent*, and dated three years before) came to his Sons hands the very morning after the night in which the Robbery was committed; and when the City and University were both in a perplext Enquest of the Thieves, then did Sir *Henry Wotton* shew his Fathers Letter, and by it such light was given of this work of *darkness*, that the five guilty persons were presently discovered, and apprehended, without putting the *University* to so much trouble, as the casting of a *Figure*.

And it may yet be more considerable, that this *Nicholas* and *Thomas Wotton* should both (being men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to fasting and prayer) foresee and foretel the very dayes of their own death: *Nicholas* did so, being then Seventy years of age, and in perfect health. *Thomas* did the like in the sixty fifth year of his age; who being then in *London* (where he dyed) and foreseeing his death there, gave direction in what manner his Body should be carried to *Boston*; and  
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though he thought his Uncle *Nicholas* worthy of that noble Monument which he built for him in the *Cathedral Church* of *Canterbury* ; yet this humble man gave direction concerning himself, to be buried privately , and especially without any pomp at his Funeral. This is some account of this Family, which seemed to be beloved of God.

**B**Ut it may now seem more than time that I return to Sir *Henry Wotton* at *Oxford* ; where, after his optick Lecture, he was taken into such a bosom friendship with the Learned *Albericus Gentilis* (whom I formerly named) that if it had been possible, *Gentilis* would have breathed all his excellent knowledge, both of the *Mathematicks* and *Law*, into the breast of his dear *Harry* (for so *Gentilis* used to call him :) and though he was not able to do that, yet there was in Sir *Henry* such a propensity and connaturalness to the *Italian* Language, and those Studies, whereof *Gentilis* was a great Master, that this friendship between them did dayly increase, and proved dayly advantageous to Sir *Henry*, for the improvement of him in several Sciences, during his stay in the University.

From which place , before I shall invite the Reader to follow him into a foreign Nation , though I must omit to mention divers Persons that were then in *Oxford*, of memorable note for Learning, and Friends to Sir *Henry Wotton* ; yet I must not omit the mention of a love that was there begun betwixt him and Dr. *Donne*, (sometimes Dean of *St. Pauls*) a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say any thing , because he who is of this Nation, and pretends to Learning or Ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. *Donne*, deserves not to know him.



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him. The friendship of these two I must not omit to mention, being such a friendship as was generously elemented: And as it was begun in their Youth, and in an University, and there maintained by correspondent Inclinations and Studies, so it lasted till Age and Death forced a Separation.

In *Oxford* he stayed till about two years after his Father's death; at which time, he was about the two and twentieth year of his Age, and having to his great Wit added the ballast of Learning, and knowledge of the Arts, he then laid aside his Books, and betook himself to the useful Library of Travel, and a more general Conversation with Mankind; employing the remaining part of his Youth, his industry and fortune to adorn his mind, and to purchase the rich Treasure of Foreign knowledge; of which, both for the secrets of Nature, the dispositions of many Nations, their several Laws and Languages, he was the possessor in a very large measure; as I shall faithfully make to appear, before I take my Pen from the following Narration of his Life.

In his Travels, which was almost nine years before his return into *England*, he stayed but one year in *France*, and most of that in *Geneva*; where he became acquainted with *Theodor Beza* (then very aged) and with *Isaac Causabon*, in whose house (if I be rightly informed) Sir *Henry Wotton* was lodged, and there contracted a most worthy friendship with that man of rare Learning and Ingenuity.

Three of the remaining eight years were spent in *Germany* the other five in *Italy*, (the Stage on which God appointed he should act a great part of his life) where both in *Rome*, *Venice* and *Florence*, he became



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became acquainted with the most eminent men for Learning, and all manner of Arts ; as *Picture, Sculpture, Chymistry, Architecture*, and other manual Arts, even Arts of inferiour nature ; of all which he was a most dear Lover, and a most excellent Judge.

He returned out of *Italy* into *England* about the thirtieth year of his age, being then noted by many, both for his person and comportment ; for indeed he was of a choice shape, tall of stature, and of a most perswasive behaviour ; which was so mixed with sweet Discourse, and Civilities, as gained him much love from all Persons with whom he entred into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his Youth to have a sharp Wit, and apt to jest ; that, by Time, Travel, and Conversation, was so polish'd, and made so useful, that his company seemed to be one of the delights of mankind ; insomuch as *Robert, Earl of Essex* (then one of the Darlings of Fortune, and in greatest favour with Queen *Elizabeth*) invited him first into a friendship, and after a knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his Secretaries ; the other being Mr. *Henry Cusse*, sometimes of *Merton College* in *Oxford* (and there also the Acquaintance of Sir *Henry Wotton* in his Youth) Mr. *Cusse* being then a man of no common note in the University for his Learning ; nor after his removal from that place, for the great abilities of his mind ; nor indeed, for the fatalness of his end.

Sir *Henry Wotton* being now taken into a serviceable friendship with the Earl of *Essex*, did personally attend his Counsels and Employments in two Voyages at Sea against the *Spaniard*, and also in that (which was the Earls last) into *Ireland* ; that Voyage wherein he then did so much provoke the Queen



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to anger, and worse at his return into *England*; upon whose immovable favour the Earl had built such sandy hopes, as encouraged him to those undertakings, which with the help of a contrary Faction suddenly caused his Commitment to the Tower.

Sir *Henry Wotton* observing this, though he was not of that Faction (for the *Earl's* Followers were also divided into their several interests) which encouraged the *Earl* to those undertakings, which proved so fatal to him, and divers of his Confederation: yet, knowing *Treason* to be so comprehensive, as to take in even Circumstances, and out of them to make such positive conclusions as subtle States-men shall project, either for their revenge or safety; considering this, he thought prevention by absence out of *England*, a better security than to stay in it, and there plead his innocency in a *Prison*. Therefore did he, so soon as the Earl was apprehended, very quickly, and as privately glide through *Kent* to *Dover*, without so much as looking toward his native and beloved *Boston*; and was by the help of favourable winds, and liberal payment of the Mariners, within sixteen hours after his departure from *London*, set upon the *French* shore; where he heard shortly after, that the *Earl* was Arraign'd, Condemned, and Beheaded; and that his Friend Mr. *Cusse* was hang'd, and divers other Persons of Eminent Quality executed.

The times did not look so favourably upon Sir *Henry Wotton*, as to invite his return into *England*; having therefore procured of Sir *Edward Wotton*, his elder Brother, an assurance that his Annuity should be paid him in *Italy*, thither he went, happily renewing his intermitted friendship and interest,



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terest, and indeed, his great content in a new conversation with his old Acquaintance in that Nation; and more particularly in *Florence*, (which City is not more eminent for the Great Dukes Court, than for the great recourse of men of choicest note for Learning and Arts;) in which number he there met with his old Friend Signior *Vietta*, a Gentleman of *Venice*, and then taken to be *Secretary* to the great Duke of *Tuscany*.

After some stay in *Florence*, he went the fourth time to visit *Rome*, where in the *English College* he had very many Friends (their humanity made them really so, though they knew him to be a dissenter from many of their Principles of Religion;) and having enjoyed their company and satisfied himself concerning some Curiosities that did partly occasion his Journey thither, he returned back to *Florence*, where a most notable accident befel him; an accident that did not only find new employment for his choice Abilities, but introduce him a knowledge and an interest with our King *James*, then King of *Scotland*; which I shall proceed to relate.

But first, I am to tell the Reader, That though Queen *Elizabeth* (or she and her Council) were never willing to declare her *Successor*; yet *James* then King of the *Scots*, was confidently believed by most to be the man upon whom the sweet trouble of Kingly Government would be imposed; and the *Queen* declining very fast, both by age and visible infirmities, those that were of the *Romish* perswasion in point of Religion (even *Rome* it self, and those of this Nation) knowing that the death of the *Queen*, and the establishing of her *Successor*, were taken to be *critical* days for destroying or establishing the *Protestant* Religion in this Nation,  
did



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did therefore improve all opportunities for preventing a Protestant Prince to succeed Her. And as the Pope's Excommunication of *Queen Elizabeth*, had both by the judgment and practice of the Jesuited Papist, exposed her to be warrantably destroyed; so (if we may believe an angry Adversary, a \* *secular Priest* \* *Watson in* against a *Jesuit*) you may believe, *his Quodlibets.* that about that time there were many indeavours, first to excommunicate, and then to shorten the life of King *James*.

Immediately after Sir *Henry Wotton's* return from *Rome* to *Florence*, (which was about a year before the death of *Queen Elizabeth*) *Ferdinand* the Great Duke of *Florence* had intercepted certain Letters that discovered a design to take away the life of *James* the then King of *Scots*. The Duke abhorring the Fact, and resolving to endeavour a prevention of it, advised with his Secretary *Vietta*, by what means a caution might be best given to that King; and after consideration, it was resolved to be done by Sir *Henry Wotton*, whom *Vietta* first commended to the Duke; and the Duke had noted and approved of above all the *English* that frequented his Court.

Sir *Henry* was gladly called by his Friend *Vietta* to the Duke, who after much profession of trust and friendship, acquainted him with the secret; and being well instructed, dispatched him into *Scotland* with Letters to the King, and with those Letters, such *Italian* Antidotes against poyson, as the *Scots* till then had been strangers to.

Having parted from the Duke, he took up the Name and Language of an *Italian*; and thinking it best to avoid the line of *English* intelligence and danger, he posted into *Norway*, and through that Country



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Country towards *Scotland*, where he found the King at *Sterling*; being there, he used means by *Bernard Lindsey*, one of the Kings Bed-Chamber, to procure him a speedy and private conference with his Majesty, assuring him, *That the business which he was to negotiate was of such consequence, as had caused the Great Duke of Tuscany to enjoin him suddenly to leave his Native Country of Italy, to impart it to his King.*

This being by *Bernard Lindsey* made known to the King, the King after a little wonder, (mixt with jealousy) to hear of an *Italian* Ambassador, or Messenger, required his Name, (which was said to be *Ottavio Baldi*) and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that Evening.

When *Ottavio Baldi* came to the Presence-Chamber-door, he was requested to lay aside his long Rapier (which *Italian*-like he then wore) and being entered the Chamber, he found there with the King three or four *Scotch* Lords standing distant in several corners of the Chamber: at the sight of whom he made a stand; which the King observing, bade him be bold, and deliver his Message; for he would undertake for the secrecy of all that were present. Then did *Ottavio Baldi* deliver his Letters and his Message to the King in *Italian*; which when the King had graciously received, after a little pause, *Ottavio Baldi* steps to the Table, and whispers to the King in his own Language, that he was an *English* man, beseeching him for a more private conference with His Majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that Nation; which was promised, and really performed by the King during all his abode there, (which was about three Months) all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the King, and with as much to *Ottavio Baldi* himself, as that



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that Country could afford ; from which he departed as true an *Italian* as he came thither.

To the *Duke at Florence* he return'd with a fair and grateful account of his imployment , and within some few Months after his return , there came certain news to *Florence*, that *Queen Elizabeth* was dead ; and, *James King of the Scots* proclaimed King of *England*. The Duke knowing travel and business to be the best Schools of wisdom, and that *Sir Henry Wotton* had been tutor'd in both, advis'd him to return presently to *England*, and there joy the King with his new and better Title, and wait there upon Fortune for a better imployment.

When King *James* came into *England*, he found, amongst other of the late Queens Officers, *Sir Edward*, who was after Lord *Wotton*, Comptroller of the House, of whom he demanded, *If he knew one Henry Wotton, that had spent much time in foreign Travel?* The Lord replied, he knew him well, and that he was his Brother ; then the King asking where he then was , was answered , at *Venice*, or *Florence* ; but by late Letters from thence, he understood, he would suddenly be at *Paris*. Send for him, said the King , and when he shall come into *England*, bid him repair privately to me. The Lord *Wotton* after a little wonder, asked the King *If he knew him?* to which the King answered, *You must rest unsatisfied of that, till you bring the Gentleman to me.*

Not many Months after this Discourse, the Lord *Wotton* brought his Brother to attend the King , who took him in His Arms, and bade him welcome by the Name of *Octavio Baldi*, saying he was the most honest, and therefore the best Dissembler that  
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ever he met with : And said, Seeing I know you neither want Learning, Travel, nor Experience, and that I have had so real a Testimony of your faithfulness & abilities to manage an Ambassage, I have sent for you to declare my purpose ; which is, to make use of you in that kind hereafter : And indeed the King did so most of those two and twenty years of his Reign ; but before he dismiss *Octavio Baldi* from his present attendance upon him, he restored him to his old Name of *Henry Wotton*, by which he then Knighted him.

Not long after this, the King having resolved, according to his Motto (*Beati pacifici*) to have a friendship with his Neighbour-Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain*, and also for divers weighty reasons, to enter into an Alliance with the State of *Venice*, and to that end to send Ambassadors to those several places, did propose the choice of these Employments to Sir *Henry Wotton* ; who considering the smallness of his own Estate (which he never took care to augment) and knowing the Courts of great Princes to be sumptuous, and necessarily expensive, inclined most to that of *Venice*, as being a place of more retirement, and best suiting with his *Genius*, who did ever love to joyn with Business, Study, and a Tryal of natural Experiments ; for both which fruitful *Italy*, that *Darling of Nature*, and *Cherisher of all Arts*, is so justly fain'd in all parts of the *Christian World*.

Sir *Henry* having after some short time and consideration, resolved upon *Venice*, and a large allowance being appointed by the King for his voyage thither, and a settled maintenance during his stay there, he left *England*, nobly accompanied through *France* to *Venice*, by Gentlemen of the best Families and breeding that this Nation afforded ;  
they



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they were too many to name, but these two, for following reasons may not be omitted; Sir *Albertus Morton* his Nephew, who went his Secretary; and *William Bedel*, a man of choice Learning, and sanctified Wisdom, who went his Chaplain. And, though his dear friend *Dr. Donne* (then a private Gentleman) was not one of that number that did personally accompany him in this Voyage, yet the reading of this following Letter sent by him to Sir *Henry Wotton*, the morning before he left *England*, may testifie he wanted not his friends best wishes to attend him.

S I R.

**A**fter those reverend Papers, whose soul is (name:  
Our good, and great Kings lov'd hand, and fear'd  
By which to you he derives much of his,  
And, how he may, makes you almost the same;

A Taper of his Torch: a Copy writ  
From his Original, and a fair Beam  
Of the same warm and dazling Sun, though it  
Must in another Sphere his Vertue stream;

After those Learned Papers which your hand  
Hath stor'd with notes of use and pleasure too:  
From which rich treasury you may command  
Fit matter whether you will write or do:

After those loving Papers which Friends send  
With glad grief to your Sea-ward-steps farewell,  
And thicken on you now as prayers ascend  
To Heaven on troops at a good man's passing-Bell:



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*Admit this honest Paper ; and, allow  
It such an audience as your self would ask ;  
What you would say at Venice, this sayes now,  
And has for nature what you have for task.*

*To swear much love ; nor to be chang'd before  
Honour alone will to your fortune fit ;  
Nor, shall I then honour your fortune more,  
Then I have done your honour-wanting-wit.*

*But 'tis an easier load (though both oppress)  
To want, than govern greatness ; for we are  
In that, our own, and only business ;  
In this, we must for others vices care.*

*'Tis therefore well, your spirits now are plac'd  
In their last furnace, in activity ; (ore-past)  
Which fits them : Schools, and Courts, and Wars  
To touch and taste in any best degree.*

*For me ! (if there be such a thing as I)  
Fortune (if there be such a thing as she)  
Finds that I bear so well her tyranny,  
That she thinks nothing else so fit for me.*

*But, though she part us, to hear my oft prayers  
For your encrease, God is as near me here :  
And, to send you what I shall beg, his stairs  
In length, and ease, are alike every where.*

J. Donne

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**S**IR Henry Wotton was received by the State of Venice, with much honour and gladness, both for



for that he delivered his Ambassage most elegantly in the *Italian* Language, and came also in such a Juncture of time, as his Masters friendship seem'd useful for that Republick: the time of his coming thither was about the year 1604. *Leonardo Donato*, being then Duke; a wise man, and resolv'd, and to all purposes such (Sir *Henry Wotton* would often say it) as the State of *Venice* could not then have wanted; there having been formerly in the time of *Pope Clement* the eight, some contests about the privileges of Churchmen, and the power of the Civil Magistrate; of which, for the information of common Readers, I shall say a little, because it may give light to some passages that follow.

About the year 1603. the Republick of *Venice* made several Injunctions against Lay-persons giving Lands or Goods to the Church, without Licence from the Civil Magistrate; and in that Inhibition, they exprest their reasons to be, *For that when any Goods or Land once came into the hands of the Ecclesiasticks, it was not subject to alienation; by reason whereof, (the Lay-people being at their death charitable even to excess) the Clergy grew every day more numerous, and, pretended an exemption from all publick service, and Taxes, and from all secular Judgment: so that the burden grew thereby too heavy to be born by the Laity.*

Another occasion of difference was, That about this time complaints were justly made by the *Venetians* against two Clergy-men, the *Abbot of Nervesa*, and a *Canon of Vicenza*, for committing such sins, as I think not fit to name; nor are these mentioned with an intent to fix a Scandal upon any Calling; (for holiness is not tyed to Ecclesiastical Orders, and *Italy* is observed to breed the most



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vertuous, and most vicious men of any Nation) these two having been long complained of at *Rome* in the Name of the State of *Venice*, and no satisfaction being given to the *Venetians*, they seized the persons of this *Abbot* and *Canon*, and committed them to prison.

The justice or injustice of such or the like power, then used by the *Venetians*, had formerly had some calm debates betwixt the former Pope *Clement* the Eighth, and that *Republick*; I say, calm, for he did not excommunicate them; considering (as I conceive) that in the late *Council of Trent* it was at last (after many Politick disturbances, and delays, and endeavours to preserve the Pope's present power) in order to a general reformation of those many Errors, which were in time crept into the Church, declar'd by that Council, *That though Discipline, and especial Excommunication be one of the chief sinews of Church Government and intended to keep men in obedience to it: for which end, it was declar'd to be very profitable; yet, it was also declar'd, and advised to be used with great sobriety and care: because experience had informed them, that when it was pronounced unadvisedly, or rashly, it became more contemn'd than fear'd.* And, though this was the advice of that Council at the Conclusion of it, which was not many years before this quarrel with the *Venetians*: yet this prudent, patient, Pope *Clement* dying, Pope *Paul* the fifth, who succeeded him, (though not immediately, yet in the same year) being a man of a much hotter temper, brought this difference with the *Venetians* to a much higher Contention: objecting those late acts of that State, to be a diminution of his just power, and limited a time of twenty four days for their revocation; threatening,



ning, if he were not obeyed, to proceed to Excommunication of the *Republick*; who still offered to shew both reason and ancient custom to warrant their Actions. But this *Pope*, contrary to his Predecessors moderation, required absolute obedience without disputes.

Thus it continued for about a year; the *Pope* still threatening Excommunication, and the *Venetians* still answering him with fair speeches, and no compliance, till at last, the *Popes* zeal to the *Apostolick See*, did make him to excommunicate the *Duke*, the whole *Senate*, and all their Dominions; and that done to shut up all their *Churches*; charging the whole Clergy to forbear all sacred Offices to the *Venetians*, till their Obedience should render them capable of *Absolution*.

But this act of the *Pope's* did but the more confirm the *Venetians* in their resolution not to obey him; And to that end, upon the hearing of the *Pope's Interdict*, they presently published by sound of Trumpet, a Proclamation to this effect:

That whosoever hath received from Rome any Copy of a Papal Interdict, publish'd there, as well against the Law of God, as against the Honour of this Nation, shall presently render it to the Council of Ten, upon pain of death.

Then was *Duado* their Ambassador call'd home from Rome, and the *Inquisition* presently suspended by Order of the State; and, the Flood-gates being thus set open, any man that had a pleasant or scoffing wit might safely vent it against the *Pope*, either by free speaking, or by Libels in Print; and, both became very pleasant to the people.



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Matters thus heightned, the State advis'd with Father *Paul*, a Holy and Learned Frier (the Author of the *History of the Council of Trent*) whose advice was, *Neither to provoke the Pope, nor lose their own Right* : he declaring publickly in Print, in the name of the State, *That the Pope was trusted to keep two Keys ; one of Prudence, and the other of Power : And that if they were not both used together, Power alone is not effectual in an Excommunication.*

And thus these discontents and oppositions continued till a report was blown abroad, that the *Venetians* were all turned *Protestants* : which was believed by many, for that it was observ'd, the *English* Ambassadour was so often in conference with the *Senate*, and his Chaplain Mr. *Bedel* more often with Father *Paul*, whom the people did not take to be his Friend : And also, for that the *Republick of Venice* was known to give Commission to *Gregory Justiniano*, then their Ambassadour in *England*, to make all these Proceedings known to the King of *England*, and to crave a Promise of his assistance, if need should require : and in the mean time they required the King's advice and judgment ; which was the same which he gave to *Pope Clement*, at his first coming to the Crown of *England* ; (that *Pope* then moving him to an Union with the *Roman Church*) namely, *To endeavour the calling of a free Council for the settlement of Peace in Christendom : and, that he doubted not, but that the French King, and divers other Princes would joyn to assist in so good a work ; and, in the mean time, the sin of this Breach, both with His, and the Venetians Dominions, must of necessity lie at the Pope's door.*

In this contention (which lasted almost two years) the *Pope* grew still higher, and the *Venetians* more



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more and more resolv'd and careles : still acquainting King *James* with their proceedings, which was done by the help of Sir *Henry Wotton*, Mr. *Bedel*, and *Padre Paulo*, whom the *Venetians* did then call to be one of their Consulters of State, and with his Pen to defend their just Cause : which was by him so performed, that the *Pope* saw plainly, he had weakned his Power by exceeding it, and offered the *Venetians* Absolution upon very easie terms ; which the *Venetians* still slighting, did at last obtain, by that which was scarce so much as a shew of acknowledging it : For they made an order, that in that day in which they were Absolv'd , there should be no Publick Rejoycing, nor any *Bonfires* that night ; lest the Common People might judge, that they desired an Absolution, or were Absolved for committing a Fault.

These Contests were the occasion of *Padre Paulo's* knowledge and interest with King *James*, for whose sake principally *Padre Paulo* compiled that eminent History of the remarkable Council of *Trent* ; which History was, as fast as it was written, sent in several sheets in Letters by Sir *Henry Wotton*, Mr. *Bedel*, and others, unto King *James*, and the then Bishop of *Canterbury*, into *England*, and there first made publick, both in *English* and in the universal Language.

For eight years after Sir *Henry Wotton's* going into *Italy*, he stood fair and highly valued in the Kings opinion , but at last became much clouded by an accident, which I shall proceed to relate.

At his first going Ambassadour into *Italy*, as he passed through *Germany*, he stayed some days at *Augusta* ; where having been in his former Travels, well known by many of the best note for Learning  
and



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and Ingeniousness, (those that are esteemed the *Vertuosi* of that Nation) with whom he passing an Evening in Merriments, was requested by *Christopher Flecamore* to write some Sentence in his *Albo*; (a Book of white Paper, which for that purpose many of the *German* Gentry usually carry about them) and Sir *Henry Wotton* consenting to the motion, took an occasion from some accidental discourse of the present Company, to write a pleasant definition of an Ambassadour, in these very words :

*Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ.*

Which Sir *Henry Wotton* could have been content should have been thus Englished :

*An Ambassadour is an honest man, sent to lie abroad for the good of his Country.*

But the word for *lye* (being the hinge upon which the Conceit was to turn) was not so exprest in Latine, as would admit (in the hands of an Enemy especially) so fair a construction as Sir *Henry* thought in *English*. Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other Sentences in this *Albo*, almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of *Jasper Scioppius*, a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit, and a malicious Pen : who with Books against King *James*, Prints this as a Principle of that Religion professed by the King, and his Ambassadour Sir *Henry Wotton*, then at *Venice* : and in *Venice* it was presently after written in several Glass-windows, and spitefully declared to be Sir *Henry Wotton's*.

This



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This coming to the knowledge of King *James*, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness, or worse, in Sir *Henry Wotton* as caused the King to express much wrath against him: and this caused Sir *Henry Wotton* to write two Apologies; one to *Velferus*, (one of the Chiefs of *Augusta*) in the universal Language, which he caused to be Printed, and given, and scattered in the most remarkable places both of *Germany* and *Italy*, as an Antidote against the venomous Books of *Scioppins*; and another Apology to King *James*: which were both so ingenious, so clear, and so choicely Eloquent, that his Majesty (who was a pure Judge of it) could not forbear, at the receipt thereof, to declare publickly, That Sir *Henry Wotton* had commuted sufficiently for a greater offence.

And now, as broken bones well set become stronger; so Sir *Henry Wotton* did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majesties estimation and favour than formerly he had been.

And as that Man of great Wit and useful Fancy (his Friend Dr. *Donne*) gave in a Will of his (a *Will of Conceits*) his Reputation to his Friends, and his Industry to his Foes, because from thence he received both: so those Friends, that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of Sir *Henry Wotton's*, were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued; and those Acquaintance that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grow both more wise, and (which is the best fruit error can bring forth) for the future to become more industriously watchful over his Tongue and Pen.

I have told you a part of his Employment in *Italy*, where notwithstanding the death of his Favourer,



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vorers, the Duke *Leonardo Donato*, who had undissembled affection for him, and the malicious Accusation of *Scioppius*; yet his interest (as though it had been an intail'd love) was still found to live and increase in all the succeeding Dukes, during his Employment to that State, which was almost twenty years; all which time he studied the dispositions of those *Dukes*, and the other *Consulters* of *State*; well knowing, that he who negotiates a continued business, and neglects the study of dispositions, usually fails in his proposed ends: But in this *Sir Henry Wotton* did not fail; for by a fine sorting of fit Presents, curious and not costly Entertainments, always sweetned by various and pleasant Discourse; with which, and his choice application of Stories, and his elegant Delivery of all these, even in their *Italian* Language, he first got, and still preserv'd such interest in the State of *Venice*, that it was observ'd (such was either his merit, or his Modesty) they never denied him any request.

But, all this shews but his abilities, and his fitness for that Employment: 'Twill therefore be needful to tell the Reader, what use he made of the Interest which these procured him; and that indeed was, rather to oblige others than to enrich himself; he still endeavoring that the Reputation of the *English* might be maintained, both in the *German* Empire, and in *Italy*; where many Gentlemen, whom Travel had invited into that Nation, received from him chearful Entertainments, advice for their behaviour, and by his interest shelter, or deliverance from those accidental storms of adversity which usually attend upon Travel.

And because these things may appear to the Reader



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Reader to be but Generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular Examples ; one of his Merciful Disposition, and one of the Nobleness of his Mind ; which shall follow.

There had been many *English* Souldiers brought by Commanders of their own Country, to serve the *Venetians* for pay against the *Turk* : and those *English*, having by Irregularities, or Improvidence, brought themselves into several Gallies and Prisons, Sir *Henry Wotton* became a Petitioner to that State for their Lives and Enlargement ; and his Request was granted : so that those (which were many hundreds, and there made the sad Examples of Humane Misery, by hard Imprisonment, and unpitied Poverty in a strange Nation) were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable Condition sent to thank God and him for their Lives and Liberty in their own Country.

And this I have observed as one testimony of the compassionate Nature of him, who was (during his stay in those parts) as a City of Refuge for the Distressed of this and other Nations.

And for that which I offer as a Testimony of the Nobleness of his Mind ; I shall make way to the Readers clearer understanding of it, by telling him, that beside several other Foreign Employments, Sir *Henry Wotton* was sent thrice Ambassadour to the Republick of *Venice* ; and at his last going thither he was employed Ambassadour to several of the *German* Princes, and more particularly to the Emperor *Ferdinando* the second ; and that his Employment to him, and those Princes, was to incline them to equitable Conditions, for the Restauration of the Queem of *Bohemia*, and her Descendents, to their Patrimonial Inheritance of the *Palatinate*.

This



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This was by his eight Months constant endeavors and attendance upon the *Emperor*, his Court and Council, brought to a probability of a successful Conclusion without blood-shed : but there was at that time two opposite Armies in the Field ; and as they were Treating, there was a Battle fought ; in the managery whereof, there was so many miserable Errors on the one side, (so Sir *Henry Wotton* expresses it in a Dispatch to the King) and so advantageous Events to the *Emperour*, as put an end to all present Hopes of a successful Treaty : so that Sir *Henry* seeing the face of Peace altered by that Victory, prepared for a Removal from that Court ; and at his departure from the *Emperor*, was so bold as to remember him, *That the Events of every Battle move on the unseen Wheels of Fortune, which are this moment up, and down the next : and therefore humbly advised him to use his Victory so soberly, as still to put on thoughts of Peace.* Which advice, though it seemed to be spoke with some Passion, (his dear Mistress, the Queen of *Bohemia*, being concerned in it) was yet taken in good part by the *Emperor*, who replied, *That he would consider his Advice : And though he looked on the King his Master as an Abettor of his Enemy the Paulsgrave ; yet for Sir Henry himself, his behaviour had been such, during the manage of the Treaty, that he took him to be a Person of much Honour and Merit, and did therefore desire him to accept of that Jewel, as a testimony of his good opinion of him ; which was a Jewel of Diamonds of more value than a Thousand Pounds.*

This Jewel was received with all outward Circumstances and Terms of Honour by Sir *Henry Wotton* : but the next morning, at his departing from *Vienna*, he at his taking leave of the Countess  
of



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of *Sabrina* (an *Italian* Lady, in whose House the Emperor had appointed him to be lodg'd, and honorably entertained :) he acknowledged her *Merits*, and besought her to accept of that Jewel, as a testimony of his gratitude for her *Civilities* : presenting her with the same that was given him by the *Emperor* : which being suddenly discovered, and told to the *Emperor*, was by him taken for a high affront, and Sir *Henry Wotton* told so by a Messenger. To which he replied, That though he received it with thankfulness, yet he found in himself an indisposition to be the better for any gift that came from an *Enemy* to his *Royal Mistress*, the *Queen* of *Bohemia* ; for so she was pleased he should always call her.

Many other of his Services to his Prince, and this Nation, might be insisted upon : as namely, his procurations of Privileges and Courtesies with the *German* Princes, and the Republick of *Venice*, for the *English* Merchants ; and what he did by direction of *King James* with the *Venerian* State, concerning the Bishop of *Spalato's* return to the Church of *Rome*. But for the particulars of these, and many more that I meant to make known, I want a view of some Papers that might inform me, (his late Majesties Letter office having now suffered a strange alienation) and indeed I want time too ; for the Printers Press stays for what is written : so that I must haste to bring Sir *Henry Wotton* in an instant from *Venice* to *London*, leaving the Reader to make up what is defective in this place, by the small supplement of the Inscription under his Arms, which he left at all those Houses where he rested, or lodged. when he return'd from his last Embassy into *England*.

Henricus Wottonius *Anglo Cantianus*, Thomæ  
optimi



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*optimi viri filius natu minimus, à serenissimo Jacob. I. Mag. Brit. Rege, in equestrem titulum adscitus, ejusdemque ter ad Rempublicam Venetam Legatus Ordinarius, semel ad confœderatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacensi negotio. Bis ad Carolum Emanuel, Sabaudia Ducem; semel ad unitos superioris Germaniæ Principes in Conventu Heilbrunensi; postremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wittembergensem, Civitates imperiales, Argentinam, Ulmamque, & ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum secundum Legatus Extraordinarius, tandem hoc didicit,*

Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo.

To London he came the year before King James died; who having for the reward of his foreign service, promised him the reversion of an Office which was fit to be turned into present money, which he wanted, for a supply of his present necessities, and also granted him the reversion of the *Master of the Rolls* place, if he out-lived charitable Sir *Julius Caesar*, who then possessed it: and then, grown so old, that he was said to be kept alive beyond Nature's Course, by the prayers of those many poor which he daily relieved.

But, these were but in hope; and his condition required a present support: For in the beginning of these employments he sold to his elder Brother, the Lord *Wotton*, the Rent-charge left by his good Father, and (which is worse) was now at his return indebted to several persons, whom he was not able to satisfy, but by the Kings payment of his Arrears due for his foreign employments. He had brought into England many servants, of which some were German and Italian Artists; this was  
part



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part of his condition, who had many times hardly sufficient to supply the occasions of the day : (For it may by no means be said of his Providence, as himself said of Sir *Philip Sidney's* wit, *That it was the very measure of congruity* ) He being always so careless of Money, as though our Saviour's words, *Care not for to morrow*, were to be literally understood.

But it pleased the God of Providence, that in this juncture of time, the Provostship of His Majesty's College of *Eaton* became void by the death of Mr. *Thomas Murray*, for which there were (as the place deserv'd) many earnest and powerful Suiters to the King. And Sir *Henry*, who had for many years (like *Siciphus*) rolled the restless stone of a State-employment; knowing experimentally, that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in multitudes of Men or Business: and, that a College was the fittest place to nourish holy thoughts, and to afford rest both to his Body and Mind, which his Age (being now almost threescore years) seemed to require, did therefore use his own, and the interest of all his Friends to procure that Place. By which means, and quitting the King of his promised reversionary Offices, and a piece of honest policy (which I have not time to relate) he got a Grant of it from His Majesty.

And this was a fair satisfaction to his *Mind*: but Money was wanting to furnish him with those Necessaries which attend removes, and a settlement in such a Place; and, to procure that, he wrote to his old Friend Mr. *Nicholas Pey*, for his assistance; of which *Nicholas Pey*, I shall here say a little, for the clearing of some passages that I shall mention hereafter.



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He was in his youth a Clerk, or in some such way, a Servant to the Lord Wotton, Sir Henry's Brother; and by him, when he was Comptroller of the King's Household, was made a great Officer in His Majestie's House. This, and other favours being conferred upon Mr. Pey (*in whom there was a radical honesty*) were always thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude exprest by a willing and unwearied serviceableness to that Family even till his death. To him Sir Henry Wotton wrote, to use all his interest at Court, to procure Five hundred pounds of his Arrears (for less would not settle him in the College) and the want of such a Sum, *wrinkled his face with care*; ('twas his own expression) and, that Money being procured, he should the next day after find him in his College, and *Invidia remedium* writ over his Study door.

This Money, being part of his Arrears, was by his own, and the help of honest *Nicholas Pey's* interest in Court, quickly procured him; and he as quickly in the College; the place where indeed his happiness then seemed to have its beginning: the College being to his mind, as a quiet Harbor to a Sea-faring man after a tempestuous Voyage; where, by the bounty of the Pious Founder, his very Food and Rayment were plentifully provided for him in kind, and more Money than enough, where he was freed from all corroding cares, and seated on such a Rock, as the waves of want could not probably shake; where he might sit in a *Calm*, and looking down, behold the busie multitude turmoil'd and tossed in a tempestuous Sea of trouble and dangers. And (as Sir William Davenant has happily exprest the like of another Person)

*Laugh*



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*Laugh at the graver business of the State,  
Which speaks men rather wise than fortunatt.*

Being thus settled according to the desires of his heart, his first study was the Statutes of the College: by which, he conceiv'd himself bound to enter into *Holy Orders*, which he did; being made *Deacon* with all convenient speed; shortly after which time, as he came in his *Surplice* from the *Church-service*, an old Friend, a Person of Quality, met him so attired, and joyed him of his new habit; to whom Sir Henry Wotton replied, *I thank God and the King, by whose goodness I now am in this condition; a condition, which that Emperor Charles the Fifth, seem'd to approve: who, after so many remarkable Victories, when his glory was great in the eyes of all men, freely gave up his Crown, and the many cares that attended it, to Philip his Son, making a holy retreat to a Cloysteral life, where he might by devout meditations consult with God, (which the rich or busie men seldom do) and have leisure both to examine the errors of his life past, and prepare for that great day, wherein all flesh must make an account of their actions: And after a kind of tempestuous life, I now have the like advantage from him, that makes the out-goings of the morning to praise him; even from my God, whom I daily magnifie for this particular mercy, of an exemption from business, a quiet mind, and a liberal maintenance, even in this part of my life; when my age and infirmities seem to sound me a retreat from the pleasures of this world, and invite me to contemplation, in which I have ever taken the greatest felicity.*

And now to speak a little of the imployment of his time in the College. After his customary Pub-



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lick Devotions, his use was to retire into his *Study*, and there to spend some hours in reading the Bible, and Authors in Divinity, closing up his meditations with private Prayer; this was, for the most part, his employment in the Forenoon: But, when he was once sat to Dinner, then nothing but chearful thoughts possess'd his mind; and, those still increased by constant company at his Table, of such persons as brought thither additions both of Learning and Pleasure; but some part of most days was usually spent in *Philosophical Conclusions*. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of *Angling*, which he would usually call, *his idle time, not idly spent*; saying often, he would rather live five *May Months*, than forty *Decembers*.

He was a great lover of his Neighbours, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his Table, where his meat was choice, and his discourse better.

He was a constant Cherisher of all those youths in that School, in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a *Genius* that prompted them to Learning; for whose encouragement, he was (beside many other things of necessity and beauty) at the charge of setting up in it two rows of *Pillars*, on which he caused to be choicely drawn, the Pictures of divers of the most famous *Greek* and *Latin Historians*, *Poets*, and *Orators*; perswading them not to neglect *Rhetorick*, because *Almighty God has left Mankind affections to be wrought upon*: And he would often say, *That none despised Eloquence, but such dull souls as were not capable of it*. He would also often make choice of some Observations out of those *Historians* and *Poets*: and would never leave the School, without dropping some choice  
*Greek*



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Greek or Latin *Apothegm* or Sentence, that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing Scholar.

He was pleas'd constantly to breed up one or more hopeful Youths, which he picked out of the School, and took into his own Domestick care, and to attend him at his Meals; out of whose *Discourse* and *Behaviour*, he gathered Observations for the better compleating of his intended work of *Educacion*: of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to Posterity.

He was a great Enemy to *wrangling Disputes* of Religion, concerning which, I shall say a little, both to testifie that, and to shew the readiness of his Wit.

Having at his being in Rome made acquaintance with a pleasant Priest, who invited him one Evening to hear their Vesper *Musick* at Church; the Priest seeing Sir Henry stand obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a Boy of the Quire this Question, writ in a small piece of Paper, *Where was your Religion to be found before Luther?* To which Question Sir Henry presently under-writ, *My Religion was to be found then, where yours is not to be found now, in the written Word of God.*

The next Vesper, Sir Henry went purposely to the same Church, and sent one of the Quire-boys with this Question, to his honest, pleasant friend, the Priest; *Do you believe all those many Thousands of poor Christians were damn'd, that were Excommunicated, because the Pope, and the Duke of Venice, could not agree about their Temporal Power?* Speak your Conscience. To which he under-writ in French *Monsieur, excusez moy.*



little stop, and invite the Reader to look back with me, whilst according to my promise, I shall say a little of Sir *Albertus Mirton*, and Mr. *William Bedel*, whom I formerly mentioned.

I have told you that are my Reader; that at Sir *Henry Wotton's* first going Ambassador into *Italy*, his Cousin, Sir *Albert Morton*, went his Secretary: and am next to tell you, that Sir *Albertus* died, Secretary of State to our late King; but, cannot, am not able to express the sorrow that possest Sir *Henry Wotton* at his first hearing the News that Sir *Albertus* was by death lost to him and this world; and yet, the Reader may partly guess by these following Expressions: The first in a Letter to his *Nicholas Pey*, of which this that followeth is a part.

— And My dear Nick, When I had been here almost a fortnight, in the midst of my great contentment, I received notice of Sir *Albertus Morton* his departure out of this World, who was dearer to me, than mine own Being in it; what a wound it is to my heart, you that knew him, and know me, will easily believe: but, our Creators Will must be done, and unrepiningly received by his own Creatures, who is the Lord of all Nature, and of all Fortune, when he taketh to himself now one, and then another, till that expected day, wherein it shall please him to dissolve the whole, and wrap up even the Heaven it self as a Scroul of Parchment: This is the last Philosophy that we must study upon Earth; let us therefore that yet remain here, as our days and friends waste, reinforce our love to each other; which of all vertues, both spiritual and moral, hath the highest privilege, because death it self cannot end it. And my good Nick, &c.

This is a part of his sorrow thus exprest to his *Nick Pey*; the other part is in this following Elogy, of which the Reader may safely conclude, 'twas too hearty to be dissembled.

Tears



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Tears wept at the Grave of Sir *Albertus Morton*, by *Henry Wotton*.

**S**ilence in truth would speak my sorrow best,  
For deepest wounds can least their feelings tell;  
Yet let me borrow from mine own unrest,  
A time to bid him whom I lov'd, farewell.

Oh, my unhappy lines ! you that before  
Have serv'd my youth to vent some wanton cries,  
And now congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore  
Strength to accent, Here my *Albertus* lies.

This is that Sable Stone, this is the Cave  
And womb of Earth, that doth his Corps embrace;  
While others sing his praise, let me engrave  
These bleeding numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the Characters of Woe;  
Here will I pay my Tribute to the Dead;  
And here my faithful Tears in showres shall flow  
To humanize the Flints on which I tread.

Where though I mourn my matchless loss alone,  
And none between my weakness judge and me;  
Yet even these pensive Walls allow my moan,  
Whose doleful Echoes to my Complaints agree.

But is he gone ? and live I rhyming here,  
As if some Muse would listen to my lay ?  
When all dis-tun'd sit waiting for their dear,  
And bathe the Banks where he was wont to play.



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*Dwell then in endless Bliss with happy Souls,  
Discharg'd from Natures and from Fortunes Trust ;  
Whil' st on this fluid Glebe my Hour-glass rowls,  
And runs the rest of my remaining dust.*

H. W.

This concerning his *Sir Albertus Morton*.

And for what I shall say concerning *Mr. William Bedel*, I must prepare the Reader, by telling him, That when King *James* sent *Sir Henry Wotton* Ambassador to the State of *Venice*, he sent also an Ambassador to the King of *France*, and another to the King of *Spain*: with the Ambassador of *France* went *Joseph Hall*, (late Bishop of *Norwich*) whose many and useful Works speak his great Merit: with the Ambassador of *Spain* went *Ja. Wadsworth*; and with *Sir Henry Wotton* went *William Bedel*.

These three Chaplains to these three Ambassadors, were all bred in one University, all of one \* College, all Benefic'd in one Diocess, and all most dear and intire Friends: But in *Spain* *Mr. Wadsworth* met with

Temptations, or Reasons, such as were so powerful, as to perswade him (who of the three, was formerly observ'd to be the most averse to that Religion that calls it self *Catholick*) to disclaim himself a Member of the Church of *England*, and declare himself for the Church of *Rome*; discharging himself of his attendance on the Ambassador, and betaking himself to a Monasterial life; in which he lived very regularly, and so died.

When *Dr. Hall* (the late Bishop of *Norwich*) came into *England*, he wrote to *Mr. Wadsworth*, ('tis the first Epistle in his Printed Decads) to perswade his return,



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return, or to shew the reason of his Apostacy: the Letter seemed to have in it many sweet expressions of love; and yet there was in it some expression that was so unpleasant to Mr. *Wadsworth*, that he chose rather to acquaint his old Friend Mr. *Bedel* with his Motives; by which means there past betwixt Mr. *Bedel* and Mr. *Wadsworth* divers Letters, which be extant in Print, and did well deserve it; for in them there seems to be a controversie, not of Religion only, but who should answer each other with most love and meekness: which I mention the rather, because it too seldom falls out to be so in a Book-War.

There is yet a little more to be said of Mr. *Bedel*, for the greatest part of which, the Reader is referred to this following Letter of Sir *Henry Wotton's*, writ to our late King *Charles* the First.

May it please Your most Gracious Majesty,  
**H**AVING been informed that certain Persons have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh, been directed hither, with a most humble Petition unto Your Majesty, that You will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedel (now resident upon a small Benefice in Suffolk) Governor of Your College at Dublin, for the good of that Society; and my self being required to render unto Your Majesty some testimony of the said William Bedel, who was long my Chaplain at Venice, in the time of my first Employment there; I am bound in all Conscience and Truth (so far as Your Majesty will vouchsafe to accept my poor Judgment) to affirm of him, That I think hardly a fitter Man for that Charge, could have been propounded unto Your Majesty in Your whole Kingdom, for singular Erudition and Piety, Conformity to the Rites of the Church, and Zeal to advance the Cause of God; wherein his Travels



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vels abroad were not obscure, in the time of the Excommunication of the Venetians.

For it may please Your Majesty to know, that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took, I may say, into his very Soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart, from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, both Scholastical and Positive, than from any that he had ever practised in his dayes; of which, all the passages were well known to the King Your Father, of most blessed Memory. And so with Your Majesties good favour, I will end this needless Office; for the general Fame of his Learning, his Life, and Christian temper, and those Religious Labours which himself hath dedicated to Your Majesty, do better describe him than I am able.

Your MAJESTIES  
Most humble and faithful Servant,

H. WOTTON.

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**T**O this Letter, I shall add this; That he was (to the great joy of Sir Henry Wotton) made Governor of the said College;  
\* August, 1627. and that \* after a fair discharge of his duty and trust there, he was thence removed to be Bishop of Kilmore. \* In both which places, his life was so  
\* Sept. 3. 1629. holy, as seemed to equal the Primitive Christians; for as they, so he kept all the Ember-weeks, observed (besides his private Devotions) the Canonical hours of Prayer very strictly, and so he did all the Feasts, and Fast-dayes of his Mother, the Church of England;  
to



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to which I may add, that his Patience and Charity were both such, as shewed his affections were set upon *things that are above*; for indeed his whole life brought forth the *fruits of the Spirit*; there being in him such a remarkable meekness, that as St. Paul advised his *Timothy* in the Election of a *Bishop*, \* *That he* \* 1 Tim. 3.7. *have a good report of those that be without*; so had he, for those that were without, even those that in Point of Religion, whereof the *Roman* perswasion (of which there were very many in his Diocess) did yet (such is the power of visible Piety) ever look upon him with respect and reverence; and, testified it, by a concealing, and safe protecting him from Death in the late horrid Rebellion in *Ireland*, when the fury of the wild *Irish* knew no distinction of persons; and yet, there, and then, he was protected and cherished by those of a contrary perswasion; and there, and then he died, not by violence or misusage, but by grief in a quiet Prison. (1629.) And, with him was lost many of his learned Writings, which were thought worthy of preservation; and amongst the rest, was lost the *Bible*, which by many years labour, and conference, and study, he had translated into the *Irish* Tongue, with an intent to have Printed it for Publick use.

More might be said of Mr. *Bedel*, who (I told the Reader) was Sir *Henry Wotton's* first Chaplain; and much of his second Chaplain, *Isaac Bargrave*, Doctor in *Divinity*, and the late Learned and Hospitable Dean of *Canterbury*; as also of the Merit of many others, that had the happiness to attend Sir *Henry* in his foreign Employments: But, the Reader may think that in this digression, I have  
already



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already carried him too far from *Eaton-College*, and therefore I shall lead him back as gently, and as orderly as I may to that place, for a further conference concerning Sir *Henry Wotton*.

Sir *Henry Wotton* had propos'd to himself, before he entred into his Collegiate life, to write the Life of *Martin Luther*; and in it, the History of the Reformation, as it was carried on in *Germany*: For the doing of which, he had many advantages by his several Embassies into those Parts, and his interest in the several Princes of the *Empire*; by whose means he had access to the Records of all the *Hans Towns*, and the knowledge of many secret passages that fell not under common view; and in these he had made a happy progress, as is well known to his worthy friend Dr. *Duppa*, the late Reverend Bishop of *Salisbury*; but in the midst of this design, His late Majesty, King *Charles the First*, that knew the value of Sir *Henry Wotton's* Pen, did by a perswasive loving violence (to which may be added a promise of 500 *l.* a year) force him to lay *Luther* aside, and betake himself to write the History of *England*; in which he proceeded to write some short Characters of a few Kings, as a foundation upon which he meant to build; but, for the present, meant to be more large in the Story of *Henry the Sixth*, the Founder of that College, in which he then enjoy'd all the worldly happiness of his present being; but Sir *Henry* dyed in the midst of this undertaking, and the footsteps of his labours are not recoverable by a more than common diligence.

This is some account both of his inclination, and the employment both of his time in the College, where he seemed to have his *Tough* renewed by



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by a continual conversation with that Learned Society, and a daily recourse of other Friends of choicest Breeding and Parts; by which, that great blessing of a chearful heart was still maintained; he being always free, even to the last of his days, from that peevishness which usually attends Age.

And yet his mirth was sometimes damp'd by the remembrance of divers old Debts, partly contracted in his foreign Employments, for which his just Arrears due from the *King*, would have made satisfaction; but, being still delayed with Court-promises, and finding some decayes of health, he did about two years before his death, out of a Christian desire, that none should be a loser by it, make his last Will; concerning which, a doubt still remains, whether it discovered more *holy wit*, or *conscionable policy*: But there is no doubt, but that his chief design was a *Christian Endeavour* that his Debts might be satisfied.

And that it may remain as such a Testimony, and a Legacy to those that lov'd him, I shall here impart it to the Reader, as it was found writ with his own hand.

**I**N the Name of God Almighty and All-merciful,  
I Henry Wotton, Provost of His Majestie's College by Eaton, being mindful of mine own mortality, which the sin of our first Parents did bring upon all flesh, Do by this last Will and Testament, thus dispose of my self, and the poor things I shall leave in this World. My Soul, I bequeath to the Immortal God my Maker, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer, and Mediator, through his all-sole sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole World, and efficient for his Elect; in the number of whom, I am one by his meer grace, and thereof most



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unremoveably assured by his holy Spirit, the true Eternal Comforter. My body I bequeath to the Earth, if I shall end my transitory days at, or near Eaton, to be buried in the Chappel of the said College, as the Fellows shall dispose thereof, with whom I have liv'd ( my God knows) in all loving affection; or If I shall dye near Bocton Malherb, in the County of Kent, then I wish to be laid in that Parish Church, as near as may be to the Sepulchre of my good Father, expecting a joyful Resurrection with him in the day of Christ.

After this account of his Faith, and this Surrender of his Soul to that God that inspir'd it, and this direction for the disposal of his Body, he proceeded to appoint that his *Executors* should lay over his Grave a Marble Stone, plain, and not costly: And considering that time moulders even Marble to dust; (for \* *Monuments themselves must die.*) Therefore did he (waving the common way) think fit rather to preserve his name ( to which the Son of Sirac adviseth all men) by an useful *Apothegm*, than by a large enumeration of his descent or merits, (of both which he might justly have boasted :) but, he was content to forget them, and did chuse only this prudent, pious Sentence, to discover his Disposition, and preserve his *Memory*.

\* Juven.

?Twas directed by him, to be thus inscribed:

*Hic jacet hujus Sententia primus Author.*

DISPUTANDI PRURITUS, ECCLESIARUM SCABIES.

*Nomen aliàs quare.*

Which may be Englished thus,  
*Here lies the first Author of this Sentence.*

THE



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### THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION, WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH.

*Inquire his name elsewhere.*

And if any shall object, as I think some have, That Sir *Henry Wotton* was not the first Author of this Sentence; but, that this, or a Sentence like it, was long before his time; To him I answer, that *Solomon* says, *Nothing can be spoken; that hath not been spoken; for there is no new thing under the Sun.* But grant, that in his various reading, he had met with this, or a like Sentence; yet reason mixt with Charity should perswade all Readers to believe, That Sir *Henry Wotton's* mind was then so fix'd on that part of the Communion of *Saints* which is above, that an holy *Lethargy* did surprize his *Memory*. For doubtless, if he had not believed himself to be the first Author of what he said, he was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to the publick view, and censure of every *Critick*. And questionless, 'twill be charity in all Readers, to think his mind was then so fix'd on Heaven, that a holy zeal did transport him: and that in this Sacred Extasie, his thoughts were then only of the Church Triumphant, (into which he daily expected his admission). And that Almighty God was then pleased to make him a *Prophet*, to tell the *Church Militant*, and particularly that part of it in this Nation where the weeds of Controversie grow to be daily both more numerous, and more destructive to humble Piety: and where men have Consciences that boggle at Ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and act such sins as the ancient humble Christians belieyed to be a sin to think: and whereas our



## The life of Sir Henry Wotton.

Reverend *Hooker* says, former Simplicity, and softness of Spirit, is not now to be found, because Zeal hath drowned Charity, and Skill Meekness: it will be good to think that these sad changes have proved this *Epitaph* to be an useful Caution unto us of this Nation; and the sad effects thereof in Germany have prov'd it to be a mournful Truth.

This by way of Observation concerning his *Epitaph*: The rest of his *Will* follows in his own words.

Further, I the said Henry Wotton, do constitute and ordain to be joynt Executors of this my last Will & Testament, my two Grand-Nephews, Albert Morton, second son to Sir Robert Morton Knight, late deceased, and Thomas Bargrave, eldest son to Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, Husband to my Right Vertuous and only Niece. And I do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, my most faithful and chosen friends, together with Mr. John Harrison, one of the Fellows of Eaton College, best acquainted with my Books and Pictures, and other Utensils, to be Supervisors of this my last Will and Testament. And I do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, to be Solicitors for such Arrearages as shall appear due unto me from his Majesties Exchequer at the time of my death; and to assist my fore-named Executors in some reasonable and conscientious satisfaction of my Creditors, and discharge of my Legacies now specified; or, that shall be hereafter added unto this my Testament, by any Codicil or Schedule, or left in the hands, or in any Memorial with the aforesaid Mr. John Harrison. And first, To my most dear Sovereign and Master of incomparable Goodness, (in whose gracious opinion, I have ever had some portion, as far as the interest of a plain honest



## The Life of Sir Henry Wotton.

honest man) I leave four Pictures at large of those Dukes of Venice, in whose time I was there imployed, with their Names written on the back side, which hang in my great ordinary Dining-room, done after the Life by Edoardo Fialetto. Likewise a Table of the Venetian College, where Ambassadors had their Audience, hanging over the Mantle of the Chimney in the said Room, done by the same hand, which containeth a draught in little, well resembling the famous D. Leonardo Donato, in a time which needed a wise and constant man. It? The Picture of a Duke of Venice hanging over against the door, done either by Titiano, or some other principal hand long before my time. Most humbly beseeching his Majesty, that the said Pieces may remain in some corner of any of his Houses, for a poor Memorial of his most humble vassal.

It? I leave his said Majesty all the Papers and Negotiations of Sir Nich. Throgmorton Knight, during his famous imployment under Queen Elizabeth, in Scotland and in France, which contain divers secrets of State, that perchance his Majesty will think fit to be preserved in his Paper office, after they have been perused and sorted by Mr. Secretary Windebank, with whom I have heretofore, as I remember, conferred about them. They were committed to my disposal by Sir Arthur Throgmorton, his Son, to whose worthy memory I cannot better discharge my faith, than by assigning them to the highest place of trust. It? I leave to our most Gracious and Vertuous Queen Mary, Dioscorides, with the Plants naturally coloured, and the Text translated by Matthiolo, in the best Language of Tuscany, whence her said Majesty is lineally descended, for a poor token of my thankful devotion, for the honour she was once pleased to do my private study with her presence. I leave to the most hopeful Prince, the Picture of the elected and crown-



## The life of Sir Henry Wotton.

ed *Queen of Bohemia, his Aunt, of clear and resplendent vertues through the clouds of her Fortune. To my Lord's Grace of Canterbury now being, I leave my Picture of Divine Love, rarely copied from one in the King's Galleries, of my presentation to His Majesty : beseeching him to receive it as a pledge of my humble reverence to his great Wisdom. And to the most worthy Lord Bishop of London, Lord High Treasurer of England, in true admiration of his Christian simplicity, and contempt of earthly Pomp ; I leave a Picture of Heraclitus bewailing, and Democritus laughing at the world : Most humbly beseeching the said Lord Archbishop his Grace, and the Lord Bishop of London, of both whose favours I have tasted in my life time, to intercede with our most gracious Sovereign after my death, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, That out of compassionate memory of my long Services ( wherein I more studied the publick Honour, than mine own Utility ) some Order may be taken out of my Arrears due in the Exchequer, for such satisfaction of my Creditors, as those whom I have Ordained Supervisors of this my last Will and Testament shall present unto their Lordships, without their farther trouble : Hoping likewise in His Majestie's most indubitable Goodness, that he will keep me from all prejudice, which I may otherwise suffer by any defect of formality in the Demand of my said Arrears. To——for a poor addition to his Cabinet, I leave as Emblems of his attractive Vertues, and Obliging Nobleness, my great Loadstone ; and a piece of Amber of both kinds naturally united, and only differing in degree of Concoction, which is thought somewhat rare. Item, A piece of Crystal Sexangular, ( as they grow all ) grasping divers several things within it, which I bought among the Rhetian Alps, in the very place where it grew : recommending most humbly unto his Lordship, the reputation of my poor Name in the point of my Debts, as I have*



## The Life of Sir Henry Wotton.

have done to the forenamed Spiritual Lords ; and am heartily sorry, that I have no better token of my humble thankfulness to his honoured Person. It' I leave to Sir Francis Windebank, one of His Majestie's principal Secretaries of State, (whom I found my great Friend in point of Necessity) the four Seasons of old Bassano, to hang near the Eye in his Parlour, (being in little form) which I bought at Venice, where I first entred into his most worthy Acquaintance.

To the abovenamed Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, I leave all my Italian Books not disposed in this Will. I leave to him likewise my Viol de Gamba, which hath been twice with me in Italy, in which Country I first contracted with him an unremoveable Affection. To my other Supervisor Mr. Nicholas Pey, I leave my Chest, or Cabinet of Instruments and Engines of all kinds of Uses: in \* the lower box whereof, are some fit to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest Man as he is. I leave him likewise forty Pound for his pains in the solicitation of my Arrears, and am sorry that my ragged Estate can reach no further to one that hath taken such care for me in the same kind, during all my foreign Employments. To the Library at Eaton College I leave all my Manuscripts not before disposed, and to each of the Fellows a plain Ring of Gold, enamel'd black ; all save the verge, with this Motto within, Amor unit omnia.

\* In it were Italian Locks, Picklocks, Screws to force open doors, and many things of worth and rarity, that he had gathered in his foreign Travel.

This is my last Will and Testament, save what shall be added by a Schedule thereunto annexed. Written on the first of October, in the present year of our Re-



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## The Life of Sir Henry Wotton.

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*demption 1637. And subscribed by my self, with the Testimony of these Witnesses.*

HENRY WOTTON.

Nich. Oudert.

Geo. Lash.

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**A**Nd now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledge of *Events*, I think fit to declare, that every one that was named in his Will, did gladly receive their Legacies ; by which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joyned in assisting the Overseers of his Will ; and by their joynt endeavours to the King (then whom none was more willing) conscionable satisfaction was given for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the Reader, is, That he went usually once a year, if not oftner, to the beloved *Boston-Hall*, where he would say, *he found a cure for all cares, by the cheerful company*, which he called the living furniture of that place : and, *a restoration of his strength by the Connaturalness of that, which he called his genial air.*

He yearly went also to *Oxford*. But the Summer before his death he changed that for a journey to *Winchester-College* ; to which School he was first removed from *Boston*. And as he returned from *Winchester*, towards *Eaton College* ; said to a friend, his Companion in that Journey ; *How useful was that advice of a Holy Monk, who perswaded his friend to perform his Customary devotions in a constant place, because in that place, we usually meet with those very thoughts which possessed us at our last being there ; And I find it thus far experimentally*

*tally*



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tally true ; that, at my now being in that School, and seeing that very place where I sate when I was a Boy, occasioned me to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possessed me ; sweet thoughts indeed, that promised my growing years numerous pleasures, without mixtures of cares ; and those to be enjoyed, when time (which I therefore thought slow pac'd) had changed my youth into manhood : But, age and experience have taught me, that those were but empty hopes : For I have always found it true, as my Saviour did foretel, Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. Nevertheless I saw there a succession of Boyes using the same recreations, and, questionless possessed with the same thoughts that then possessed me. Thus, one generation succeeds another, both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and deaths.

After his return from Winchester to Eaton (which was about five Months before his death) he became much more retir'd, and contemplative ; in which time he was often visited by Mr. John Hales, (learned Mr. John Hales) then a Fellow of that College, to whom upon an occasion he spake to this purpose--I have in my passage to my grave met with most of those Joys of which a discursive soul is capable : and, being entertain'd with more inferior pleasures than the sons of men are usually made partakers of : nevertheless, in this voyage I have not always floated on the calm Sea of Content ; but, have often met with cross winds & storms, and, with many troubles of mind and temptations to evil. And yet, though I have been and am a man compass'd about with humane frailties, Almighty God hath by his grace prevented me from making shipwreck of faith & a good Conscience ; the thought of which is now the joy of my heart, and, I most humbly praise him for it ; And, I humbly acknowledge that it was not my self but he that

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hath



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path kept me to this great age, and, let him take the glory of his great mercy.---And, my dear Friend, I now see that I draw near my harbour of death : that harbour, that will secure me from all the future storms and waves of this restless world ; and, I praise God I am willing to leave it, and expect a better ; that world, wherein dwelleth Righteousness.---These, and the like expressions were then utter'd by him at the beginning of a Feverish distemper, at which time he was also troubled with an *Asthma*, or short spitting ; but after less than twenty fits, by the help of familiar Physick and a spare Diet, this Fever abated, yet so as to leave him much weaker than it found him : and, his *Asthma* seem'd also to be overcome in a good degree by his forbearing *Tobacco*, which, as many thoughtful men do, he also had taken somewhat immoderately.---This was his then present condition ; and, thus he continued till about the end of *October* 1639. which was about a month before his death, at which time, he again fell into a *Fever*, which, though he seem'd to recover, yet these still left him so weak, that they and those other common infirmities that accompany age, and were wont to visit him like civil friends, and, after some short time to leave him ; came now, both oftner and with more violence, and at last took up their constant habitation with him, still weakning his Body and abating his chearfulness : of both which he grew more sensible, and did the oftner retire into his Study, and there made many Papers that had pass'd his Pen both in the days of his youth, and in the busie part of his life, useless, by a fire made there to that purpose.---These and several unusual Expressions to his Servants and Friends, seem'd to foretel that the



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the day of his death drew near : for which , he seem'd to those many friends that observ'd him, to be well prepar'd, and to be both patient, and free from all fear , as several of his Letters writ on this his last sick bed may testify : and thus he continued till about the beginning of *December* following, at which time he was seiz'd more violently with a *Quotidian Fever*, in the tenth fit of which Fever, his better part, that part of *Sir Henry Wotton* which could not die, put off mortality with as much content and chearfulness as humane frailty is capable of ; being then in great tranquillity of mind , and in perfect peace with God and Man.

And thus the Circle of *Sir Henry Wotton's* Life---- (that Circle which began at *Boston*, and in the Circumference thereof, did first touch at *Winchester-School*, then at *Oxford*, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in *Christendom*;) That Circle of his Life, was by *Death* thus closed up and compleated, in the seventy and second year of his Age, at *Eaton-College*, where, according to his Will, he now lies buried, with his Motto on a plain Grave-stone over him; dying, worthy of his Name and Family, worthy of the love and favour of so many Princes, and Persons of eminent Wisdom and Learning, worthy of the trust committed unto him, for the Service of his Prince and Countrey.

*And all Readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy Pen, to have preserved his Memory, and commended his Merits to the imitation of Posterity.*

Iz. Wa.





AN

# ELEGIE

ON

Sir HENRY WOTTON,

WRIT

By Mr. ABRAHAM COWLEY.

**W**hat shall we say, since silent now is he,  
Who when he spoke all things would silent be.  
Who had so many Languages in store,  
That only fame shall speak of him in more.  
Whom England now no more return'd must see :  
He's gone to Heaven, on his fourth Embassie.  
On Earth he travel'd often, not to say  
H'ad been abroad to pass loose time away :  
For, in what ever Land he chanc'd to come.  
He read the men and manners : bringing home  
Their Wisdom, Learning, and their Piety,  
As if he went to Conquer, not to see.  
So well he understood the most and best  
Of Tongues, that Babel sent into the West :  
Spoke them so truly, that he had (you'd swear)  
Not only liv'd, but, been born every where.  
Justly each Nations speech to him was known :  
Who for the World was made, not us alone.

Nor,



## An Elegy on Sir Henry Wotton.

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Nor, ought the Language of that man be less  
Who in his breast had all things to express :  
We say that Learning's endless, and Blame Fate  
For not allowing life a longer date :  
He did the utmost bounds of Knowledge find ;  
And found them not so large as was his mind :  
But, like the brave Pellean youth did moan ,  
Because that Art had no more Worlds than one.  
And, when he saw that he through all had past,  
He dy'd, lest he should Idle grow at last.

A. Cowley.



# MARCO VELSERO

*Duumviro Augustæ Vindelicæ.*

HENRICUS WOTTONIUS

S. O.

**P***Rivatim antehàc ad te aliquoties scripsi ; Nunc causa est ut publicè quoque id faciam : Hac, qualis sit, quaeso audias. Prostabat Francofurti superioribus Nundinis opus quoddam, si molem spectes (quod ferè fit) non sanè de infimis, cum hac inscriptione ;*

*Gasparis Scioppii Ecclesiasticus , authoritati Serenissimi Domini Jacobi Regis oppositus.*

*In quo cum argumento magnam partem novo, tum exemplo nemini adhuc usitato, & cætera quæ eandem modestiam sapiunt.*

*Hujus operi confutor cùm farraginem rerum undecunque emendicaret, videtur nescio quo modo incidere in jocosam Legati definitionem, quam jam ante octennium istàc transiens apud amicum virum Christophorum Fleckamerum fortè posueram in Albo Amicorum more Textonico , his ipsis verbis ; Legatus est vir bonus, peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ. Definitio adeò fortasse catholica, ut complecti possit etiam Legatos à latere. Quid hîc, obsecro, facit Scioppius ? Reserat familiaritatis scrinia, resuscitat, post tot annos, obsoletos sales, jam ipsa vetustate ab inquietudine redemptos ; ornat me, pro humanitate suâ, clementissimâ interpretatione, tanquam id non solùm seriò, sed & jactanter scripsissem ; Neque hoc contentus, conatur quoque intemeratum Optimi Regis nomen per jocos meos in invidiam trahere, quasi Domini præstare tenerentur etiam servorum Insus : Postremò ad honestandam petulantiam suam locum*  
*unum*



## A Letter to Marcus Velserus.

unum atque alterum ex Esaia & Solomone lepidè intermiscet, ut nihil est tutum à profanis ingeniis. Hæc in me fateor cecidisse miro seculo. Quis enim putârat nasciturum hominem impatientem brevis joci super Legatorum licentiâ qui tantum politica agitant, ubi indies videmus ipsam Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ severitatem à quibusdam Equivocationum, mentalium reservationum, & piarum fraudum Magistris tam fœdè constupratam? neque hoc obiter, aut jocosè, aut in Albis Amicorum, ubi vana verâque pari securitate tam scribi quàm depingi solent: sed ex professo, & de suggestu, & cum privilegio & auctoritate Superiorum. Verum Scioppius est qui surrexit. Et quid expectet me responsurum? Sanè memini familiam meam cùm Venetiis essem Anathemate percussam in Paranesi Baronianâ. Memini tum etiam à Gomitulo Jesuitâ Perusino, & ab Antonio Possævino ejusdem farina quædam in me jacta: Quæ quanquam ab exulceratis animis effluerent utcunque tacitus ferebam: Quippe hi erant viri non indignæ estimationis saltem apud suos: & ipsorum authorum qualiscunque claritudo leniebat injuriam: Sed cùm famelicus transfuga & Romanæ curiæ lutulentus circulator scriptitat solum ut prandere possit; Cùm semicoctus Grammaticaster, & nullâ ante hâc solidiore disciplinâ tinctus, Ecclesiastica tractat; Cùm vespillonis, & castrensis Scorti

\* spuma irreverenter in Regem debacchatur, cujus eximia in divinis humanisq; sapientia & constans justî tenor cuicunque vel privato venerationem conciliaret; Cùm homo Germanus exatâ patriâ probitate & modestiâ, nihil aliud per totum opus quàm eversionem Regum Regnorumque spirat; Cùm denique idem os quod Jesuiticam societatem \* Parricidalem Cohortem vocaverat, nunc

\* Lege vulgata de vita & parentibus Scioppi. p. 127.

\* Ibidem p. 132.

postquam



## A Letter to Marcus Vellerus.

\* Ecclesiasticus Scioppii p. 371.

postquam culinas Romæ olere cepit, eandem Prætoriam \* Castrorum Dei cohortem vocat, Quis iniquæ Tam patiens urbis (quæ

istud animal pabulatur) tam ferreus, ut teneat se? Igitur, semotâ omni festivitate, te seriò, te ex animo (Ornatissime Vellere) in hac Epistolâ convenio: orans, obtestânsque per commune humanitatis vinculum, per ejusdem Baptismi, ejusdem symboli conscientiam, ipse velis (pro auctoritate quâ te scio valere apud tuos) istos Scioppios compefcere; ut ejectis è cætu Christiano similibus hominum propudiis, Caussarumque sane vel optimarum dehonestamentis, sua bonis viris existimatio, sua Principibus dignitas maneat: Non vexentur Nundinæ prostutis Parasitorum calamis; Non typi (nobile Germanorum inventum) adeò miserè torqueantur; sequatur deniq; quantum infirmitas nostra ferat, illa Regnorum Ecclesiarumque requies quam nobis commendavit supremus pacis praeceptor simul & exemplum. Quòd si impudentem illam dicacitatem (quam ab infami ortu μάλα ἀναλόγως traxit) non deponere poterit sine magno ventriculi incommodo; saltem dignus est certè cui curtetur esca ob execrandam argutiam quâ sibi videtur vel ipsis Tridentinis

Patribus oculatior. Illi \* Traditiones & Scripturam Sacram pari

\* 8. April. Sess. 4. tantum pietatis affectu & reverentiâ suscipiendas, primi omnium (quod ego sciam) decrevere. At iste novus Ecclesiasticus non in Albo Amicorum, sed pulcherrimi syntagmatis sui, p. 485. majorem traditi quàm scripti verbi Divini auctoritatem blasphemò & pudendo ore pronunciat. Possem sexcentas id genus Scioppietates proferre, sed hoc esset rusparsi sterquilinum. Vale igitur (Vir nobilissime) atque iterum Salve. Londino Nonis Decembribus Julianis. Anno unici Mediatoris nostri 1612.



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TO  
*MARCUS VELSERUS,*

One of the two

Governours of *AUSBURG.*

*HENRY WOTTON* wishing health.

*SIR,*

I Have written to you heretofore sometimes in private, but have a concern upon me now to do it also in publick, of which (with your permission) I desire thus to inform you.

At the last *Frankefurt Mart* there was set to sale a certain Book of Bulk (which often gives the value) not inconsiderable. And it bore this Inscription :

*Jaspar Scioppins* his *Ecclesiasticus* : opposed to the Authority of the most Serene Lord King *James*—wherein as with Arguments for the most part new, and in a way hitherto by no man trac'd—And so on with the like modesty.

The Composer of this Work, in his begging Scraps all about, I know not by what means, seems to have lighted on a merry definition of an Ambassadour, which above eight years before passing by that way, I had chanced to set down at my Friend's, Mr. *Christopher Fleckamore*, in his *Album of Friends*



## A Letter to Marcus Velserus.

Friends, after the *German* custom, (*a white Paper-Book used by the Dutch for such kind of Motto's*) which was worded thus:

*Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipub. causâ.* In English, being only this Jest, *An Ambassador is an honest man sent to lye abroad for the Commonwealth.*

A Definition perhaps so Catholick, that it may comprehend even the Popes Legates; Now what, I pray, think you doth this *Scioppius* hereupon? Throws open the Cabinet of familiarity, after so many years, revives an obsolete conceipt, privileged from disturbance even by its Antiquity, and according to his civility adorns me with a most gentle construction, as if I had written it not only in good earnest, but even with ostentation. Nor satisfi'd with this, he endeavours to draw a blemish from my merriment, upon the untainted reputation of the best of Kings; as if Masters were oblig'd to answer for their Servants triflings. Lastly, To varnish over his perverseness, he puts in a passage or two out of *Esay* and *Solomon* pleasantly, as nothing is secure from a Prophane wit.

This I confess besel me in a wondrous Age; for, who could have imagin'd so ill humour'd a creature likely to be born, whom such a little fancy upon the Licence of Ambassadors (who act only in Politics) should so grievously offend; whereas we daily see the severity it self of holy Writ, so foully adulterated by some that are Masters of Equivocations, pious Frauds, and mental Reservations? And this not by the by, nor in jest, or in the *Album* of Friends, where idle things and truths us'd to be  
set



set down with equal security, but on set purpose; and from the Pulpit, with Privilege and Authority of Superiors? Yea but it is *Scioppius* that has rose up, and what answer from me doth he expect? I remember indeed that being at *Venice*, my Family was struck with an *Anathema* in *Baronius* his *Parænesis*; I remember that then also some things of the like sort were cast at me by *Gomitulus*, a Jesuit of *Perugia*, and by *Anthony Possevin*, which, although they flow'd from galled spirits, yet however I bore in silence, for, these were men of no mean repute; at least at home, and, such eminency as they had, qualifi'd the injury. But when a hungry Renegado, a dirty Sharker about the *Romish* Court, only scribbles that he may dine, and a raw Pedant, not at all vers'd in more solid Learning, falls to treating of Church-matters; when the spawn of a Sexton, and an Ammunition Trull, \* rages with that irreverence against a King, whose eminent knowledge in things divine and humane, and constant evenness of Justice, would beget a veneration to any private Person; when a German quitting the modesty and honesty of his Countrey, breathes nothing throughout his whole Book but the subversion of Kings and Kingdoms; when, finally, the same mouth which had called the Society of the Jesuits, a company of Parricides; and now having begun to smell the *Roman* Kitchens, styles them the *Prætorian Band of God's Militia*: *Quis inique tam pariens Urbis, quæ istud Animal pabulatur, tam ferreus & teheat se?* Who can endure so base a City (that feeds the Beast) or is so insensible as to contain himself?

\* See what is published of the Life and Parents of *Scioppius*, pag. 127.



## A Letter to Marcus Vellserus.

Wherefore (setting aside all lightness) I commune with you by this Letter seriously, and from my heart (most accomplished *Vellserus*) desiring and beseeching you by our common bond of Humanity, by our conscience in the same Faith and Baptism, that (according to the power I know you have amidst your people) you would quell these *Scioppians*, that such scandals of Mankind, and shames even to the best Causes, being banished from Christian Society, good men may retain their esteem, and Princes their Dignity; that your Marts may not be pester'd with the prostituted Pens of Parasites, nor the Press (the brave Invention of the  *Germans* ) be so miserably tormented; and lastly, that (as much as in our weakness lies,) the happy quiet of Kingdoms and Churches may ensue, which the highest Teacher, and example of peace hath commended to us. But if he cannot leave off that impudent scurrility (which from his base extraction he has very suitably contracted) without great inconvenience to his Belly, surely he deserves at least to have his Commons shortned, for that execrable subtilty, whereby he seems to himself quicker-sighted than the Council of *Trent*; for they, first of any (that I know of) decreed, that \* Traditions and holy Scripture were

\* *April 8. Sess. 4.* with equal affection, only, of Piety and Reverence to be

received: But this new Ecclesiastick, not in the *Album* of Friends, but in the 485th Page of his *sine Syntagma*, pronounces with a blasphemous and shameless mouth, that the Authority of Tradition is above the written Word of God. I could



could produce six hundred such *Scioppieties*, but that were to rake a Dunghil. Wherefore farewell most Noble Sir, and again farewell.

From London, Decemb. 2. after the *Julian* Accompt, in the Year of our only Mediatour, 1612.

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TO THE  
Right Worthy Provost  
AND  
PROFESSOR REGIUS  
OF  
DIVINITY  
IN  
CAMBRIDGE.

SIR,

Though my feet cannot perform that Counsel which I remember from some Translation in *Syracides*, *Teras limen sensati viri*, yet I should at least have often visited you with my poor lines: But on the other side, while I durst not trust mine own conceit in the power of my present infirmity, and therefore have seldom written to any, I find

f 2 my



my self in the mean time overcharged with divers Letters from you of singular kindness, and one of them accompanied with a dainty Peaceful Piece, which truly I had not seen before, so as besides the weight of the Subject, it was welcom even for the grace of Newness: Yet let me tell you, I could not but somewhat wonder to find our spiritual *Seneca* (you know whom I mean) among these Reconcilers, having read a former Treatise of his (if my memory fail me not) of a contrary complexion. Howsoever, now let him have his due praise with the rest for shewing his Christian Wisdom and Charity; But I fear, as it was anciently said by a *Roman* General, that *Bellum sese alit*; so it will prove, though in somewhat a different sense, likewise as true of this Church-warfare, *That the very pleasure of Contending will foment Contention till the end of all Flesh.*

But let me leave that Sacred business to our well-meaning Fathers.

And now, Sir, having a fit Messenger, and not long after the time when Love-tokens use to pass between Friends, let me be bold to send you for a New-years-gift a certain Memorial, not altogether unworthy of some entertainment under your roof; namely, a true Picture of *Padre Paolo* the *Servita*, which was first taken by a Painter whom I sent unto him from my House then neighbouring his Monastery. I have newly added thereunto a Title of mine own Conception, *Concilii Tridentini Eviscerator*; and had sent the Frame withal, if it were portable, which is but of plain Deal, coloured Black like the Habit of his Order. You have a luminous Parlour, which I have good cause to remember, not only by delicacy



cate Fare and Freedom ( the Prince of Dishes ; ) but above all, by your own Learned Discourse ; for to dine with you , is to dine with many good Authors : In that Room I beseech you to allow it a favourable place for my sake. And that you may have somewhat to tell of him more than a bare Image, if any shall ask, as in the Table of *Cebes*, Τίς ἐστὶ τὸ δ' ἀγαθόν ; I am desirous to characterize a little unto you such part of his Nature, Customs, and Abilities as I had occasion to know by sight or by enquiry. He was one of the humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of Humanity ; the very Pattern of that Precept, *Quanto doctior Tanto submissior*. And enough alone to demonstrate, That Knowledge well-digested *non inflat*. Excellent in Positive ; excellent in Scholastical and Polemical Divinity. A rare Mathematician, even in the most abstruse parts thereof, as in *Algebra* and the *Theoriques* ; and yet withal so expert in the History of Plants, as if he had never perused any Book but Nature. Lastly, a great Canonist, which was the title of his ordinary service with the State : And certainly in the time of the Pope's Interdict, they had their principal light from him. When he was either reading or writing alone, his manner was to sit fenced with a Castle of Paper about his Chair, and over head : for he was of our Lord of St. *Alban's* opinion, *That all Air is predatory* ; and especially hurtful when the spirits are most employed. You will find a Scar in his Face, that was from a *Roman* Assassinate, that would have killed him as he was turned to a wall near to his Covent : And if there were not a greater Providence about us, it might often have been easily done, especially upon



upon such a weak and wearyish Body. He was of a quiet and settled Temper, which made him prompt in his Counsels and Answers; and the same in Consultation which *Themistocles* was in Action, Ἀποδείξεν ἰκανότατον, as will appear unto you in a passage between him and the Prince of *Conde*. The said Prince in a voluntary journey to *Rome* came by *Venice*, where to give some vent to his own humours, he would often devest himself of his Greatness, and after other less laudable Curiosities, not long before his departure, a desire took him to visit the Famous obscure *Servita*: To whose Cloyster coming twice, he was the first time denied to be within; at the second it was intimated, that by reason of his daily admission to their deliberation in the Palace, he could not receive the Visit of so Illustrious a Personage without leave from the Senate, which he would seek to procure. This set a greater edge on the Prince, when he saw he should confer with one participant of more than Monkish Speculations; so after leave gotten, he came the third time; and then besides other voluntary Discourse (which it were a Tyranny over you to repeat) he assail'd him with a Question enough to have troubled any man but himself, and him too, if a precedent Accident had not eased him: The Question was διαπίνδω this; He desired to be told by him before his going, Who was the true unmasked Author of the late *Tridentine* History?

You must know this, that but newly Advertisement was come from *Rome*, that the Arch-bishop of *Spalato* being then re-arrived from *England*, in an interview between him and the Cardinal *Ludovisio*, Nephew to *Gregory* the XV. the said Cardinal



nal after a complemental welcoming him into the Lap of the Church, told him by order from the Pope, that his Holiness wouldst expect from him some Recantation in Print, as an Antidote against certain Books and Pamphlets which he had published whilst he stood in Revolt. Namely, his first *Manifesto*; Item, Two

Sermons preached at the *Italian Church in London*: Again, a little Tract, entituled his *Scogli*. And lastly, his greater Volumes about Church Regiment, and Controversies. These were all named. For as touching the *Tridentine History*, His Holiness (says the Cardinal) will not press you to any disavowment thereof, though you

have an Epistle before the Original Edition, because we know well enough that Frier *Paolo* is the Father of that Brat. Upon this last Piece of the aforesaid Advertisement, the good Father came fairly off; for on a sudden laying all together, that to disavow the Work was an untruth, to assume it a danger, and to say nothing an incivility; he took a middle evasion, telling the Prince, That he understood he was going to *Rome*, where he might learn at ease who was the Author of that Book, as they were freshly intelligenced from thence.

*Memorandum, That this Recantation was to my knowledg never Printed at Rome, or elsewhere, through more haste belike to his death, or otherwise upon further consideration, that things extorted with fear carry no credit, even by the Prætor's Edict.*

*Quod metus causa.*

Thus without any mercy of your Time, I have been led along from one thing to another, while



## A L E T T E R, &c.

I have taken pleasure to remember that Man whom God appointed and furnished for a proper Instrument to Anatomize that Pack of Reverend Cheaters, among whom (I speak of the greater part, *exceptis sanioribus*) Religion was shuffled like a pair of Cards, and the Dice so many years were set upon us. And so wishing you very heartily many good years, I will let you breathe till you have opened the inclosed, remaining

*Your poor Friend to serve you,*

From the Arms of  
your good Nurse,  
who fed you with  
her best Milk, *Jan.*

17. 1637.

HENRY WOTTON.



THE  
ELEMENTS  
OF  
ARCHITECTURE,

Collected by

HENRY WOTTON Kt,

From the

Best AUTHORS

AND

EXAMPLES.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

1913-1914

FINAL EXAM



# THE PREFACE.

**I** Shall not need (like the most part of Writers) to celebrate the Subject which I deliver ; in that point I am at ease. For Architecture can want no commendation, where there are Noble Men, or Noble Minds, I will therefore spend this Preface, rather about those from whom I have gathered my knowledge : For I am but a gatherer and disposer of other Mens shuff at my best value.

Our principal Master is Vitruvius, and so I shall often call him ; who had this felicity, that he wrote when the Roman Empire was near the pitch : Or at least, when Augustus (who favoured his endeavours) had some meaning (if he were not mistaken) to bound the Monarchie : This, I Tacit. lib. i. Annal. say, was his good hap ; For in growing and enlarging times, Arts are commonly drowned in Action : But on the other side, it was in truth an unhappiness, to express himself so ill, especially writing (as he did) in a season of the ablest Pens ; And his obscurity had this strange fortune, That though he were best practised, and best followed by his own Country-men ; yet after the receiving and repolishing of good Literature (which the combustions and tumults of the middle-age had uncivilized) he was best, or at least, first understood by Strangers : For of all the Italians that took him in hand, those that were Grammarians seem to have wanted Mathematical knowledge ; and the Mathematicians perhaps wanted



wanted Grammar : till both were sufficiently conjoyned, in Leon-Batista Alberti the Florentine, whom I repute the first learned Architect beyond the Alps : But he studied more indeed to make himself an Author, than to illustrate his Master : Therefore amongst his Commenters, I must (for my private conceit) yield the chief praise unto the French, in Philander ; and to the high Germans in Gualterius Rivius : who, besides his Notes, hath likewise published the most elaborate Translation, that I think is extant in any Vulgar Speech of the World: though not without bewailing, now and then, some defect of Artificial terms in his own ; as I must likewise : For if the Saxon (our Mother-tongue) did complain ; as justly, I doubt, in this point may the Daughter : Languages, for the most part, in terms of Art and Erudition, retaining their Original poverty, and rather growing rich and abundant in complemental Phrases and such froth. Touching divers Modern men that have written out of meer practice, I shall give them their due upon occasion.

And now after this short Censure of others, I would fain satisfy an Objection or two, which seem to lye somewhat heavily upon my self : It will be said, That I handle an Art, no way suitable either to my Employments, or to my Fortune. And so I shall stand charged, both with Intrusion, and with Impertinency.

To the first I Answer, That though by the ever-acknowledged goodness of my most dear and gracious Sovereign, and by his long indulgent tolerations of my defects, I have born abroad some part of his civil service ; yet when I came home, and was again resolved into mine own simplicity, I found it fitter for my Pen (at least in this first publick adventure) to deal with these plain Compilements, and tractable Materials, than with the Labyrinths and Mysteries of Courts and States: And less presumption for me, who have long contemplated a famous Republick,



lick, to write now of Architecture, than it was anciently for \* Hippodamus the Melesian, to write of Republicks, who was himself but an Architect. \* Arist. 2. 1. Polit. c. 6.

To the Second, I must shrink up my shoulders, as I have learn'd abroad, and confess, indeed, that my Fortune is very unable to exemplifie and actuate my Speculations in this Art, which yet in truth, made me the rather, even from my very disability, take encouragement to hope, that my present Labour would find the more favour in others, since it was undertaken for no mans sake less than mine own. And with that confidence I fell into these thoughts; of which there were two wayes to be delivered: The one Historical, by description of the principal Works, performed already in good part by Goirgio Vassari in the Lives of Architects. The other Logical, by casting the Rules and Cautions of this Art into some comfortable Method, whereof I have made choice, not only as the shortest and most Elemental, but indeed as the soundest. For though in practical Knowledges, every compleat Example may bear the credit of a Rule; yet peradventure Rules should precede, that we may by them be made fit to judge of Examples: Therefore to the Purpose; for I will Preface no longer.





OF THE  
ELEMENTS  
OF  
ARCHITECTURE.

*The First Part.*

**I**N *Architecture*, as in all other *Operative Arts*, the *End* must direct the *Operation*.

The *End* is to build well.

*Well-building* hath three Conditions, *Commodity*, *Firmness*, and *Delight*.

A common Division among the Deliverers of this *Art*, though I know not how, somewhat misplaced by *Vitruvius* himself, lib. 1. cap. 3. whom I shall be willinger to follow as a Master of *Proportion* than of *Method*.

Now, For the attaining of these *Intentions*, we may consider the whole *Subject* under two general *Heads*.

The



The *Seat*, and the *Work*.

Therefore first touching *Situation*.

The *Precepts* thereunto belonging, do either concern the *Total Posture* (as I may term it) or the *Placing* of the *Parts*; whereof the first sort, howsoever usually set down by *Architects* as a piece of their *Profession*, yet are in truth borrowed from other *Learnings*: there being between *Arts* and *Sciences*, as well as between *Men*, a kind of good fellowship, and communication of their *Principles*.

For you shall find some of them to be meerly *Physical*, touching the quality and temper of the *Air*: which being a perpetual ambient and ingredient, and the defects thereof incorrigible in single *Habitations* (which I most intend) doth in those respects require the more exquisite caution: That it be not too *gross*, nor too *penetrative*; not subject to any foggy noisomness, from *Fenns* or *Marshes* near adjoyning; nor to *Mineral Exhalations*, from the *Soil* it self. Not indigested, for want of *Sun*: Not unexercised, for want of *Wind*: which were to live, as it were, in a *Lake*, or standing *Pool* of *Air*, as *Alberti* the *Florentine Architect* doth ingeniously compare it.

Some do rather seem a little *Astrological*, as when they warn us from places of malign *Influence*, where *Earthquakes*, *Contagions*, *Prodigious Births*, or the like, are frequent without any evident cause, whereof the Consideration is peradventure not altogether vain: some are plainly *Oeconomical*, as that the *Seat* be well watered, and well fuelled; that it be not of too steep and incommodious *Access* to the trouble both of *Friends* and *Family*, that it lie not too far from some *Navigable River*, or *Arm* of the *Sea*, for more ease of *Provision*, and such other *Domestic* notes.



Some again may be said to be *Optical*: such I mean as concern the *Properties* of a well chosen *Prospect*, which I will call the *Royalty of Sight*. For as there is a *Lordship*, as it were, of the *Fee*, wherein the Master doth much joy when he walketh about the *Line* of his own *Possessions*: so there is a *Lordship* likewise of the *Eye*, which being a *Ranging*, and *Imperious*, and (I might say) an *Usurping Sense*, can indure no narrow *Circumscription*; but must be fed both with extent and variety. Yet on the other side, I find vast and indefinite views which drown all apprehensions of the uttermost *Objects*, condemned by good Authors, as if thereby some part of the pleasure, whereof we speak, did perish. Lastly, I remember a private *Caution*; which I know not well how to fort, unless I should call it *Political*: By no means, to build too near a great *Neighbour*, which were, in truth, to be as unfortunately seated on the Earth, as *Mercury* is in the Heavens, for the most part, ever in *combustion* or *obscurity* under brighter beams than his own.

From these several *Knowledges*, as I have said, and perhaps from some other, do *Architects* derive their Doctrine about Election of *Seats*: wherein I have

\* Joannes Heurnius  
Instit. Medicin. lib. 7.  
cap. 2.

not been so severe as a \* great Scholar of our time, who precisely restraineth a perfect *Situation* at least for the main point of health, *Ad locum contra quem Sol radios suos fundit cum sub Ariete oritur*: That is, in a word, he would have the first *Salutation* of the *Spring*. But such *Notes* as these, wheresoever we find them in grave or illight Authors, are to my conceit rather *Wishes* than *Precepts*, and in that quality I will pass them over. Yet I must withal say, That in the *Seating* of our selves (which



(which is a kind of *Marriage* to a *Place*) *Builders* should be as circumspect as *Wooers*, least when all is done, that *Doom* befall us which our Master doth lay upon *Mytelene*: *A Town*, in truth, (saith he) finely built, but foolishly planted. And so much touching that which I termed the *Total Place*.

*Opidum quidem adificatum eleganter, sed imprudenter positum.*

The next in Order is the placing of the *Parts*; About which (to leave as little as I may in my present labour unto *Fancie*, which is wild and irregular) I will propound a Rule of mine own Collection, upon which I fell in this manner. I had noted that all *Art* was then in truest perfection, when it might be reduced to some natural *Principle*. For what are the most judicious *Artizans*, but the *Mimiques* of *Nature*? this led me to contemplate the Fabrick of our own bodies, wherein the *High Architect* of the World had displayed such skill, as did stupify all humane Reason. There I found the *Heart* as the Fountain of Life, placed about the Middle, for the more equal communication of the vital spirits. The *Eyes* seated aloft, that they might describe the greater Circle within their view. The *Arms* projected on each side, for ease of reaching. Briefly (not to lose our selves in this speculation) it plainly appeareth, as a *Maxime* drawn from the Divine Light, That the Place of every part is to be determined by the *Use*.

So then from Natural *Structure*; to proceed to Artificial; and in the rudest things, to preserve some *Image* of the excellentest; Let all the principal Chambers of *Delight*, all *Studies* and *Libraries*, be toward the *East*: for the Morning is a Friend to the Muses. All Offices that require heat, as *Kitchens*, *Stillatories*,



*Stillatories, Stoves*, rooms for *Baking, Brewing, Washing*, or the like, would be *Meridional*. All that need a cool and fresh temper, as *Cellars, Pantrys, Butleries, Granaries*, to the *North*. To the same side likewise all that are appointed for gentle Motion, as *Galleries*, especially in warm Climes, or that otherwise require a steady and unvariable light, as *Pinacotheca* (saith *Vitruvius*) by which he intendeth (if I might guess at his *Greek*, as we must do often even at his *Latin*) certain *Repositories* for Works of Rarity in Picture or other Arts, by the *Italians* called *Studioli*; which at any other Quarter, where the course of the *Sun* doth diversifie the *Shadows*, would lose much of their grace. And by this *Rule*, having alwayes regard to the *Use*, any other part may be fitly accommodated.

I must here not omit to note, That the Ancient *Grecians*, and the *Romans* by their example, in their Buildings abroad, where the *Seat* was free, did almost Religiously situate the *Front* of their Houses towards the South: perhaps that the Masters *Eye*, when he came home might not be dazled, or that being illustrated by the *Sun*, it might yield the more graceful Aspect, or some such reason. But from this the Modern *Italians* do vary, whereof I shall speak more in another place. Let thus much suffice at the present for the *Position* of the several *Members*, wherein must be had, as our Author doth often insinuate, and especially *lib. 6. cap. 10.* a singular regard to the nature of the *Region*: Every Nation being tyed above all Rules whatsoever, to a discretion of providing against their own *Inconveniencies*: And therefore a good *Parlour* in *Egypt*, would perchance make a good *Cellar* in *England*.



There now followeth the second Branch of the general *Section* touching the *Work*.

In the *Work*, I will first consider the *principal* parts, and afterwards the *Accessory* or *Ornaments*; And in the *Principal*, first the preparation of the *Materials*; and then the *Disposition*, which is the *Form*.

Now, concerning the *Material* part; Although surely it cannot disgrace an *Architect*, which doth so well become a Philosopher, to look into the Properties of *Stone* or *Wood*: as that Firr Trees, Cypresses, Cedars, and such other *Aereal* aspiring *Plants*, being by a kind of *natural* rigour (which in a Man I would call Pride) inflexible downwards, are thereby fittest for *Posts* or *Pillars*, or such upright use: that on the other side, Oak, and the like true hearty Timber, being strong in all Positions, may be better trusted in cross and traverse Work; for *Summers*, or girding, or binding *Beams*, as they term them. And so likewise to observe of *Stone*, that some are better within, and other to bear *Weather*: Nay, to descend lower, even to examine *Sand*, and *Lime* and *Clay* (of all which things *Vitruvius* hath discoursed, without any daintiness; and the most of new Writers) I say, though the *Speculative* part of such Knowledge be *liberal*: yet to redeem this profession, and my present pains from indignity; I must here remember, That to choose and sort the *Materials* for every part of the *Fabrick*, is a Duty more proper to a second *Superintendent* over all the Under-Artizans, called (as I take it) by our Author, *Officinator*, lib. 6. cap. 11. and in that place expressly distinguished from the *Architect*, whose glory doth more consist in the *Designment*, and *Idea* of the whole *Work*; and his truest



trueſt ambition ſhould be to make the *Form*, which is the nobler Part, as it were, triumph over the *Matter* : whereof I cannot but mention by the way, a Foreign Pattern; namely, the Church of *Sancta Giuſtana* in *Padoua* : In truth, a ſound piece of good Art, where the *Materials* being but ordinary Stone, without any garniſhment, of *Sculpture*, do yet raviſh the beholder (and he knows not how) by a ſecret *Harmony* in the *Proportions*. And this indeed is that end, at which in ſome degree we ſhould aim even in the privateſt works : whereunto though I make haſt, yet let me firſt collect a few of the leaſt trivial cautions, belonging to the *Material Proviſions*.

*Leon-Batiſta Alberti* is ſo curious, as to wiſh all the *Timber* cut out of the ſame *Foreſt*, and all the *Stone* out of the ſame *Quarry*.

*Philibert de'l Orme* the *French Architect*, goes yet ſomewhat farther, and would have the *Lime* made of the very ſame *Stone*, which we intend to imploy in the *Work*; as, belike, imagining, that they will ſympathize and joyn the better by a kind of *Original* kindred. But ſuch conceits as theſe, ſeem ſomewhat too fine among this *Rubbage*, though I do not produce them in ſport. For ſurely, the like agreements of Nature may have oftentimes a diſcreet application to Art. Always it muſt be confeſſed, that to make *Lime* without any great choice, of reſuſe ſtuff, as we commonly do, is an *English Error* of no ſmall moment in our Buildings. Whereas the *Italians* at this day, and much more the *Ancients*, did burn their firmeſt *Stone*, and even fragments of *Marble* where it was copious, which in time became almoſt *Marble* again, or at leaſt of indiffoluble durity, as appeareth in the ſtanding *Theaters*.



I must here not omit, while I am speaking of this part, a certain form of *Brick* described by *D. Barbaro*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, in the largest Edition of his Commentary upon *Vitruvius*. The Figure *Triangular*, every side a foot long, and some inch and a  $\frac{1}{2}$  thick, which he doth commend unto us for many good conditions: As that they are more commodious in the management, of less expence, of fairer show, adding much beauty and strength to the *Mural Angles*, where they fall gracefully into an indented *Work*: so as I should wonder that we have not taken them into use, being propounded by a man of good authority in this knowledge; but that all Nations do start at *Novelties*, and are indeed married to their own *Moulds*. Into this place might aptly fall a doubt, which some have well moved; whether the ancient *Italians* did burn their *Brick* or no? which a passage or two in *Vitruvius* hath left Ambiguous. Surely, where the *Natural* heat is strong enough to supply the *Artificial*, it were but a curious folly to multiply both *Labour* and *Expence*. And it is besides, very probable, that those *Materials* with a kindly and temperate heat would prove fairer, smother, and less distorted, than with a violent: only they suffer two exceptions. First, that by such a gentle drying much time will be lost, which might otherwise be employed in compiling. Next, that they will want a certain sucking and soaking *Thirstiness*, or a fiery appetite to drink in the *Lime*, which must knit the *Fabrick*. But this question may be confined to the *South*, where there is more Sun and patience. I will therefore not hinder my course, with this incident scruple, but close that part which I have now in hand, about the *Materials*, with a principal caution: That sufficient

Stuff



*Stuff* and *Money* be ever ready before we begin : For when we build now a piece and then another by fits, the *Work* dries and sinks unequally, whereby the *Walls* grow full of *Chinks* and *Crevices* ; therefore such pawlings are well reprov'd by *Palladio* , lib. i. cap. i. and by all other. And so having gleaned these few remembrances, touching the preparation of the *Matter* , I may now proceed to the *Disposition* thereof, which must form the *Work* ; In the *Form*, as I did in the *Seat*, I will first consider the general *Figuration*, and then the several *Members*.

*Figures* are either simple or mixed. The simple be hither *Circular* or *Angular*. And of *Circular* either *Compleat* or *Deficient*, as *Ovals* ; with which kinds I will be contented, though the *Distribution* might be more curious.

Now the exact *Circle* is in truth a *Figure*, which for our purpose hath many fit and eminent properties ; as fitness for *Commodity* and *Receipt*, being the most capable, fitness for strength and duration ; being the most united in his parts ; fitness for beauty and delight, as imitating the *Celestial Orbs*, and the universal *Form*. And it seems besides, to have the approbation of *Nature* , when she worketh by *Instinct*, which is her secret School : For *Birds* do build their *Nests Spherically* : But notwithstanding these *Attributes*, it is in truth a very unprofitable *Figure* in private *Fabricks*, as being of all other the most chargeable, and much room lost in the bending of the *Walls*, when it comes to be divided, besides an ill distribution of *light*, except from the *Center* of the *Roof*. So as anciently it was not usual, save in their *Temples* and *Amphi-Theaters*, which needed no *Compartitions*. The *Ovals* and other imperfect



secular Forms, have the same exceptions, and less benefit of capacity : So as there remains to be considered in this general survey of *Figures*, the *Angular* and the *Mixed* of both ; Touching the *Angular*, it may perchance sound somewhat strangely , but it is a true Observation , That this *Art* doth neither love many *Angles* nor few. For first, the *Triangle*, which hath the fewest sides and corners, is of all other the most condemned, as being indeed both incapable and infirm (whereof the reason shall be afterwards rendred) and likewise unresolvable into any other regular *Form* than it self in the inward *Partitions*.

As for Figures of five, six, seven, or more *Angles*: They are surely fitter for *Military Architecture* (where the Bulwarks may be laid out at the *Corners*, and the sides serve for *Curtains*) than for civil use ; though I am not ignorant of that famous Piece at *Capralora*, belonging to the House of *Farnese*, cast by *Baroccio* into the form of a *Pentagone*, with a Circle inscribed, where the *Architect* did ingeniously wrestle with divers inconveniencies in disposing of the *Lights*, and in saving the vacuities. But as Designs of such nature, do more aim at Rarity than Commodity ; so, for my part, I had rather admire them than commend them.

These things considered, we are both by the Precepts, and by the Practice of the best Builders ; to resolve upon *Rectangular Squares*, as a mean between too few and too many Angles ; and through the equal inclination of the sides ( which make the right Angle ) stronger than the *Rhombe* or *Losenge*, or any other irregular *Square*. But whether the exact *Quadrat*, or the long *Square* be the better, I find not well determined, though in mine own conceit,



I must prefer the latter; provided that the *Length* do not exceed the Latitude above one third part, which would diminish the beauty of the *Aspect*, as shall appear when I come to speak of *Symmetry* and *Proportion*.

Of mixed Figures, partly *Circular*, and partly *Angular*, I shall need to say nothing; because having handled the simple already, the mixed according to their composition, do participate of the same respects. Only against these there is a proper *Objection*, that they offend *Uniformity*: Whereof I am therefore opportunely induced to say somewhat, as far as shall concern the outward *Aspect*, which is now in Discourse.

In *Architecture*, there may seem to be two opposite affectations, *Uniformity* and *Variety*, which yet will very well suffer a good reconcilement, as we may see in the great Pattern of *Nature*, to which I must often resort: For surely, there can be no *Structure* more Uniform than in our *Bodies* in the whole *Figuration*: each side agreeing with the other, both in the number, in the quality, and in the measure of the Parts: and yet some are round, as the *Arms*, some flat, as the *Hands*; some prominent, and some more retired: so as upon the matter we see that *Diversity* doth not destroy *Uniformity*, and that the Limbs of a noble *Fabrick* may be correspondent enough, though they be various; Provided always, that we do not run into certain extravagant Inventions, whereof I shall speak more largely when I come to the parting and casting of the whole *Work*. We ought likewise to avoid Enormous heights of six or seven *Stories*, as well as irregular *Forms*; and the contrary fault of low distended *Fronts*, is as unseemly: Or again, when  
the



the *Face* of the Building is narrow, and the *Flank* deep : To all which extreame some particular Nations or Towns are subject, whose Names may be civilly spared : And so much for the general *Figuration*, or *Aspect* of the *Work*.

Now concerning the Parts in Severalty. All the parts of every *Fabrick* may be comprized under five Heads, which Division I receive from *Barista Alberti*, to do him right. And they be these :

The *Foundation*.

The *Walls*.

The *Appertions*, or *Overtures*.

The *Compartition*.

And the *Cover*.

About all which I purpose to gather the principal Cautions, and as I pass along, I will touch also the natural Reasons of *Art*, that my Discourse may be the less *Mechanical*.

First then concerning the *Foundation* ; which requireth the exactest care ; For if that happen to dance, it will mar all the mirth in the House : Therefore that we may found our Habitation firmly, we must first examine the *Bed* of *Earth* (as I may term it,) upon which we will Build ; and then the underfillings, or *substruction* ; as the Ancients did call it : For the former, we have a general Precept in *Vitruius*, twice precisely repeated by him, as a Point indeed of main consequence ; first, *l. 1. c. 5.* And again more fitly, *l. 3. c. 3.* in these words, as *Philander* doth well correct the vulgar Copies : *Substructionis Foundationes fodiantur* (saith he) *si queant inveniri ad solidum, & in solido*. By which words I conceive him to commend unto us, not only a diligent, but even a jealous examination what the *Soil* will bear : advising us, not to rest upon any

D

appea-



appearing *solidity*, unless the whole *Mould*, through which we cut, hath likewise been *solid*; but how deep we should go in this search, he hath no where to my remembrance determined, as perhaps depending more upon *Discretion*, than *Regularity*, according to the weight of the *Work*; yet *Andrea Palladio* hath fairly adventured to reduce it into Rule: Allowing for that *Cavazione* ( as he calleth it ) a

*Under-dig-  
ging, or Hol-  
lowing of the  
Earth.*

sixth part of the height of the whole *Fabrick*, unless the Cellars be under ground, in which case he would have us ( as it should seem ) to found somewhat lower.

Some *Italians* do prescribe, that when they have chosen the *Floor*, or Plot, and laid out the Limits of the *Work*, we should first of all Dig *Wells* and *Cisterns*, and other Under-conducts, and Conveyances, for the *Suillage* of the House, whence may arise a double benefit: for both the nature of the *Mould* or *Soil*, would thereby be safely searched, and moreover those open vents will serve to discharge such *Vapours*, as, having otherwise no issue, might peradventure shake the Building. This is enough for the natural Grounding; which though it be not a Part of the solid *Fabrick*, yet here was the fittest place to handle it.

There followeth the *Substruction*, or Ground-work of the whole *Edifice*, which must sustain the *Walls*; and this is a kind of *Artificial* Foundation, as the other was *Natural*. About which these are the chief Remembrances: First, that the bottom be precisely level, where the *Italians* therefore commonly lay a Platform of good Board; Then that the lowest *Ledge* or *Row* be meerly of *Stone*, and the broader the better, closely laid, without *Mortar*,  
which



which is a general Caution for all parts in building, that are contiguous to *Board* or *Timber*, because *Lime* and *Wood* are infociable; and if any where unfit *Confiners*, then most especially in the *Foundation*. Thirdly, that the breadth of the *Substruction* be at least double to the *insistent Wall*, and more or less, as the weight of the *Fabrick* shall require; for, as I must again repeat, *Discretion* may be freer than *Art*. Lastly, I find in some a curious precept, that the *Materials* below, be laid as they grew in the *Quarry*, supposing them belike to have most strength in their *Natural* and *Habitual* Posture. For as *Philippe de l'Orme* observeth, the breaking or yielding of a stone in this part, but the breadth of the back of a knife, will make a *Cleft* of more than half a foot in the *Fabrick* aloft: So important are *fundamental Errors*. Among which notes I have said nothing of *Pallification*, or *Pyling* of the *Ground-plot*, commanded by *Vitruvius*, when we build upon a moist or marshy *Soil*, because that were an error in the first choice. And therefore all *Seats* that must use such provision below (as *Venice* for an eminent example) would perhaps upon good enquiry, be found to have been at first chosen by the Counsel of *Necessity*.

Now the *Foundation* being searched, and the *Substruction* laid, we must next speak of the *Walls*.

*Walls* are either entire and continual, or intermitted; and the *Intermissions* be either *Pillars* or *Pylasters*; for here I had rather handle them, then, as some others do, among *Ornaments*.

The entire *Muring* is by Writers diversly distinguished: By some, according to the quality of the *Materials*, as either *Stone* or *Brick*, &c. Where, by the way, let me note, that to build *Walls* and



greater works of *Flint*, whereof we want not example in our *Island*, and particularly in the Province of *Kent*, was (as I conceive) meerly unknown to the *Ancients*, who observing in that *Material*, a kind of *Metalical* Nature, or at least a *Fusibility*, seem to have resolved it into nobler use; an Art now utterly lost, or perchance kept up by a few *Chymicks*. Some again do not so much consider the quality, as the *Position* of the said *Materials*: As when Brick or squared Stones are laid in their lengths with sides and heads together, or their Points conjoyned like a *Net-work* (for so *Vitruvius* doth call it *reticulatum opus*) of familiar use (as it should seem) in his Age, though afterwards grown out of request, even perhaps for that subtil speculation which he himself toucheth; because so laid, they are more apt in swagging down, to pierce with their Points, than in the jacent Posture, and so to crevice the *Wall*: But to leave such cares to the meaner Artificers, the more essential are these:

That the *Walls* be most exactly perpendicular to the *Ground-work*, for the right *Angle* (thereon depending) is the true cause of all *stability*, both in Artificial and Natural Positions: A man likewise standing firmest, when he stands uprightest. That the *Massiest* and heaviest *Materials* be the lowest, as fitter to bear, than to be born. That the *Work*, as it riseth, diminish in *thickness* proportionally, for ease both of weight, and of expence. That certain *Courses* or *Ledges* of more strength than the rest, be interlayed like *Bones*, to sustain the *Fabrick* from total ruine, if the under parts should decay. Lastly, that the *Angles* be firmly bound, which are the *Nerves* of the whole *Edifice*, and therefore are commonly



monly fortified by the *Italians*, even in their Brick buildings, on each side of the corners, with well squared Stone, yielding both strength and grace. And so much touching the entire or solid *Wall*.

The Intermiſſions (as hath been ſaid) are either by *Pillars*, or *Pylaſters*.

*Pillars*, which we may likewise call *Columnes*, (for the word among Artificers is almoſt naturalized) I could diſtinguiſh into *Simple* and *Compounded*. But (to tread the beaten and plaineſt way) there are five *Orders* of *Pillars*, according to their dignity and perfection, thus Marſhalled :

The *Tuſcan*.

The *Dorique*.

The *Ionique*.

The *Corinthian*.

And the *Compound Order*, or as ſome call it, the *Roman*, others more generally the *Italian*.

In which five *Orders*; I will firſt conſider their *Communities*, and then their *Proprieties*.

Their *Communities* (as far as I obſerve) are Principally three. Firſt, they are all *Round*; for though ſome conceive *Columna Atticurgæ*, mentioned by *Vitruvius*, lib. 3. cap. 3. to have been a ſquared Pillar, yet we muſt paſs it over as irregular, never received among theſe *Orders*, no more than certain other licentious inventions, of *Wreathed* and *Vined*, and *Figured Columnes*, which our Author himſelf condemneth, being in his whole Book a profeſſed enemy to *Fancies*.

Secondly, they are all *Diminiſhed* or *Contracted* inſenſibly, more or leſs, according to the proportion of their heights, from one third part of the whole *Shaft* upwards, which *Philander* doth preſcribe by his own precise meafuring of the Ancient



remainders, as the most graceful *Diminution*. And here I must take leave to blame a practice grown (I know not how) in certain places too familiar, of making *Pillars* swell in the middle, as if they were sick of some *Tympany*, or *Dropsie*, without any Authentique Pattern or Rule, to my knowledge, and unseemly to the very judgment of sight. True it is, That in *Vitruvius*, lib. 3. cap. 2. we find these words, *De adjfectione, quæ adjicitur in mediis Columnis, quæ apud Grecos Ἐνλασις appellatur, in extremo libro erit formatio ejus*; which passage seemeth to have given some countenance to this errour. But of the promise there made, as of divers other elsewhere, our Master hath failed us, either by slip of memory, or injury of time, and so we are left in the dark. Always sure I am, that, besides the authority of example which it wanteth, it is likewise contrary to the Original and Natural *Type* in *Trees*, which at first was imitated in *Pillars*, as *Vitruvius* himself observeth, lib. 5. cap. 1. For who ever saw any *Cypress*, or *Pine* (which are there alledged) small below and above, and tumerous in the middle; unless it were some diseased Plant, as Nature (though otherwise the comliest *Mistress*) hath now and then her deformities and *Irregularities*?

Thirdly, they have all their *Under-settings*, or *Pedestals*, in height a third part of the whole *Colonne*, comprehending the *Base* and *Capital*; and their upper Adjuncts, as *Architrave*, *Frize*, and *Cornice*, a fourth part of the said Pillar; which rule, of singular use and facility, I find settled by *Jacobo Baroccio*; and hold him a more credible Author, as a man that most intended this piece, than any that vary from him in those *Dimensions*.

These



These are their most considerable *Communities* and agreements.

Their *Proprieties* or *Distinctions* will best appear by some reasonable description of them altogether, with their *Architraves*, *Friezes*, and *Cornices*, as they are usually handled.

First therefore, the *Tuscan* is a plain, massie, rural Pillar, resembling some sturdy well-limb'd Labourer, homely clad, in which kind of comparisons *Vitruvius* himself seemeth to take pleasure, *lib. 4. cap. 1.* The length thereof shall be six *Diameters*, of the grossest of the Pillar below. Of all proportions, in truth, the most natural; For our Author tells us, *lib. 3. cap. 1.* that the foot of a man is the sixth part of his body in ordinary measure, and *Man* himself according to the saying of *Protagoras* (which *Aristotle* doth somewhere vouchsafe to celebrate) is τὸ πρὸς ἐπὶ πάντων χρεμμάτων μέγεθος, as it were, the *Prototype* of all exact *Symmetrie*, which we have had other occasions to touch before: This *Column* I have by good warrant called *Rural*, *Vitruv. cap. 2. lib. 3.* And therefore we need not consider his rank among the rest. The distance or *Inter-columniation* (which word Artificers do usually borrow) may be near four of his own *Diameters*, because the *Materials* commonly laid over this Pillar, were rather of wood than stone; through the lightness whereof the *Architrave* could not suffer, though thinly supported, nor the *Column* it self, being so substantial. The *Contraction* aloft shall be (according to the most received practice) one fourth part of his thickness below. To conclude, (for I intend only as much as shall serve for a due Distinguishment, and not to delineate every petty member) the *Tuscan* is of all the rudest Pillar, and his Principal Character *Simplicity*.



The *Dorique Order* is the gravest that hath been received into civil use, preserving, in comparison of those that follow, a more *Masculine Aspect*, and little trimmer than the *Tuscan* that went before, save a sober garnishment now and then of *Lions heads* in the *Cornice*, and of *Tryglyphs* and *Metopes* always in the *Frize*. Sometimes likewise, but rarely, channelled, and a little slight Sculpture about the *Hypotrachelion* or *Neck*, under the *Capital*. The length, seven *Diameters*. His rank or degree, is the lowest by all *Congruity*, as being more massie than the other three, and consequently abler to support. The *Intercolumniation*, thrice as much as his thickness below. The *Contraction* aloft, one fifth of the same measure. To discern him, will be a piece rather of good *Heraldry*, than of *Architecture*: For he is best known by his place when he is in company, and by the peculiar ornament of his *Frize* (before mentioned) when he is alone.

The *Ionique Order* doth represent a kind of Feminine slenderness, yet saith *Vitruvius*, not like a light House-wife, but in a decent dressing, hath much of the *Matron*. The length eight *Diameters*. In degree as in substantialness, next above the *Dorique*, sustaining the third, and adorning the second Story. The *Intercolumniation* two of his own *Diameters*. The *Contraction* one sixth part. Best known by his trimmings, for the body of this *Columnne* is perpetually channelled, like a thick pleighted Gown. The *Capital* dressed on each side, not much unlike Womens Wires, in a spiral wreathing, which they call the *Ionian Voluta*. The *Cornice* indented. The *Frize* swelling like a pillow: And therefore by *Vitruvius*, not unelegantly termed *Pulvinata*. These are his best *Characteri*.



The *Corinthian*, is a *Columnne*, lasciviously decked like a *Curtezan*, and therein much participating (as all inventions do) of the place where they were first born : *Corinth* having been (without controverſie) one of the wantoneſt Towns in the world. This *Order* is of nine *Diameters*. His degree, one Stage above the *Ionique*, and always the higheſt of the ſimple *Orders*. The *Intercolumniation* two of his *Diameters*, and a fourth part more, which is of all other the comlieſt diſtance. The *Contraction* one ſeventh part. In the *Cornice* both Our Artizans *Dentelli* and *Modiglioni*. The *Frize*, call them adorned with all kinds of *Figures* Teeth and and various *Compartments* at Pleaſure. The *Capitals*, cut into the Cartouzes, beautifulleſt leaf, that Nature doth yield ; which ſurely, next the *Aconitum Pardalianches* (rejeſted-perchance as an ominous Plant) is the *Acanthus*, or *Brancha Urſina*; though *Vitruvius* doth impute the choice thereof unto Chance, and we muſt be contented to believe him : In ſhort, as *Plainneſs* did Characterize the *Tuſcan*, ſo muſt *Delicacy* and *Variety* the *Corinthian* Pillar ; beſides the height of his Rank.

The laſt is the *Compounded Order* : His name being a brief of his nature. For this Pillar is nothing in effect, but a medly, or an amaffe of all the precedent *Ornaments*, making a new kind, by ſtealth ; and though the moſt richly tricked, yet the pooreſt in this, that he is a borrower of all his Beauty. His length (that he may have ſomewhat of his own) ſhall be of ten *Diameters*. His degree ſhould, no doubt, be the higheſt, by reaſons before yielded. But few *Palaces*, Ancient or Modern, exceed the third of the *Civil Orders*. The

Inter-



*Intercolumniation* but a *Diameter* and an half, or always somewhat less than two, The Contraction of this Pillar must be one eighth Part less above than below. To know him will be easie by the very mixture of his *Ornaments*, and *Clothing*.

And so much touching the five *Orders* of *Columnnes*, which I will conclude with two or three not impertinent *Cautions* :

First, that where more of these *Orders* than one, shall be set in several *Stories* or *Contignations*, there must be an exquisite care to place the *Columnnes* precisely one over another, that so the *solid* may answer to the *solid*, and the *vacuities* to the *vacuities*, as well for *Beauty* as strength of the *Fabrick*: And by this *Caution* the *Consequence* is plain, that when we speak of the *Intercolumniation* or *Distance* which is due to each *Order*, we mean in a *Dorique*, *Ionical*, *Corinthian* *Porch*, or *Cloister*, or the like of one *Contignation*, and not in *Storied* buildings.

Secondly, Let the *Columnnes* above be a fourth part less than those below, saith *Vitruvius*, lib. 5. cap. 1. A strange *Præcept* in my opinion; and so strange, that peradventure it were more suitable, even to his own *Principles*, to make them rather a fourth part greater. For lib. 3. cap. 2. where our Master handleth the *Contractions* of Pillars, we have an *Optique* Rule, that the higher they are, the less should be always their diminution aloft, because the *Eye* it self doth naturally contract all *Objects* more or less, according to the *Distance*; which *Consideration* may, at first sight, seem to have been forgotten in the *Caution* we have now given; but *Vitruvius* (the best Interpreter of himself) hath in the same place of his fifth Book well acquitted his *Memory* by these words: *Columnne superiores quarta parte*



*parte minores, quàm inferiores, sunt constituenda; propterea quòd, operi ferendo quæ sunt inferiora, firmitiora esse debent; preferring like a wise Mechanick, the natural Reason before the Mathematica', and sensible conceits before abstracted. And yet lib. 4. cap. 4. he seemeth again to affect Subtilty, allowing Pillars the more they are channeled, to be the more slender; because while our Eye (saith he) doth as it were distinctly measure the eminent and the hollowed parts, the Total Object appeareth the bigger, and so as much as those excavations do subtract, is supplied by a Fallacy of the Sight: But here me thinks, our Master should likewise have rather considered the natural inconvenience; for though Pillars by channeling, be befeemingly ingrossed to our Sight, yet they are truly weakned in themselves; and therefore ought perchance in sound reason not to be the more slender, but the more corpulent, unless apparences preponder truths; but *Contra Magistrum non est disputandum.**

A Third Caution shall be, that all the projected or jutting parts (as they are termed) be very moderate especially, the *Cornices* of the lower Orders; for whilst some think to give them a beautiful and royal Aspect by their largeness, they sometimes hinder both the Light within, (whereof I shall speak more in due place) and likewise detract much from the view of the *Front* without, as well appeareth in one of the principal Fabricks at *Venice*, namely, the Palace of the Duke *Grimani* on the *Canal Grande*, which by this magnificent error, is somewhat disgraced: I need now say no more concerning *Columpes* and their *Adjuncts*, about which Architects make such a noise in their Books,



as if the very terms of *Architraves*, and *Frizes*, and *Cornices*, and the like, were enough to graduate a Master of this *Art*; yet let me before I pass to other matter, prevent a familiar Objection; It will perchance be said, that all this Doctrine touching the five *Orders*, were fitter for the *Quarries* of *Asia*, which yielded 127 *Columnes* of 600 Foot high to the *Ephesian Temple*; or for *Numidia*, where *Marbles* abound, than for the *Spirits* of *England*, who must be contented with more ignoble *Materials*: To which I answer, That this need not discourage us: For I have often at *Venice*, viewed with much pleasure, an *Atrium Græcum* (we may translate it an *Antiporch*, after the Greek manner) raised by *Andrea Palladio*, upon eight *Columnes* of the compounded Order: The *Bases* of Stone, without *Pedestals*: The *Shafts* or Bodies of meer Brick, three Foot and an half thick in the *Diameter* below, and consequently thirty five Foot high, as himself hath described them in his second Book: Than which, mine Eye hath never yet beheld any *Columnes* more stately of Stone or Marble; For the Bricks having first been formed in a circular Mould, and then cut before their burning into four Quarters or more, the sides afterwards joyn so closely, and the points concenter so exactly, that the *Pillars* appear one entire Piece; which short description I could not omit, that thereby may appear, how in truth we want rather *Art* than Stuff, to satisfy our greatest *Fancies*.

After *Pillars*, the next in my distribution are *Pylasters*, mentioned by *Vitruvius*, lib. 5. cap. 1. and scant any where else under the name of *Parastates*, as *Philander* conceiveth, which Grammatical Point (though perchance not very clear) I am content-



ed to examine no further. Always, what we mean by the thing it self is plain enough in our own vulgar ; Touching which, I will briefly collect the most considerable Notes.

*Pylasters* must not be too tall and slender, lest they resemble *Pillars* ; nor too *Dwarfish* and gross, lest they imitate the *Piles* or *Peers* of Bridges ; Smoothness doth not so naturally become them, as a Rustick *Superficies* ; for they aim more at *State* and *Strength*, than *Elegancy*. In private Buildings they ought not to be narrower than one Third, nor broader than two parts of the whole Vacuity between *Pylaster* and *Pylaster* ; but to those that stand at the Corners, may be allowed a little more Latitude by discretion, for strength of the *Angles* : In *Theaters* and *Amphi-theaters*, and such weighty Works, *Palladio* observeth them, to have been as broad as the half, and now and then as the whole Vacuity : He noteth likewise (and others consent with him) that their true *Proportion* should be an exact *Square* ; But for lessening of expence, and enlarging of room, they are commonly narrower in *Flank*, than in *Front* : Their principal *Grace* doth consist in half or whole *Pillars* applied unto them ; in which case it is well noted by Authors, that the Columns may be allowed somewhat above their ordinary length, because they lean unto so good *Supporters*. And thus much shall suffice touching *Pylasters*, which is a cheap, and a strong, and a noble kind of *Structure*.

Now because they are oftner, both for Beauty, and Majesty, found *arched*, than otherwise ; I am here orderly led to speak of *Arches*, and under the same head of *Vaults* : for an *Arch* is nothing indeed but a contracted *Vault*, and a *Vault* is but a dilated *Arch* :



*Arch* : Therefore to handle this Piece both compendiously , and fundamentally, I will resolve the whole business into a few *Theorems*.

*Theorem 1.*

All solid *Materials* free from impediment , do descend *perpendicularly* downwards, because *Ponderosity* is a natural inclination to the Center of the World, and *Nature* performeth her Motions by the shortest lines.

*Theorem 2.*

Bricks moulded in their ordinary *Rectangular* form, if they shall be laid one by another in a level row , between any Supporters sustaining the two ends , then all the pieces between will necessarily sink , even by their own natural *Gravity* ; and much more , if they suffer any depression by other weight above them, because their sides being *parallel* , they have room to descend *perpendicularly*, without impeachment , according to the former *Theorem* ; Therefore to make them stand, we must either change their *Posture* , or their *Figure*, or both.

*Theorem 3.*

If Bricks moulded , or Stones squared *Cuneatim*, (that is , *Wedge-wise* , broader above than below) shall be laid in a *Row-level* , with their ends supported, as in the precedent *Theorem*, pointing all to one *Center* ; then none of the pieces between can sink till the *Supporters* give way, because they want  
room



room in that *Figuration*, to descend perpendicularly. But this is yet a weak piece of *Structure*, because the *Supporters* are subject to much impulsion, especially if the *Line* be long; for which reason this *Form* is seldom used, but over *Windows*, or narrow *Doors*. Therefore to fortifie the *Work*, as in this third *Theorem*, we have supposed the *Figure* of all the *Materials* different from those in the second: So likewise we must now change the *Posture*, as will appear in the *Theorem* following.

#### Theorem 4.

If the *Materials* figured as before *Wedge-wise*, shall not be disposed levelly, but in form of some *Arch*, or portion of a *Circle*, pointing all to the same *Center*, In this case neither the pieces of the said *Arch* can sink downwards, through want of room to descend \* perpendicularly; Nor the *Supporters* or *Butments* (as they are termed) of the said *Arch* can suffer so much violence, as in the precedent flat posture; for the roundness will always make the incumbent weight rather to rest upon the *Supporters*, than to shove them; whence may be drawn an evident *Corollary*: That the safest of all *Arches* is the *Semi-circular*, and of all *Vaults* the *Hemisphere*, though not absolutely exempted from some natural weakness, \* as *Bernardino Baldi*, Abbot of *Gnastalla*, in his *Commentary* upon *Aristotle's Mechanicks*, doth very well prove: where let me note, by the way, that when any thing is *Mathematically* demonstrated weak, it is much more *Mechanically* weak: Errours ever occurring more easily

\* By the first Theor.

\* Which is the sole Prerogative of Perpendicular Lines, and right Angles.



easily in the management of *Gross Materials*, than *Lineal Designs*.

Theorem 5.

As Semi-circular *Arches*, or Hemispherical *Vaults*, being raised upon the total *Diameter*, be of all other the roundest, and consequently the securest, by the precedent *Theorem*: So those are the gracefullest, which keeping precisely the same height, shall yet be distended one fourteenth part longer than the said entire *Diameter*; which addition of distent will confer much to their *Beauty*, and detract but little from their *Strength*.

This Observation I find in *Leon-Batista Alberti*; But the practice how to preserve the same height, and yet distend the Arms or Ends of the Arch, is in *Albert Durers Geometry*, who taught the *Italians* many an excellent *Line* of great use in this *Art*.

Upon these five *Theorems*, all the skill of *Arch-ing* and *Vaulring* is grounded: As for those *Arches*, which our Artizans call of the third and fourth point, And the *Tuscan* Writers *di terzo*, and *di quarto acuto*, because they always concur in an acute Angle, and do spring from division of the *Diameter* into three, four, or more parts, at pleasure; I say, such as these, both for the natural imbecility of the sharp Angle it self, and likewise for their very *Uncomeliness*, ought to be exiled from judicious eyes, and left to their first Inventors, the *Goths* or *Lumbards*, amongst other *Reliques* of that barbarous Age.

Thus of my first *Partition* of the parts of every *Fabrick*, into five Heads, having gone through the



two former, and been incidently carried into this last Doctrine touching *Arches* and *Vaults*. The next now in order are the *Apertions*; under which term I do comprehend *Doors*, *Windows*, *Stair-Cases*, *Chimneys*, or other *Conduits*: In short, all *In-lets*, or *Out-lets*; To which belong two general Cautions.

First, That they be as few in number, and as moderate in Dimension, as may possibly consist with other due respects: for in a word, all *Openings* are *Weaknings*.

Secondly, That they do not approach too near the *Angles* of the Walls; for it were indeed a most essential *Solecisme*, to weaken that part which must strengthen all the rest: A precept well recorded, but ill practised by the *Italians* themselves, particularly at *Venice*, where I have observed divers *Pericoli*, or *Meneina* (as *Vitruvius* seemeth to call them, which are certain ballised out-standings to satisfy curiosity of sight) very dangerously set forth, upon the very point it self of the *Mural Angle*.

Now, Albeit I make haste to the casting and comparing of the whole *Work*, (being indeed the very Definitive Summ of this Art, to distribute usefully and gracefully a well chosen Plot) yet I will first under their several Heads, collect briefly some of the choicest notes belonging to these particular *Overtures*.

### Of *Doors* and *Windows*.

THESE *In-lets* of *Men* and of *Light*, I couple together, because I find their Dimensions brought under one Rule by *Leon Alberti* (a learn-



ed Searcher) who from the School of *Pythagoras* (where it was a fundamental *Maxime*, that the *Images* of all things are latent in *Numbers*) doth determine the comliest proportion between breadths and heighths; Reducing *Symmetry* to *Symphony*, and the *Harmony* of *Sound*, to a kind of *Harmony* in *Sight*, after this manner: The two principal Consonances, that most ravish the Ear, are by consent of all Nature, the *fifth*, and the *octave*; whereof the first riseth radically from the proportion between *two* and *three*; The other from the double *Interval*, between *one* and *two*, or between *two* and *four*, &c. Now if we shall transport these proportions from Audible to Visible *Objects*; and apply them as they shall fall fittest (the nature of the place considered) namely, in some *Windows* and *Doors*, the *Symmetry* of *two* or *three* in their Breadth and Length; in others, the double as aforesaid; There will indubitably result from either a graceful and *harmonious* contentment to the Eye: Which speculation, though it may appear unto vulgar *Artizans*, perhaps too subtil, and too sublime, yet we must remember, that *Vitruvius* himself doth determine many things in his profession, by *Musical* Grounds, and much commendeth in an *Architect* a *Philosophical* Spirit; that is, he would have him (as I conceive it) to be no superficial, and floating *Artifiser*; but a *Diver* into *Causes*, and into the *Mysteries* of *Proportion*. Of the *Ornaments* belonging both to *Doors* and *Windows*, I shall speak in other place; but let me here add one Observation; That our *Master* (as appeareth by divers passages, and particularly *lib. 6. cap. 9.*) seems to have been an extream Lover of *Luminous Rooms*; And indeed, I must confess, that



that a Frank Light can mis-become no *Edifice*, whatsoever, *Temples* only excepted; which were anciently dark, as they are likewise at this day in some Proportion. *Devotion* more requiring collected than diffused Spirits. Yet on the other side, we must take heed to make a House (though but for civil use) all Eyes, like *Argus*, which in Northern Climes would be too cold, in Southern too hot: and therefore the matter indeed importeth more than a merry comparison. Besides, There is no part of *Structure* either more expenceful than *Windows*, or more ruinous; not only for that vulgar reason, as being exposed to all violence of weather; but because consisting of so different and unfociable pieces, as *Wood*, *Iron*, *Lead* and *Glass*, and those small and weak, they are easily shaken; I must likewise remember one thing (though it be but a *Grammatical Note*) touching *Doors*. Some were *Fores* and some were *Valve*. Those (as the very word may seem to import) did open outwards, these inwards, and were commonly of two *Leaves* or *Panes*, (as we call them) thereby requiring indeed a lesser *Circuit* in their *unfoldings*; and therefore much in use among *Italians* at this day: But I must charge them with an Imperfection, for though they let in as well as the former, yet they kept out worse.

### Of Stair-cases.

TO make a compleat *Stair - case*, is a curious piece of *Architecture*: The vulgar Cautions are these:

That it have a very liberal *Light*, against all Casualty of *Slips* and *Falls*.



That the space above the Head, be large and *Aery*, which the *Italians* use to call *Un bels-fogolo*, as it were good *Ventilation*, because a man doth spend much breath in mounting.

That the *Half paces* be well distributed at competent distances, for reposing on the way.

That to avoid *Encounters*, and besides to gratifie the beholder, the whole *Stair-Case* have no niggard *Latitude*, that is, for the principal *Ascent*, at least ten foot in *Royal Buildings*.

That the *Breadth* of every single *Step* or *Stair* be never less than one foot, nor more than eighteen inches.

That they exceed by no means half a foot in their height or thickness, for our *Leggs* do labour more in *Elevation*, than in *Distention*: These I say are familiar remembrances; to which let me add,

That the steps be laid where they joyn *Con un tantino di scarpa*; we may translate it somewhat *sloping*, that so the foot may in a sort both ascend and descend together, which though observed by few, is a secret and delicate deception of the pains in mounting.

Lastly, to reduce this Doctrine to some *Natural* or at least *Mathematical* ground, (our *Master*, as we see, *lib. 9. cap. 2.*) borroweth those proportions that make the sides of a *Rectangular Triangle*, which the Ancient School did express in lowest terms, by the numbers of *Three*, *Four*, and *Five*: That is *Three* for the *Perpendicular*, from the *Stair-head* to the ground; *Four* for the *Ground-line* it self, or *Recession* from the wall; and *Five* for the whole *Inclination* or slopeness in the ascent; which proportion, saith he, will make *Temperatas graduum librationes*. Hitherto of *Stair-Cases*, which are direct:  
There



There are likewise *Spiral*, or *Cockle Stairs*, either *Circular*, or *Oval*, and sometimes running about a *Pillar*, sometimes vacant, wherein *Palladio*, (a man in this point of singular felicity) was wont to divide the *Diameter* of the first sort into three parts, yielding one to the *Pillar*, and two to the *Steps*; Of the second into four, whereof he gave two to the *Stairs*, and two to the *Vacuity*, which had all their light from above. And this in exact *Ovals* is a Master-piece.

### Of Chimneys.

**I**N the present business, *Italians* (who make very frugal fires) are perchance not the best Counsellors. Therefore from them we may better learn, both how to raise fair *Mantels* within the rooms, and how to disguise gracefully the shafts of Chimneys abroad (as they use) in sundry forms, (which I shall handle in the latter part of my Labour) and the rest I will extract from *Philippe de l'Orme*; in this part of his *Work* more diligent than in any other; or, to do him right, than any man else.

First, he observeth very soberly, that who in the disposition of any Building will consider the nature of the *Region*, and the *Winds* that ordinarily blow from this, or that *Quarter*; might so cast the rooms which shall most need fire, that he should little fear the incommodity of *Smoke*: and therefore he thinks that inconvenience, for the most part, to proceed from some inconsiderate beginning. Or if the error lay not in the *Disposition*, but in the *Structure* it self; then he makes a *Logical* enquiry, that either the *Wind* is too much let in



above, at the mouth of the *Shaft*, or the *Smaock* filled below : If none of these, then there is a repulsion of the *Fume*, by some higher *Hill* or *Fabrick*, that shall overtop the *Chimney*, and work the former effect : If likewise not this, than he concludes, that the Room which is infested, must be necessarily both little and close, so as the *smoak* cannot issue by a natural *Principle*, wanting a succession and supply of new *Air*.

Now, in these cases he suggesteth divers Artificial Remedies, of which I will allow one a little *Description*, because it savoureth of *Philosophy*, and was touched by *Vitruvius* himself, *lib. 1. cap. 6.* but by this man ingeniously applyed to the present use : He will have us provide two hollow *brass Balls*, of reasonable capacity, with little holes open in both, for reception of *Water* when the *Air* shall be first sucked out ; One of these we must place with the hole upwards, upon an *Iron Wire*, that shall traverse the *Chimney*, a little above the *Mantel*, at the ordinary height of the sharpest heat or flames, whereof the *Water* within being rarified, and by rarification resolved into *Wind*, will break out, and so force up the *smoak*, which otherwise might linger in the *Tunnel*, by the way, and oftentimes revert ; With the other, (saith he) we may supply the place of the former, when it is exhausted ; or for a need blow the *Fire* in the mean while : Which Invention I have interposed for some little entertainment of the Reader ; I will conclude with a note from *Palladio*, who observed that the *Ancients* did warm their Rooms with certain secret *Pipes* that came through the Walls, transporting heat (as I conceive it) to sundry parts of the House from one common *Furnace* ; I

am



am ready to Baptize them *Caliducts*, as well as they are termed *Ventiducts*, and *Aquaducts*, that convey Wind and Water; which whether it were a custom or a delicacy, was surely both for thrift, and for use, far beyond the *German Stoves*; and I should prefer it likewise before our own fashion, if the very sight of a fire did not add to the Room a kind of *Reputation*, \* as old *Homer* doth teach us in a Verse, sufficient to prove that himself was not blind, as some would lay to his charge.

\* Αἰδοῦνός τ'  
πυρὸς ἡε-  
ρώτερόν τι  
καὶ Ἰνός,  
*Hom. Epig.*

Touching *Conducts* for the *Suillage*, and other necessities of the House, (which how base soever in use, yet for health of the Inhabitants, are as considerable, and perhaps more than the rest) I find in our Authors, this Counsel; That *Art* should imitate *Nature*, in those ignoble conveyances; and separate them from sight, (where there wants a running Water) into the most remote and lowest, and thickest part of the *Foundation*: with secret vents passing up through the Walls like a *Funnel*, to the wild Air aloft: which all *Italian Artizans* commend for the discharge of noisome vapours though else-where to my knowledge, little practised.

Thus having considered the precedent *Aperitions*, or *Overtures* in severalty, according to their particular Requisites, I am now come to the casting and *Contexture* of the whole *Work*, comprehended under the term of *Compartition*: Into which (being the mainest piece) I cannot enter without a few general Precautions, as I have done in other parts.

First therefore, let no man that intendeth to  
E 4 build,



build, settle his Fancy upon a draught of the *Work* in *Paper*, how exactly soever measured, or neatly set off in *Perspective*; and much less upon a bare *Plant* thereof, as they call the *Sciographia* or *Ground lines*; without a *Model* or *Type* of the whole *Structure*, and of every parcel and Partition in *Pastboard* or *Wood*.

Next, that the said *Model* be as plain as may be, without colours, or other beautifying, least the pleasure of the *Eye* pre-occupate the *Judgment*, which advice, omitted by the *Italian Architects*, I find in *Philippe de l'Orme*; and therefore (though *France* be not the *Theater* of best buildings) it did merit some mention of his name.

Lastly, the bigger that this *Type* be, it is still the better, not that I will persuade a man to such an enormity, as that *Model* made by *Antonio Labaco* of *St. Peters Church* in *Rome*, containing 22 foot in length, 16 in breadth, and 13 in height, and costing 4184 Crowns: The price, in truth, of a reasonable Chappel: yet in a Fabrick of some 40 or 50 thousand pounds charge, I wish 30 pounds at least laid out before hand in an exact *Model*; for a little misery in the *Premises*, may easily breed some absurdity of greater charge, in the *Conclusion*.

Now, after these premonishments, I will come to the *Compartition* it self, By which, the Authors of this *Art* (as hath been touched before) do understand, a graceful, and useful distribution, of the whole *Ground-plot*, both for rooms of *Office*, and of *Reception* or *Entertainment*, as far as the Capacity thereof, and the nature of the Country will comport. Which circumstances in the present subject, are all of main consideration, and might yield more dis-



discourse than an *Elemental Rapsodie* will permit. Therefore (to anatomize briefly this Definition) the *gracefulness* (whereof we speak) will consist in double *Analogy*, or correspondency. First between the *parts* and the *whole*, whereby a great *Fabrick* should have great *Partitions*, great *Lights*, great *Entrances*, great *Pillars* or *Pylasters*: In sum, all the *Members* great. The next between the parts themselves, not only, considering their *Breadths* and *Lengths*, as before when we spoke of *Doors* and *Windows*; but here likewise enter a third respect of *Height*, a point (I must confess) hardly reduceable to any general precept.

True it is, that the *Ancients* did determine the *Longitude* of all *Rooms*, which were longer than broad, by the double of their *Latitude*, *Vitruvius lib. 6. cap. 5.* And the *Height* by the half of the breadth and length summed together. But when the Room was precisely square, they made the *Height* half as much more as the *Latitude*; which Dimensions the *Modern Architects* have taken leave to vary, upon discretion: sometimes squaring the *Latitude*, and then making the *Diagonal* or overthwart Line, from *Angle* to *Angle*, of the said *Square*, the measure of the *Height* sometimes more but seldom lower than the full breadth it self; which boldness of quitting the old *Proportions*, some attribute first to *Michael Angelo da Buonarroti*, perchance upon the credit he had before gotten in two other Arts.

The second Point is *Usefulness*, which will consist in a sufficient *Number* of *Rooms*, of all sorts, and in their apt *Coherence*, without *distracti*on, without *confusion*; so as the beholder may not only call it *Una Fabrica ben raccolta*, as *Italians* use to speak of well



well united Works, but likewise, that it may appear *airy* and *spirituous*, and fit for the welcome of chearful Guests; about which the principal Difficulty will be in contriving the *Lights*, and *Stair-cases*, whereof I will touch a note or two: For the first, I observe that the ancient *Architects* were at much ease. For both the *Greeks* and *Romans* (of whose private dwellings *Vitruvius* hath left us some Description) had commonly two *cloistered* open *Courts*, one serving for the *Womens* side, and the other for the *Men*; who yet perchance now a days would take so much separation unkindly. Howsoever by this means, the reception of *Light* into the Body of the building, was very prompt, both from without and from within: which we must now supply, either by some open *Form* of the *Fabric*, or among graceful refuges, by *Tarracing* any *Story*, which is in danger of darkness; or lastly by perpendicular *Lights* from the *Roof*, of all other the most natural, as shall be shewed anon. For the second Difficulty, which is casting of the *Stair-Cases*; That being in it self no hard point, but only as they are incumbrances of room for other use, (which lights were not) I am therefore aptly moved here to speak of them. And first of *Offices*.

I have marked a willingness in the *Italian Artizans*, to distribute the *Kitchen*, *Pantry*, *Bakehouse*, *washing-Rooms*: and even the *Buttery* likewise, under ground, next above the *Foundation*, and sometimes level with the plain, or *Floor* of the *Cellar*: raising the first Ascent into the House fifteen Foot, or more, for that end; which besides the benefit of removing such annoies out of sight, and the gaining of so much more room above, doth also



by elevation of the *Front*, add *Majesty* to the whole *Aspect*. And with such a disposition of the principal *Stair-Case*, which commonly doth deliver us into the *Plain* of the second *Story*, there may be wonders done with a little room, whereof I could alledge brave *Examples* abroad ; and none more Artificial and Delicious, than a House built by *Daniele Barbaro* Patriarch of *Aquileia*, before mentioned, among the memorable *Commenters* upon *Vitruvius*. But the *Definition* (above determined) doth call us to some consideration of our own Country ; where though all the other petty *Offices* (before rehearsed) may well enough be so remote, yet by the natural *Hospitality* of *England*, the *Buttery* must be more visible, and we need perchance for our *Ranges*, a more spacious and luminous *Kitchen* than the foresaid compartition will bear ; with a more competent nearness likewise to the *Dining Room*, or else besides other Inconveniences ; perhaps some of the Dishes may straggle by the way. Here let me note a common defect, that we have of a very useful *Room*, called by the *Italians*, *Il tinello* ; and familiar, nay almost essential, in all their great *Families*. It is a place properly appointed to conserve the meat that is taken from the Table till the Waiters eat, which with us by an old fashion, is more unseemly set by in the mean while .

Now touching the distribution of *Lodging-Chambers* ; I must here take leave to reprove a fashion, which I know not how, hath prevailed through *Italy*, though without ancient examples, as far as I can perceive by *Vitruvius*. The thing I mean, is that they so cast their *partitions*, as when all *Doors* are open, a man may see through the whole



whole *House*, which doth necessarily put an intolerable servitude upon all the *Chambers* save the *Inmost*, where none can arrive but through the rest; or else the *Walls* must be extream thick for secret passages. And yet this also will not serve the turn, without at least *Three* doors to every *Room*: A thing most insufferable in cold and windy Regions, and every where no small weakning to the whole *Work*: Therefore with us that want no cooling, I cannot commend the direct opposition of such *Overtures*, being indeed merely grounded upon the fond ambition of displaying to a *Stranger* all our *Furniture* at one *Sight*, which therefore is most maintained by them that mean to harbour but a few; whereby they make only advantage of the *vanity*, and seldom prove the *Inconvenience*. There is likewise another defect (as absurdities are seldom solitary) which will necessarily follow upon such a servile disposing of inward Chambers; That they must be forced to make as many common great *Rooms*, as there shall be several *Stories*; which (besides that they are usually dark, a point hardly avoided, running as they do, through the middle of the whole *House*) do likewise devour so much Place, that thereby they want other *Galleries*, and Rooms of *Retreat*, which I have often considered among them (I must confess) with no small wonder; for I observe no *Nation* in the *World*, by nature more *private* and *reserved*, than the *Italian*; and on the other side in no *Habitations* less *privacy*; so there is a kind of Conflict between their *Dwelling* and their *Being*: It might here perchance be expected, that I should at least describe (which others have done in *draughts* and *designs*) divers *Forms* of *Plants* and



Partitions, and varieties of *Inventions*; but speculative *Writers* - ( as I am ) are not bound to comprize all particular Cases within the Latitude of the *Subject* which they handle; General Lights, and Directions, and pointing at some faults, is sufficient. The rest must be committed to the sagacity of the *Architect*, who will be often put to divers ingenious shifts, when he is to wrestle with scarcity of *Ground*. \* The *Italians* call it *una stanza dannata*, As sometimes \* to damm one Room (though of special use) for the benefit and beauty of all the rest; Another while to make those fairest, which are most in *Sight*, and to leave the other (like a cunning Painter) in shadow, *cum multis aliis*, which it were infinite to pursue. I will therefore close this part touching *Compartition*, as chearfully as I can, with a short description of a *Feasting* or *entertaining Room*, after the *Egyptian* manner, who seem (at least till the time of *Vitruvius*) from the ancient *Hebrews* and *Phœnicians* (whence all knowledge did flow) to have retained with other *Science*, in a high degree, also the *Principles* and *practice* of this magnificent *Art*. For as far as I may conjecture by our Masters Text, *lib.6. cap. 5.* (where, as in many other places he hath tortured his *Interpreters*) there could no *Form* for such a Royal use be comparably imagined like that of the foresaid *Nation*, which I shall adventure to explain.

Let us conceive a *Floor* or *Area* of goodly length, (for example, at least of 120 *Foot*) with the breadth somewhat more than the half of the *Longitude*, whereof the reason shall be afterwards rendered. About the two longest Sides and Head of  
the



the said *Room* shall run an Order of *Pillars*, which *Palladio* doth suppose *Corinthian*, (as I see by his design) supplying that point out of *Greece*, because we know no Order proper to *Egypt*. The fourth Side I will leave free for the *Entrance*: On the fore-said *Pillars* was laid an *Architrave*, which *Vitruvius* mentioneth alone: *Palladio* adds thereunto (and with reason) both *Freeze* and *Cornice*, over which went up a continued *Wall*, and therein half or three quarter *Pillars* answering directly to the order below, but a fourth part less; and between these half *Columnes* above, the whole *Room* was windowed round about.

Now, from the lowest *Pillars* there was laid over a *Contignation* or *Floor* born upon the outward *Wall*, and the *Head* of the *Columns* with *Tarrace* and *Pavement*, *Sub dio* (saith our Master;) and so indeed he might safely determine the matter in *Egypt*, where they fear no *Clouds*; therefore *Palladio* (who leaveth this *Tarrace* uncovered in the middle, and ballised about) did perchance construe him rightly, though therein discording from others: Always we must understand a sufficient breadth of *Pavement* left between the open part and the *Windows*, for some delight of *Spectators*, that might look down into the *Room*. The *Latitude* I have supposed, contrary to some former Positions, a little more than the half of the length; because the *Pillars* standing at a competent distance from the outmost *Wall*, will by interception of the *Sight*, somewhat in appearance diminish the breadth; in which cases, (as I have touched once or twice before) *Discretion* may be more licentious than *Art*. This is the Description of an *Egyptian Room* for *Feasts* and other *Jollities*.  
About



About the *Walls* whereof we must imagine intire *Statues* placed below, and illuminated by the descending light from the *Tarrace*, as likewise from the *Windows* between the half *Pillars* above : So as this *Room* had abundant and advantageous *Light*; and besides other garnishing, must needs receive much *State* by the very height of the *Roof*, that lay over two *Orders* of *Columns*. And so having run through the four parts of my first general *Division*, namely, *Foundations*, *Walls*, *Apertions*, and *Compartition*, the *House* may now have leave to put on his *Hat*, having hitherto been uncovered it self, and consequently unfit to cover others. Which point, though it be the last of this Art in execution, yet it is always in *Intention* the first : For who would build but for *Shelter* ? Therefore obtaining both the *Place*, and the dignity of a *Final Cause*, it hath been diligently handled by divers, but by none more learnedly than *Bernardino Baldi*, *Abbot* of *Guastalla* (before cited upon other occasion) who doth fundamentally, and *Mathematically* Demonstrate the firmest *Knittings* of the upper *Timbers*, which make the *Roof*. But it hath been rather my *Scope*, in these *Elements*, to fetch the ground of all from *Nature* her self, which indeed is the simplest Mother of Art. Therefore I will now only deliver a few of the properest, and (as I may say) of the naturallest considerations that belong to this remaining *Piece*.

There are two *Extremities* to be avoided in the *Cover* or *Roof*: that it be not too *heavy*, nor too *light*. The first will suffer a vulgar *Objection* of pressing too much the under-work. The other containeth a more secret inconvenience; for the *Cover* is not only a bare defence, but likewise a  
kind

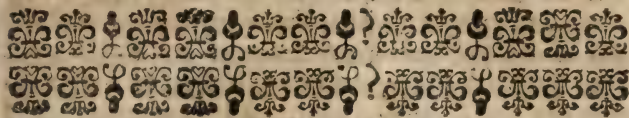


kind of *Band* or *Ligature* to the whole *Fabrick* and therefore would require some reasonable weight. But of the two extreams, a House *Top-heavy* is the worst. Next, there must be a care of *Equality*, that the *Edifice* be not pressed on the one side more than on the other; and here *Palladio* doth wish (like a cautelous Artizan) that the inward Walls might bear some good share in the burthen, and the outward be the less charged.

Thirdly, the *Italians* are very precise in giving the cover a *graceful pendency* of *slopeness*, dividing the whole breadth into nine Parts; whereof two shall serve for the elevation of the highest *Top* or *Ridge* from the lowest. But in this point the quality of the *Region* is considerable: For (as our *Vitruvius* insinuateth) those *Climes* that fear the falling and lying of much *Snow*, ought to provide more inclining *Pentices*: and *Comeliness* must yield to *Necessity*.

These are the usefulest Cautions which I find in *Authors*, touching the last *Head* of our Division, wherewith I will conclude the first part of my present *Travel*. The second remaineth, concerning *Ornaments* within, or without the *Fabrick*: A Piece not so dry as the meer Contemplation of Proportions. And therefore I hope therein somewhat to refresh both the *Reader*, and my self.





OF THE  
ELEMENTS  
OF  
ARCHITECTURE.

*The Second Part.*

**H**Very Mans proper *Mansion House* and *Home*, being the *Theater* of his *Hospitality*, the *Seat* of *Self-fruition*, the *Comfortablest* part of his own *Life*, the noblest of his Sons *Inheritance*, a kind of private *Princedom* ; Nay , to the *Possessors* thereof, an *Epitomie* of the whole *World*; may well deserve by these *Attributes*, according to the degree of the *Master*, to be *decently* and *delightfully* adorned. For which end , there are two *Arts* attending on *Architecture* , like two of her principal *Gentlewomen* , to *dress* and *trim* their *Mistress*,; PICTURE and SCULPTURE : Between whom, before I proceed any further, I

F

will



will venture to determine an ancient quarrel about their *Precedency*, with this *Distinction*; that in the garnishing of *Fabricks*, *Sculpture* no doubt must have the *preheminance*, as being indeed of nearer affinity to *Architecture* it self, and consequently the more natural and more suitable *Ornament*. But on the other side (to consider these two *Arts* as I shall do *Philosophically*, and not *Mechanically*.) An excellent Piece of *Painting*, is, to my judgment, the more admirable *Object*, because it comes near an *Artificial Miracle*, to make divers distinct *Eminences* appear a *Flat* by force of *shadows*, and yet the *shadows* themselves not to appear; which I conceive to be the uttermost value and vertue of a *Painter*, and to which very few have arrived in all *Ages*.

In these two *Arts* (as they are appliable to the *subject* which I handle) it shall be fit first to consider how to *choose* them; and next how to *dispose* them. To guide us in the *choice*, we have a *Rule* somewhere (I well remember) in *Pliny*, and it is a pretty observation; That they do mutually help to censure one another. For *Picture* is best when it standeth off, as if it were carved; and *Sculpture* is best when it appeareth so *tender*, as if it were *painted*: I mean when there is such a seeming softness in the *Limbs*, as if not a *Chisel* had hewed them out of *Stone*, or other *Material*, but a *Pencil* had drawn and stroaked them in *Oyl*; which the judicious *Poet* took well to his *Fancy*.

*Excudent alii spirantia mollis era.*

But this generality is not sufficient to make a good *chooser*, without a more particular contraction of his *Judgement*. Therefore when a piece of *Art* is set before us, let the first *Caution* be, not to ask who made it, lest the *Fame* of the *Author* do

Cap-



Captivate the *Fancy* of the *Buyer*. For, that excellent Men do always *excellently*, is a false Conclusion; whereupon I observe among *Italian Artizans*, three notable *Phrases*, which well decypher the degrees of their *Works*.

They will tell you, that a thing was done *Con diligenza*, *Con studio*, and *Con Amore*; The first is but a bare and ordinary *diligence*; The second is a *learned diligence*; The third is much more, even a *loving diligence*: They mean not with love to the *Bespeaker* of the *Work*, but with a love and delight in the *Work* it self, upon some special *Fancy* to this or that *Story*; and when all these concur (particularly the last) in an eminent *Author*, then perchance *Tatianus fecit*, or ὁ Θεός, ἱπτοίς will serve the turn without farther *Inquisition*; Otherwise *Artizans* have not only their *Growths* and *Perfections*, but likewise their *Veins* and *Times*.

The next Caution must be (to proceed *Logically*) that in judging of the *Work* it self, we be not distracted with too many things at once; Therefore (first to begin with *Picture* :) we are to observe whether it be well drawn, (or as more elegant *Artizans* term it) well *Design'd*; Then, whether it be well *Coloured*, which be the two general *Heads*; and each of them hath two principal *Requisites*; for in well *Designing*, there must be *Truth* and *Grace*; In well *Colouring*, *Force* and *Affection*; all other *Praises* are but *Consequences* of these.

*Truth* (as we Metaphorically take it in this *Art*) is a *Just* and *Natural Proportion* in every Part of the determined Figure: *Grace* is a certain *Free Disposition* in the whole *Draught*, answerable to that unaffected Frankness of *Fashion* in a living *Body*, M<sup>z</sup>.



or Women, which doth animate Beauty where it is, and supply it, where it is not.

*Force* consisteth in the *Roundings* and *Raisings* of the *Work*, according as the *Limbs* do more or less require it; So as the *Beholder* shall spie no *sharpness* in the bordering *Lines*; As when *Taylors* cut out a *Sute*, which *Italians* do aptly term according to that comparifon, *Contorni taglianti*; Not any *flatness* within the *Body* of the *Figure*, which how it is done, we must fetch from a higher *Discipline*; For the *Opticks* teach us, That a *plain* will appear *prominent*, and (as it were) *embossed*, if the *Parts* farthest from the *Axle-tree*, or middle *Beam* of the *Eye*, shall be most shadowed; because in all *Darkness*, there is a kind of *Deepness*. But as in the *Art* of *persuasion*, one of the most *Fundamental Precepts* is the *Concealment* of *Art*; so here likewise, the *Sight* must be sweetly deceived by an insensible passage, from *brighter* colours to *dimmer*, which *Italian Artizans* call the *middle Tinctures*; That is, Not as the *whites* and *yolks* of *Eggs* lie in the *Shell*, with visible distinction; But as when they are *beaten* and *blended* in a *Dish*, which is the nearest comparifon that I can suddenly conceive.

Lastly, *Affection* is the *Lively Representment* of any *passion* whatsoever, as if the *Figures* stood not upon a *Cloth* or *Board*, but as if they were *acting* upon a *Stage*; and here I must remember, in truth with much marvel, a note which I have received from excellent *Artizans*, That though *Gladness* and *Grief* be *opposites* in *Nature*; yet they are such *Neighbors* and *Confiners* in *Art*, that the least touch of a *Pencil* will translate a *crying* into a *laughing* Face, as it is represented by *Homer*, in the person of



of *Hector's* wife ; as Painters and Poets have always had a kind of congeniality,

I Δ I A Δ. ζ.

Ὅς εἰπὼν ἀλόχοιε φίλης ἐν χερσὶν ἔθηκε,  
Παῖδ' ἔδν, ἧδ' ἀρεὴ μὲν κηώδεϊ δέξατο κόλπῳ,  
Δακρύῳν μελάσασα. ——— That is,

*She took her Son into her Arms, weepingly laughing.*

Which Instance, besides divers other, doth often reduce unto my memory, that ingenious Speculation of the Cardinal *Cusanus*, extant in his Works, touching the coincidence of *Extremes*. And thus much of the four *Requisites*, and *Perfections* in *Picture*.

In *Sculpture* likewise, the two first are absolutely necessary ; The third impertinent ; For *Solid Figures* need no elevation, by force of *Lights*, or *Shadows* ; therefore in the Room of this we may put (as hath been before touched) a kind of *Tenderness*, by the *Italians* termed *Morbidezza*, where in the *Chizel*, I must confess, hath more glory than the *Pencil* ; that being so hard an *Instrument*, and working upon so unpliant stuff, can yet leave *Strokes* of so gentle appearance.

The Fourth, which is the expressing of *Affection* (as far as it doth depend upon the *Activity* and *Gesture* of the *Figure*) is as proper to the *Carver*, as to the *Painter* ; though *Colours*, no doubt, have therein the greatest power ; whereupon, perchance, did first grow with us the *Fashion* of colouring, even *Regal Statues*, which I must take leave to call an *English Barbarism*.



Now in these four *Requisites* already rehearsed, it is strange to note, that no *Artizan*, having ever been blamed for excess in any of the three last; only *Truth* (which should seem the most *Innocent*) hath suffered some Objection; and all *Ages* have yielded some one or two *Artificers* so prodigiously exquisite, that they have been reputed too *Natural* in their *Draughts*; which will well appear by a famous passage in *Quintillian*, touching the *Characters* of the ancient *Artizans*, falling now so aptly into my Memory, that I must needs translate it, as in truth it may well deserve.

The place which I intend, is extant in the last *Chapter* save one of his whole *Work*, beginning thus in *Latine*;

*Primi, quorum quidem opera non vetustatis modo gratiâ visenda sunt clari Pictores, fuisse dicuntur Polygnotus atque Aglaophon, &c.*

The whole *Passage* in *English* standeth thus.

THE first *Painters* of Name, whose *Works* be considerable for any thing more than only *Antiquity*, are said to have been *Polygnotus* and *Aglaophon*; whose bare *Colouring*, he means I think in white and black, hath even yet so many followers, that those rude and first *Elements*, as it were of that, which within a while, became an *Art*, are preferred before the greatest *Painters* that have been extant after them, out of a certain *Competition*, as I conceive it, in point of *Judgment*. After these, *Zeuxes* and *Parasius*, not far distant in age, both about the time of the *Peloponnesian War*, for in *Xenophon* we have a *Dialogue* between *Parasius* and *Socrates*, did add much to this *Art*. Of which the first



first is said to have invented the due disposition of *Lights* and *Shadows*; The second, to have more subtilly examined the *Truth* of *Lines* in the *Draught*; for *Zeuxes* did make *Limbs* bigger than the *Life*; deeming his *Figures*, thereby the more stately and Majestical; and therein, as some think, imitating *Homer*, whom the stoutest *Form* doth please, even in *Women*. On the other side, *Parasius* did exactly limit all the *Proportions* so, as they call him the *Lawgiver*, because in the *Images* of the *Gods*, and of *Heroical Personages*, others have followed his *Patterns* like a *Decree*; But *Picture* did most flourish about the days of *Philip*, and even to the Successors of *Alexander*; yet by sundry *Habilitie*: for *Protogenes* did excel in *Diligence*; *Pamphilus* and *Melanthius* in due *Proportion*; *Antiphilus* in a frank *Facility*; *Theon* of *Samos*, in strength of *Fantasie* and conceiving of *Passions*; *Apelles* in *Invention* and *Grace*, whereof he doth himself most vaunt; *Euphranor* deserves admiration, that being in other excellent *Studies* a principal Man, he was likewise a wondrous *Artizan*, both in *Painting* and *Sculpture*. The like difference we may observe among the *Statuaries*; for the Works of *Calon* and *Egesias* were somewhat *stiff*, like the *Tuscan Manner*; Those of *Calamis* not done with so cold strokes; and *Myron* more tender than the former; a diligent *Decency* in *Polycletus* above others; to whom though the highest praise be attributed by the most, yet lest he should go free from exception, some think he wanted *solemnness*; for as he may perchance be said to have added a comely *Dimension* to humane shape, somewhat above the truth; so on the other side, he seemed not to have fully expressed the *Majesty* of the *Gods*: Moreover, he is said not to have



meddled willingly with the *graver age*, as not adventuring beyond *smooth cheeks* : But these vertues that were wanting in *Polycletus*, were supplied by *Phidias* and *Alcmenes* ; yet *Phidias* was a better Artizan in the representing of *Gods* than of *Men* ; and in his works of *Ivory*, beyond all Emulation, even though he had left nothing behind him but his *Minerva* at *Athens*, or the *Olympian Jupiter* in *Elis*, whose *Beauty* seems to have added somewhat, even to the received *Religion* ; the *Majesty* of the *Work*, as it were, equalling the *Deity*. To *Truth*, they affirm *Lysippus* and *Praxiteles*, to have made the nearest approach : for *Demetrius* is therein reprehended, as rather exceeding than deficient ; having been a greater aimer at *Likeness*, than at *Love-liness*.

This is that witty Censure of the ancient Artizans which *Quintillian* hath left us, where the last Character of *Demetrius* doth require a little *Philosophical Examination* ; How an *Artificer*, whose end is the *Imitation* of *Nature*, can be too *natural* ; which likewise in our days was either the fault, or (to speak more gently) the too much perfection of *Albert Durer*, and perhaps also of *Michael Angelo da Buonaroti*, between whom I have heard noted by an ingenious Artizan a pretty nice difference, that the *German* did too much express *that which was* ; and the *Italian*, *that which should be* : Which severe Observation of *Nature* by the one in her *commonest*, and by the other in her *absolutest* Forms, must needs produce in both a kind of *Rigidity*, and consequently more *Naturalness* than *Gracefulness* : this is the clearest reason why some exact *Symmetrists* have been blamed for being too true, as near as I can deliver my conceit. And so  
much



much touching the choice of *Picture* and *Sculpture* : The next is, the *application* of both to the *beautifying* of *Fabricks*.

First therefore, touching *Picture* , there doth occur a very pertinent doubt, which hath been passed over too slightly, not only by some *Men*, but by some *Nations* ; namely, whether this *Ornament* can well become the *Outside* of *Houses*, wherein the *Germans* have made so little scruple, that their best *Towns* are the most painted, as *Augusta* and *Norembergh*. To determine this question in a word : It is true, that a *Story* well set out with a good *Hand*, will every where take a *Judicious* Eye : But yet withal it is as true, that various colours on the *Out-Walls* of Buildings, have always in them more Delight than Dignity : Therefore I would there admit no *Paintings* but in *Black* and *White*, nor even in that kind any *Figures* (if the Room be capable) under Nine or Ten Foot high, which will require no ordinary *Artizan* ; because the faults are more visible than in small *Designs*. In unfigured *paintings* the noblest is the imitation of *Marbles*, and of *Architecture* it self, as *Arches*, *Treeces*, *Columns*, and the like.

Now for the *Inside*, here grows another doubt, wherein *Grotesca* (as the *Italians*) or *Antique-work* (as we call it) should be received ; against the express Authority of *Vitruvius* himself, *lib. 7. cap. 5.* where *Pictura* (saith he) *fit ejus, quod est, seu potest esse* ; excluding by this severe definition, all *Figures* composed of different *Natures* or *Sexes* ; so as a *Syrene* or a *Centaure* had been intolerable in his Eye : But in this we must take leave to depart from our Master ; and the rather, because he spake out of his own Profession, allowing *Painters* (who have



have ever been as little limited as *Poets* ) a less scope in their imaginations, even than the gravest *Philosophers*, who sometimes do serve themselves of *Instances* that have no *Existence* in *Nature* ; as we see in *Plato's Amphibiaena*, and *Aristotle's Hircocervus*. And (to settle this point) what was indeed more common and familiar among the *Romans* themselves, than the *Picture* and *Statue* of *Terminus*, even one of their *Deities*? which yet if we well consider, is but a piece of *Grotesca* ; I am for these reasons unwilling to impoverish that *Art*, though I could wish such *medly* and *motly* Designs confined only to the *Ornament* of *Freezes*, and *Borders*, their properest place. As for other *Storied Works* upon *Walls*, I doubt our *Clime* be too yielding and moist for such *Garnishment* ; therefore leaving it to the *Dwellers* discretion, according to the quality of his *Seat*, I will only add a caution or two about the disposing of *Pictures* within.

First, That no Room be furnished with too many ; which in truth, were a surfeit of *Ornament*, unless they be *Galleries*, or some peculiar *Repository* for *Rarities* of *Art*.

Next, That the best Pieces be placed not where there are the *least*, but where there are the *fewest lights* : therefore not only Rooms windowed on both ends, which we call through-lighted ; but with two or more Windows on the same side, are Enemies to this *Art* : and sure it is, that no *Painting* can be seen in full perfection, but (as all *Nature* is illuminated) by a *single Light*.

Thirdly, That in the *placing* there be some care also taken how the *Painter* did stand in the *working*, which an intelligent Eye will easily discover ; and that *posture* is the most natural : so as *Italian Pieces* will



will appear best in a Room where the Windows are high ; because they are commonly made to a descending Light, which of all other doth set off Mens faces in their truest spirit.

Lastly, that they be as properly bestowed for their *quality* as *fitly* for their *grace* : that is, *cheerful Paintings* in *Feasting* and *Banqueting Rooms* ; *Graver Stories* in *Galleries* ; *Land-Skips* and *Boscage*, and such *wild works*, in open *Tarraces* , or in *Summer-Houses* ( as we call them ) and the like.

And thus much of *Picture* ; which let me close with this Note ; that though my former Discourse may serve perchance for some reasonable *leading* in the choice of such delights ; yet let no man hope by such a *speculative* erudition, to discern the *Masterly* and *mysterious* touches of *Art*, but an Artizan himself ; to whom therefore we must leave the *prerogative* to censure the manner and handling, as he himself must likewise leave some points, perchance of no less value to others ; as for example , whether the *Story* be rightly *represented*, the *Figures* in true *action*, the *persons* suited to their several qualities, the *affections* proper and strong, and such like Observations.

Now for *Sculpture*, I must likewise begin with a Controversy, as before ( falling into this place ; ) or let me rather call it a very meer *Fancy*, strangely taken by *Palladio*, who having noted in an old Arch or two at *Verona*, some part of the *Materials* already cut in fine *Forms*, and some *unpolished*, doth conclude ( according to his *Logick* ) upon this particular, that the Ancients did leave the outward *Face* of their *Marbles* or *Free-Stone*, without any *Sculpture*, till they were laid and cemented in the  
Body



Body of the Building; For which likewise he findeth a reason, as many do now and then very wittily, even before the thing it self be true, that the Materials being left *rough*, were more manageable in the *Mason's* hand, than if they had been *smooth*; and that so the *sides* might be laid together the more exactly; which Conceit, once taken, he seems to have further imprinted, by marking in certain Storied *Sculptures* of old time, how precisely the Parts and Lines of the *Figures*, that pass from one Stone to another, do Meet; which he thinks could hardly fall out so right, forgetting while he speaks of *ancient* things, the ancient *Diligence*, unless they had been cut after the joyning of the *Materials*. But all these *Inducements* cannot countervail the sole *Inconvenience* of *shaking* and *disjoynting* the *Commissures* with so many strokes of the *Chizel*, besides an *Incommodious* Working on *Scaffolds*; especially having no testimony to confirm it, that I have yet seen, among the records of *Art*: Nay, it is indeed rather true, that they did *square*, and *carve*, and *polish* their *Stone* and *Marble* Works, even in the very *Cave* of the *Quarry* before it was hardened by open Air: But, to leave disputation, I will set down a few *Positive* notes for the placing of *Sculpture*; because the choosing hath been handled before.

That first of all, it be not too *general*, and *abundant*, which would make a *House* look like a *Cabinet*: and in this point, *moral Philosophy*, which tempereth *Fancies*, is the *Superintendent* of *Art*.

That especially, there be a due moderation of this *Ornament* in the first approach; where our *Authors* do more commend, I mean about the *Principal*



cipal *Entrance*, a *Dorique*, than a *Corinthian* garnishment; So as if the great *Door* be *Arched* with some brave *Head*, cut in fine *Stone* or *Marble* for the *Key* of the *Arch*; and two *Incumbent* Figures gracefully leaning upon it towards one another, as if they meant to confer, I should think this a sufficient Entertainment for the first Reception of any judicious Sight, which I could wish seconded with two great standing *Statues* on each side of a paved way that shall lead up into the *Fabrick*, so as the Beholder at the first entrance may pass his eye between them.

That the *Nites*, if they contain *Figures* of white *Stone* or *Marble*; be not coloured in their *Concavity* too black, For though *Contraria juxta se posita magis illucescunt* ( by an old Rule; ) yet it hath been subtilly, and indeed truly noted, that our *Sight* is not well contented with those sudden departments from one extream to another : Therefore let them have rather a *Dusky* Tincture, than an absolute black.

That *fine* and delicate *Sculptures* be helped with *Nearness*, and *Gross* with distance; which was well seen in the old Controversie between *Phidias* and *Alcmenes* about the *Statue* of *Venus* : wherein the first did shew discretion, and save labour, because the *Work* was to be viewed at good *Height*, which did drown the sweet and diligent strokes of his *Adversary* : a famous emulation of two Principal *Artizans*, celebrated even by the *Greek* Poets.

That in the placing of standing *Figures* aloft, we must set them in a *Posture* somewhat bowing forward; because ( saith our Master, lib. 3. cap. 3. out of a better *Art* than his own ) the *visual beam*

of



of our Eye, extended to the *Head* of the said *Figures*, being longer than to the *Foot*, must necessarily make that *part* appear *farther*; so as to reduce it to an erect or upright *position*, there must be allowed a due advantage of *stooping* towards us; which *Albert Durer* hath exactly taught in his fore-mentioned *Geometry*. Our *Vitruvius* calleth this affection in the *Eye*, a *resupination* of the *Figure*: For which word (being in truth his own, for ought I know) we are almost as much beholding to him, as for the *Observation* it self: and let thus much summarily suffice touching the choice and use of these adorning Arts. For to speak of garnishing the *Fabrick* with a *Row* of erected *Statues* about the *Cornice* of every *Contignation* or *Story*, were discourse more proper for *Athens* or *Rome*, in the time of their true greatness, when (as *Pliny* recordeth of his own Age) there were near as many carved *Images*, as living *Men*; like a noble contention, even in point of *Fertility*, between *Art* and *Nature*; which passage doth not only argue an infinite abundance, both of *Artizans* and *Materials*; but likewise of *Magnificent* and *Majestical* Desires in every common person of those times, more or less, according to their *Fortunes*. And true it is indeed, that the *Marble Monuments* and *Memories* of well deserving Men, wherewith the very *High-ways* were *strewed* on eachside, was not albare and transitory Entertainment of the *Eye*, or only a gentle deception of *Time* to the *Traveller*: But had also a secret and strong *Influence*, even into the advancement of the *Monarchy*, by continual representation of *Vertuous Examples*; so as in that point, *ART* became a piece of *State*,

Now, as I have before subordinated *Picture* and  
Sculp-



*Sculpture* to *Architecture*, as their *Mistress*; so there are certain inferior *ARTS* likewise subordinate to them; as under *Picture*, *Mosaïque*; under *Sculpture*, *Plastique*: which two I only nominate, as the fittest to garnish *Fabricks*.

*Mosaïque*; Is a kind of *Painting* in small *Pebbles*, *Cockles* and *Shells* of sundry colours; and of late dayes likewise with pieces of *Glass* figured at pleasure; an *Ornament* in truth, of much beauty, and long *Life*; but of most use in *pavements* and *floorings*.

*Pastique*, Is not only under *Sculpture*, but indeed very *Sculpture* it self: but with this difference; that the *Plasterer* doth make his *Figures* by *Addition*, and the *Carver* by *Substraction*; whereupon *Michael Angelo* was wont to say somewhat pleasantly; That *Sculpture* was nothing but a *purgation* of *Superfluities*. For take away from a piece of wood or stone, all that is *superfluous*, and the remainder is the intended *Figure*. Of this *plastick Art*, the chief use with us is in the graceful *fretting* of *Roofs*: But the *Italians* apply it to the *mantling* of *Chimneys* with great *Figures*, a cheap piece of *Magnificence*, and as durable almost within doors, as harder *Forms* in the weather. And here, though it be a little excursion, I cannot pass unremembred again, their manner of disguising the shafts of *Chimneys* in various fashions, whereof the noblest is the *Pyramidal*: being in truth a piece of *Polite* and *Civil* discretion, to convert even the *conduits* of foot and smoak into *Ornaments*; whereof I have hitherto spoken as far as may concern the *Body* of the *Building*.

Now these are *Ornaments* also without, as *Gardens*, *Fountains*, *Groves*, *Conservatories* of rare  
Beasts,



*Beasts, Birds, and Fishes.* Of which ignobler kind of Creatures, We ought not, saith our greatest \*Master among the Sons of Nature, childishly to despise the Contemplation; for in all things that are natural, there is ever something that is admirable. Of these external delights a word or two.

\* *Arist. lib. 1. cap. 5. de part. Anim.* δὲ μὴ δουχεραίνοντες τὴν φύσιν τῶν ἀτιμωμένων ζώων ἐπισκεψιν. Ἐν παντί γὰρ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἔστι τι θαυμάσιον.

First, I must note a certain contrariety between *building* and *gardening*: For as *Fabricks* should be regular, so *Gardens* should be irregular, or at least cast into a very wild Regularity. To exemplifie my conceit, I have seen a *Garden*, for the manner perchance incomparable, into which the first Access was a high walk like a *Terrace*, from whence might be taken a general view of the whole *Plot* below, but rather in a delightful confusion, than with any plain distinction of the pieces. From this the *Beholder* descending many steps, was afterwards conveyed again by several *mountings* and *vallings*, to various entertainments of his *sight* and *sight*: which I shall not need to describe, for that were poetical, let me only note this that every one of these diversities, was as if he had been *magically* transported into a new *Garden*.

But though other *Countries* have more benefit of Sun than we, and thereby more properly tyed to contemplate this delight; yet have I seen in our own, a delicate and diligent *curiosity*, surely without parallel among foreign *Nations*: Namely, in the Garden of Sir *Henry Fanshawe*, at his Seat in *Ware-Park*; where I well remember, he did so precisely examine the *tinctures* and *Seasons* of his *flowers*, that in their *settings*, the *inwardest* of which that



that were to come up at the same time, should be always a little *darker* than the *utmost*, and so serve them for a kind of gentle *shadow*, like a piece, not of *Nature*, but of *Art*: which mention (incident to this place) I have willingly made of his *Name*, for the dear *friendship* that was long between us: though I must confess, with much wrong to his other *vertues*; which deserve a more solid *Memo-rial*, than among these vacant *Observations*. So much of *Gardens*.

*Fountains* are *figured*, or only plain *Water-works*: Of either of which, I will describe a matchless pattern.

The first, done by the famous hand of *Michael Angelo da Buonaroti*, in the figure of a sturdy woman, washing and winding of linen cloths; in which Act, she wrings out the water that made the *Fountain*; which was a graceful and natural conceit in the Artificer, implying this rule; That all designs of this kind, should be *proper*.

The other doth merit some larger expression; There went a long, straight, mossie walk of competent breadth, green, and soft under foot, listd on both sides with an *Aqueduct* of white stone, brest-high, which had a hollow *Channel* on the top, where ran a pretty trickling stream; on the edge whereof, were couched very thick all along, certain small pipes of lead, in little holes; so neatly, that they could not be well perceived, till by the turning of a cock, they did spout over interchangeably from side to side, above mans height, in forms of *Arches*, without any interfection or meeting aloft, because the pipes were not exactly opposite; so as the *Beholder*, besides that which was fluent in the *Aqueducts* on both hands in his view, did

G

walk,



walk, as it were, under a continual *Bower* and *Hemisphere* of water, without any drop falling on him. An *Invention* for refreshment, surely far excelling all the *Alexandrian Delicacies*, and *Pneumaticks* of *Hero*.

*Groves*, and artificial *Devices* under ground, are of great expence, and little dignity; which for my part, I could wish converted here into those *Crypteria*, whereof mention is made among the curious provisions of *Tycho Brahe* the *Danish Ptolemy*, as I may well call him: which were deep *concaves* in Gardens, where the *Stars* might be observed even at *noon*. For (by the way) to think that the brightness of the *Sun's* body above, doth drown our discerning of the lesser lights, is a popular error; the sole impediment being that *lustre*, which, by *reflection*, doth spread about us from the face of the *Earth*; so as the *caves* before touched, may well conduce, not to a delicious, but to a learned pleasure.

In *Aviaries* of Wire, to keep Birds of all sorts, the *Italians* (though no wasteful Nation) do in some places bestow vast expence; including great scope of ground, variety of *bushes*, *trees* of good height, running *waters*, and sometime a *Stove* annexed, to temper the *Air* in Winter. So as those *Chanteresses*, unless they be such as perhaps delight as much in their wing, as in their voice, may live long among so good provisions, and room, before they know that they are *prisoners*; reducing often to my memory that conceit of the *Roman Stoick*, who in comparison of his own free contemplations, did think divers great and splendid fortunes of his time, little more than commodious *captivities*.



Concerning *Ponds* of Pleasure near the habitation ; I will refer my self to a grave *Author* of our own (though more illustrious by his other \* work) namely , *Sarisburiensis* *De nugis Curial, &c.*  
*de Piscinâ.*

And here I will end the second part touching *Ornaments* , both *within* and *without* the *Fabrick*.

Now , as almost all those which have delivered the *Elements* of *Logick*, do usually conclude with a Chapter touching *Method* : so I am here seized with a kind of critical spirit , and desirous to shut up these building *Elements* with some *Methodical* direction how to *censure* *Fabricks* already raised : for indeed, without some way to contract our *Judgement* , which among so many particulars , would be lost by diffusion. I should think it almost harder to be a good *Censurer* , than a good *Architect* : Because the *working* may be helped with *Deliberation*, but the *Judging* must flow from an *extemporal habit*. Therefore (not to leave this last *Piece* without some *Light* ) I could wish him that cometh to examine any nobler *Work*, first of all to examine himself, whether perchance the *sight* of many brave things before ( which remain like impressed forms ) have not made him apt to think nothing good but that which is the best ; for this *humour* were too sowre. Next, before he come to settle any imaginable opinion, let him by all means seek to inform himself precisely, of the Age of the *Work* upon which he must pass his *Doom*. And if he shall find the apparent *Decays* to exceed the proportion of *Time* ; then let him conclude without farther inquisition, as an absolute Decree, that either the *Materials* were too *slight* , or the *Seat* is nought. Now, after these premisses, if the *House*



be found to bear his *years* well, (which is always a token of sound *constitution*,) Then let him suddenly run backwards, (for the *Method* of *censuring* is contrary to the *Method* of *composing*) from the *Ornaments* (which first allure the *Eye*) to the more essential *Members*, till at last he be able to form this *Conclusion*, that the *Work* is *Commodious*, *Firm*, and *Delightful*; which (as I said in the beginning) are the three capital *Conditions*, required in good *Buildings*, by all *Authors*, both *Ancient* and *Modern*. And this is, as I may term it the most *Scientifical*, way of *Censuring*. There are two other which I must not forget: The first in *Georgio Vassari*, before his laborious *Work* of the lives of *Architects*, which is to pass a running examination over the whole *Edifice*, according to the properties of a well shapen *Man*. As whether the *Walls* stand upright upon clean footing and *Foundation*; whether the *Fabrick* be of a beautiful *Stature*; whether for the *breadth* it appear well *burnished* whether the principal *Entrance* be on the middle *Line* of the *Front* or *Face*, like our *Mouths*; whether the *Windows*, as our *Eyes*, be set in equal number and distance on both sides; whether the *Offices*, like the *Veins* in our *Bodies*, be usefully distributed, and so forth. For this *Allegorical* review may be driven as far as any *Wit* will, that is at leisure.

The second way is in *Vitruvius* himself, *lib*, 1. *cap*. 2. where he summarily determineth six *Considerations*, which accomplish this whole *Art*.

*Ordinatio.*

*Dispositio.*

*Eurythmia.*



*Symmetria.*  
*Decor,* and  
*Distributio.*

Whereof (in my conceit) we may spare him the first two; for as far as I can perceive, either by his *Interpreters*, or by his own *Text* (which in that very place, where perchance he should be clearest, is of all other the cloudiest) he meaneth nothing by *Ordination*, but a well settling of the *Model* or *Scale* of the whole *Work*. Nor by *Disposition*, more than a neat and full expression of the first *Idea* or *Designment* thereof; which perchance do more belong to the *Artificer*, than to the *Censurer*. The other four are enough to condemn, or absolve any *Fabrick*, whatsoever. Whereof *Eurythmia* is that agreeable *Harmony*, between the breadth, length, and height of all the Rooms of the *Fabrick*, which suddenly, where it is, taketh every *Beholder* by the secret power of *Proportion*: wherein let me only note this, That though the least error or offence that can be committed against *sight*, is excess of height; yet that fault is no where of small importance, because it is the greatest offence against the *Purse*.

*Symmetria* is the convenience that runneth between the *Parts* and the *Whole*, whereof I have formerly spoken.

*Decor* is the keeping of a due *Respect* between the *Inhabitant* and the *Habitation*. Whence *Palladius* did conclude, that the principal *Entrance* was never to be regulated by any certain *Dimensions*, but by the dignity of the *Master*; yet to exceed rather in the more, than in the less, is a mark of *Generosity*, and may always be excused with some noble *Emblem*,



or *Inscription*, as that of the *Conte di Bavillacqua*, over his large *Gate* at *Verona*, where perchance had been committed a little *Disproportion*.

*Patet Janua, Cor magis.*

And here likewise I must remember our ever memorable Sir *Philip Sidney*, (whose *Wit* was in truth the very rule of *Congruity*) who well knowing that *Basilus* (as he had painted the *State* of his *Mind*) did rather want some extraordinary *Forms* to entertain his *Fancy*, than room for *Courtiers*; was contented to place him in a *Star-like Lodge*; which otherwise in severe *Judgment* of Art, had been an incommodious *Figure*.

*Distributio* is that useful *Casting* of all *Rooms* for *Office*, *Entertainment*, or *Pleasure*; which I have handled before at more length than any other *Piece*.

These are the four *Heads* which every man should run over, before he pass any determinate *Censure* upon the *Works* that he shall view, wherewith I will close this last part, touching *Ornaments*. Against which (me thinks) I hear an *Objection*, even from some well-meaning man; That these delightful *Crafts*, may be divers ways ill applied in a *Land*. I must confess indeed, there may be a *Lascivious*, and there may be likewise a *superstitious* use, both of *Picture* and *Sculpture*: To which possibility of mis-application, not only these *Semi-liberal Arts* are subject but even the highest *perfections* and *Endowments* of *Nature*. As *Beauty* in a light woman; *Eloquence* in a mutinous man; *Resolution* in an *Assassinate*; *Prudent Observation* of hours and humours in a corrupt *Courtier*; *Sharp-*  
ness

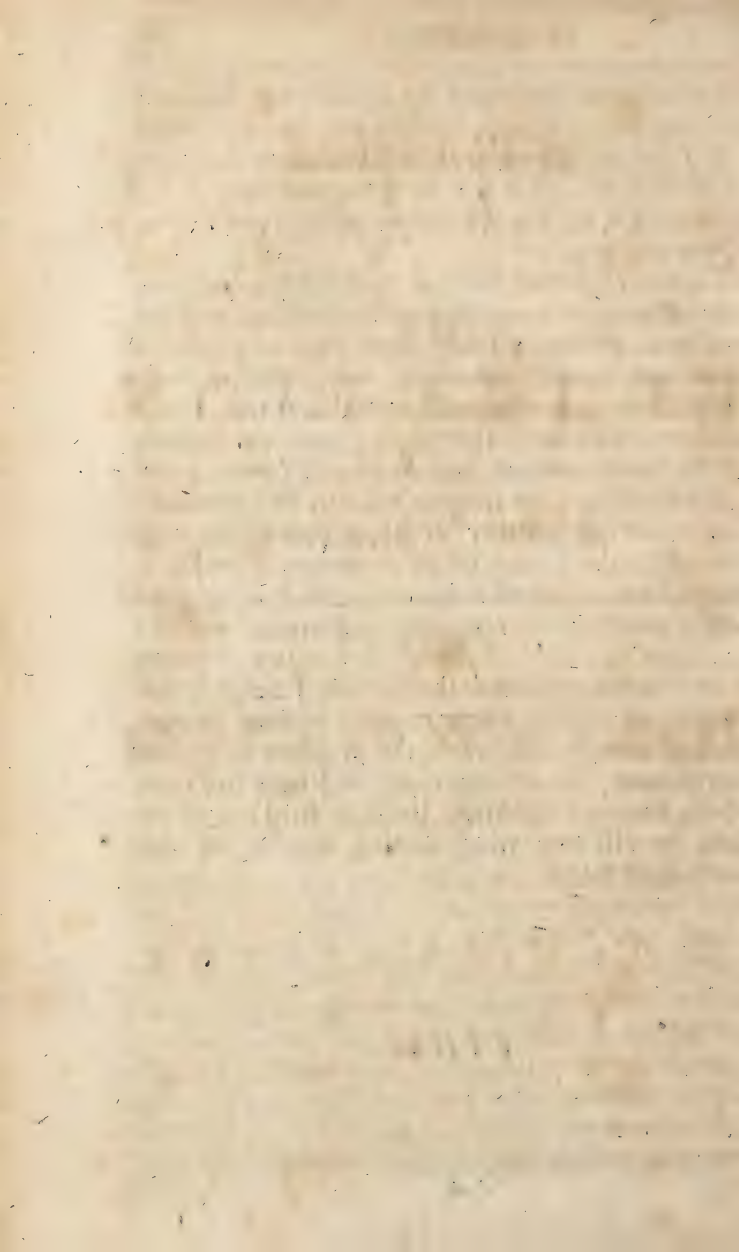


ness of wit and argument in a seducing Scholar, and the like. Nay, finally, let me ask what A R T can be more pernicious, than even R E L I G I O N it self, if it self be converted into an *Instrument* of A R T : Therefore, *Ab abuti ad non uti, negatur consequentia.*

Thus having stitched (in some sort) together these *Animadversions* touching *Architecture*, and the *Ornaments* thereof; I now feel that *contemplative* spirits are as restless as *active*, for doubting with my self, (as all weakness is jealous) that I may be thought to have spent my poor observation abroad about nothing but *Stone* and *Timber*, and such Rubbage; I am thereby led into an immodesty of proclaiming another *Work*, which I have long devoted to the service of my *Countrey*: Namely, A *Philosophical Survey* of *Education*, which is indeed a second *Building*, or repairing of *Nature*, and as I may term it, a kind of *Moral Architecture*; whereof such Notes as I have taken in my foreign trans-cursions or abodes, I hope to utter without publick offence, though still with the freedom of a plain *Kentish-man*. In the mean while, I have let these other  *gleanings* fly abroad, like the Bird out of the *Ark*, to discover what footing may be for that which shall follow.

FINIS.







*A Philosophical*

S U R V E Y

OF

E D U C A T I O N,

OR

*Moral Architecture.*

---

BY

H E N R Y W O T T O N Kt.

PROVOST

OF

E A T O N C O L L E G E.



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THE  
Epistle Dedicatory  
TO THE  
K I N G.

May it please your Majesty,



*Need no other Motive to dedicate this Discourse, which followeth, unto your Majesty, than the very Subject it self, so properly pertaining to your Sovereign Goodness: For thereby you are Pater Patriæ.*

*And it is none of the least Attributes wherewith God hath blessed both Your Royal Person, and Your People, that You are so. On the other side: for mine own undertaking thereof, I had need say more. I am old and childless; and though I were a Father of many, I could leave them nothing, either in Fortune, or in Example. But having long since put forth a slight Pamphlet about the Elements of ARCHITECTURE, which yet hath been entertained with some pardon among my Friends I was encouraged even at this age, to assay how I could build a Man: For there is a Moral, as well as a Natural or Artificial Compiement, and of better Materials:*



*als: Which truly I have cemented together rather in the plain Tuscan (as our V I T R U V I U S termeth it) than in the Corinthian form. Howsoever, if Your Majesty be graciously pleased to approve any part of it, who are so excellent a Judge in all kind of Structure, I shall much glory in mine own Endeavour. If otherwise, I will be one of the first my self, that shall pull it in pieces, and condemn it to Rubbage and Ruine. And so wishing Your Majesty (as to the Best of Kings) a longer Life than any of the soundest Works of Nature or Art, I ever rest*

*Your Majestie's*

*Most devoted poor Subject,*

*and Servant,*

H. WOTTON.

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A  
S U R V E Y  
O F  
E D U C A T I O N.

**T**His Treatise (well may it now proceed) having since the first Conception thereof been often traversed with other thoughts, yea and sometimes utterly forsaken, I have of late resumed again, out of hope (the common flatterer) to find at least some indulgent interpretation of my pains; especially in an honest Endeavour of such publick consequence as this is above all other. For if any shall think *Education* (because it is conversant about Children) to be but a private and domestick duty; He will run some danger, in my opinion, to have been ignorantly bred himself. Certain it is, that anciently the best composed Estates did commit this care more to the Magistrate than to the Parent. And certain likewise, That the best Authors have  
chosen



chosen rather to handle it in their Politicks than in their Oeconomicks. As both Writers and Rulers well knowing what a stream and influence it hath into Government. So great indeed, and so diffusive, that albeit good Laws have been reputed always the Nerves or Ligaments of humane Society; Yet are they (be it spoken with the peace of those grave Professors) no way comparable in their effects to the Rules of good Nurture: For it is in civil, as it is in natural Plantations, where young tender trees (though subject to the injuries of Air, and in danger even of their own Flexibility) would yet little want any after-underpropings and shoarings, if they were at first well fastened in the root.

Now my present labour will (as I foresee) consist of these pieces.

First, there must proceed a way how to discern the Natural Capacities and inclinations of children.

Secondly, Next must ensue the culture and furnishment of the mind.

Thirdly, the moulding of behaviour, and decent forms.

Fourthly, the tempering of affections.

Fifthly, the quickning and exciting of Observations and practical Judgement.

Sixthly, and the last in order, but the principal in Value, being that which must knit and consolidate all the rest, is the timely instilling of consciencious Principles and seeds of Religion.

These six branches will, as I conceive, embrace the whole business: through which I shall run in as many several Chapters or Sections: But before I lanch from the shoars, let me resolve a main question



question which may be cast in my way ; Whether there be indeed such an infallible efficacy, as I suppose, in the care of Nurture and first Production ; For if that supposal should fail us, all our Anchorage were loose, and we should but wander in a wild Sea.

*Plutarch*, I remember to the same purpose, in the first of his Tractates, which place this subject well deserved, endeavoureth by sundry similitudes, wherein that man had a prompt and luxurious fancy, to shew us the force of Education ; All which, in sooth, might have been well forborn, had he but known what our own Country-men have of late time disclosed among their Magnetical Experiments. There they tell us, that a rod or bar of iron having stood long in a window, or elsewhere ; being thence taken, and by the help of a cork or the like thing, being balanced in water, or in any other liquid substance where it may have a free mobility, will bewray a kind of inquietude and discontentment till it attain the former position. Now it is pretty to note, how in this Natural Theorem is involved a Moral conclusion of direct moment to the point we have in hand.

For if such an unpliant and stubborn mineral as Iron is above any other, will acquire by meer continuance a secret appetite, and (as I may term it) an habitual inclination to the site it held before. Then how much more may we hope, through the very same means, (*Education* being nothing else but a constant plight and *Inurement*) to induce by custom good habits into a reasonable creature ? And so having a little smooth'd my passage, I may now go on to the Chapters.





THE  
FIRST CHAPTER  
OR  
SECTION;

*Touching the Search of Natural Capacities and Inclinations.*



F the two things propounded in this Chapter, I must begin with *Capacities*; For the manurement of Wits is like that of Soils, where before either the pains of *Tilling* or the charge of *Sowing*, Men use to consider what the mould will bear, Heath or Grain. Now this peradventure at the first view, may seem in Children a very slight and obvious enquiry; that age being so open and so free, and yet void of all Art to disguise or dissemble either their appetites, or their defects: Notwithstanding, we see it every day, and every where subject to much error; Partly by a very pardo-



pardonable facility in the Parents themselves, to over-prize their own Children, while they behold them through the vapors of affection which alter the appearance; as all things seem bigger in misty mornings. Nay, even strangers, and the most disinterested persons, are yet, I know not how, commonly inclined to a favourable conceit of little ones: so cheap a thing it is to bestow nothing but Hope. There is likewise on the other side, as often failing by an Undervaluation; for in divers Children their ingenerate and seminal Powers (as I may term them) lie deep, and are of slow disclosure; no otherwise than in certain Vegetables, which are long before they shoot up and appear, and yet afterwards both of good and great increase; which may serve to excite care, and to prevent despair in Parents: for if their Child be not such a speedy spreader and brancher, like the Vine, yet perchance he may prove *proles tardè crescentis Oliva*; and yield, though with a little longer expectation, as useful, and more sober fruit than the other. And, I must confess, I take some delight in these kind of comparisons; remembering well what I have often heard my truly Noble, and most dear Nephew, Sir *Edmund Bacon*, say, out of his exquisite Contemplations, and Philosophical Practice: That Nature surely (if she be well studied) is the best *Moralist*, and hath much good Counsel hidden in her bosom.

Now here then will lie the whole business, to set down before-hand certain Signatures of Hopefulness, or *Characters*, (as I will rather call them, because that Word hath gotten already some entertainment among us) whereby may be timely described what the Child will prove in probability. These



*Characters* must necessarily be either impressed in the outward person, like stamps of Nature, or must otherwise be taken from some emergent act of his mind; wherein of the former sort,

The first is that which first incurreth into sight; namely, the Child's colour or complexion, (as we vulgarly term it) and thence perchance some judgment of the predominant humour.

The next is the structure, and conformation of the limbs.

And the third is a certain spirituous resultance from the other two, which makes the countenance.

The second kind of these *Characters* (which are rather mental than personal) be of such variety (because minds are more active than bodies) that I purpose, for the plainest delivery, to resolve all my gatherings, touching both kinds, into a *Rapsody* of several Observations: For I dare not give them the Authoritative Title of *Aphorisms*; which yet, when I shall have mustered them, if their own strength be considered rather in troop than singly, as they say, by Pole, may perchance make a reasonable Moral *Prognostick*,

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### *The Observations.*

Here are in the course of humane life, from our Cradles upward, certain Periods; or Degrees of change, commonly (as the Ancients have noted) every seven years, whereof the two first *Septenaries*, and half of the third, or thereabouts, I will call the Obsequious age, apt to imbe all manner of impressions: which time of the suppleness of Obedience is to be plied by Parents, be-



before the stiffness of Will come on too fast.

There is no Complexion, or Composition in Children, either privileged from bad proof, or prejudiced from good. Always I except prodigious Forms, and meer natural Impotencies, which are unmanageable *In toto Genere*, and no more to be cultivated than the sands of *Arabia*.

More ordinary Imperfections and Distortions of the Body in Figure, are so far from excluding all hope, that we usually see them attended with some notable Compensation one way or other, whereof our own time hath produced with us no slight Example in a great Minister of State, and many other.

I am yet willing to grant, that generally in Nature, the best outward *shapes* are also the likeliest to be consociated with good inward *faculties*: for this Conclusion hath somewhat from the *Divine Light*: since God himself made this great *World* (whereof *Man* is the little *Model*) of such Harmonious Beauty in all the parts, to be the Receptacle of his perfectest Creature.

Touching such Conjectures as depend on the Complexions of Children: Albeit I make no question but all kind of Wits and Capacities may be found under all *Tinctures* and *Integuments*; yet I will particularly describe one or two with some preference, though without prejudice of the rest.

The first shall be a *Palish Clearness*, evenly and smoothly spread, not over-thin and washy; but of a pretty solid consistence; from which equal distribution of the *Phlegmatick Humour*; which is the proper allay of fervent Blood, I am wont to hope (where I see it) will flow a future quietude and serenity in the Affections, and a discreet sweetness and moderation in the Manners; not so quick



perchance of conceit, as slow to passion ; and commonly less inventive, than judicious : Howsoever, for the most part, proving very plausible, insinuant, and fortunate men.

The other is, the pure sanguine *Melancholick Tincture*, wherein I would wish five parts of the first to three of the second ; that so there may be the greater portion of that which must illuminate and enrich the Fancy , and yet no scant of the other, to fix and determine the Judgement : for surely the right natural definition of a wise Habit, is nothing else but a plentifulness and promptness in the Store-house of the Mind of clear Imaginations well fixed.

*Marcilius Ficinus* (the deep *Florentine Platonick*) increaseth these proportions, requiring eight to two in the foresaid Humours ; and withal, adding two more of pure Choler : But of that I shall speak more among the inward Motions, purposely here forbearing it, where I only contemplate the superficial Appearance.

In the outward frame and fabrick of the Body, which is the next object after Complexion. An erect and forward stature, a large breast, neat and pliant joynts , and the like , may be good significant of health, of strength, or agility, but are very foreign Arguments of Wit : I will therefore only say somewhat of the *Head* and *Eye*, as far as may conduce to my present scope.

The Head in a Child I wish great and round, which is the capablest Figure, and the freest from all restraint and compression of the parts : For since in the Section of Bodies, we find Man , of all sensible Creatures, to have the fullest Brain to his proportion, and that it was so provided by the Supreme



preme Wisdom, for the lodging of the intellectual Faculties : It must needs be a silent Character of Hope, when, in the *Oeconomical* Providence of Nature, (as I may term it) there is good store of room-age and receipt where those Powers are stowed : As commonly we may think Husbanding men to foresee their own Plenty, who prepare before-hand large Barns and Garnaries. Yet *Thucydides* (anciently one of the excellentest Wits in the learnedst part of the World) seems (if *Marcellinus* in his life have well described him) to have been somewhat Taper-headed, as many of the *Genouesers* are at this day in common Observation, who yet be a People of singular Sagacity : yea, I call not impertinently to mind, that one of my time in *Venice*, had Wit enough to become the Civil Head of that grave *Republick*, who yet for the littleness of his own natural Head, was surnamed *Il Donato Testolina*. But the Obtrusion of such particular Instances as these, are insufficient to disauthorize a Note grounded upon the final intention of Nature.

The *Eye* in Children (which commonly let them rowl at pleasure) is of curious observation, especially in point of discovery : For it loveth, or hateth, before we can discern the heart ; it consenteth, or denieth, before the tongue ; it resolveth, or runneth away before the feet : nay, we shall often mark in it a dulness, or apprehensiveness, even before the understanding. In short, it betrayeth in a manner the whole state of the Mind, and letteth out all our fancies and passions as it were by a window. I shall therefore require in that Organ, without Poetical Conceits, (as far as may concern my purpose, be the colour what it will) only a settled vivacity, nor wandring, nor stupid ;



yet, I must confess, I have known a number of dulighted, very sharp-witted men.

The truth is, that if in these external marks, or signatures, there be any certainty, it must be taken from that which I have formerly called, *The total Resultance*. By which, what I mean, I shall more properly explain in the third *Section*, when I come to handle the general air of the Person and Carriage. I will now hasten to those more solid and conclusive *Characters*, which, as I have said, are emergent from the Mind; and which often-times do start out of Children when themselves least think of it: for, let me tell you, Nature is *Proditorious*.

And first I must begin with a strange Note: That a Child will have *Tantum ingenii quantum iræ*; That is, in my construction, as much wit as he hath waywardness. This Rule we have cited by \* *Capnio*. a very \* Learned man, somewhere out of *Seneca*, and exemplified by *Angelus Politianus* (none of the meanest Criticks) who writing the life of *Pietro de Medici*, concludeth, That he was likely to prove a Wise man, because he was a froward Boy. Truly, I have been many times tempted to wonder, notwithstanding the value of these Authors, How so disordinate a Passion seated in the Heart, and boiling in the Blood, could betoken a good constitution of the Brain, which, above any other, is, or should be, the coldest part: But because all sudden motions must necessarily imply a quick apprehension of the first stirring cause, and that the dullest of other creatures are the latest offended, I am content for the present to yield it some credit.

We have another, somewhat of the same mould,  
from



from *Quintilian*, (whom I have ever thought, since any use of my poor judgment, both the elegantest and soundest of all the *Roman Pens*) That a Child will have *Tantum ingenii, quantum memoria*: This, I must confess, will bear a stronger Consequence of Hope; for Memory is not only considerable as it is in it self a good Retention, but likewise as it is an infallible Argument of good Attention; a point of no small value in that Age, which a fair Orange, or a red Apple will divert.

There is yet another in the same Writer, and in the same place, where he handleth this very *Theme*. How to descry Capacities: That Parents should mark, whether their Children be naturally apt to imitate; wherewith certainly all fine fancies are caught, and some little less than ravished. And we have a Tradition of *Quintilian* himself, that when he saw any well-expressed Image of grief, either in *Picture*, or *Sculpture*, he would usually weep: For, being a Teacher of Oratory in School, he was perhaps affected with a passionate Piece of *Art*, as with a kind of *mute Eloquence*. True it is indeed, which a great Master hath long before taught us, That Man is of all Creatures the most Mimical, as a kind of near adjunct to Reason: Arguing necessarily in those that can do it well, whether it be in *Gestures*, in *Styles*, in *Speech*, in *Fashion*, in *Accents*, or howsoever, no shallow Impression of Similitudes and Differences; about which, in effect, is conversant the whole Wildom of the World.

Besides these, I would wish Parents to mark heedfully the witty Excuses of their Children, especially at Suddains and Surprizals; but rather to mark than pamper them, for that were other-



wise to cherish untruth : whereof I shall speak more in the *Final Section*.

Again are to be observed not only his own crafty and pertinent Evasions, but likewise with what kind of Jest, or pleasant Accidents he is most taken in others ; which will discover the very degree of his apprehension, and even reach as far as to the censuring of the whole Nations , whether they be flat and dull, or of quick capacity : For surely, we have argument enough at this day to conclude, the Ancient *Grecians* an Ingenious People ; of whom the Vulgar sort, such as were haunters of *Theaters*, took pleasure in the Conceits of *Aristophanes* ; reserving my judgment to other place upon the filthy Obscenities of that and other Authors, well arguing among Christians, when all is said, that the Devil is one of the wittiest.

Again, it shall be fit to note , how prettily the Child himself doth manage his pretty Pastimes : This may well become an ordinary Parent , to which so great an Emperor as *Augustus* descended in the highest of his State, and gravest of his Age, who collected ( as *Suetonius* tells us ) out of all the known World , especially from the *Syrians* and *Moors*, ( where, by the way, we may note, who were then reputed the sharpest Nations ) little Boys of the rarest Festivity, to play before him at their ordinary Sports. And indeed there is much to be noted, worthy of a sadder judgment in the Wiliness of that Age.

Again, I would have noted in Children, not only their Articulate Answers , but likewise certain smiles and frowns upon incident Occasions ; which though they be dumb and light passions , will discover much of that inward power which moveth them ;



them ; especially when withal they lighten or cloud the whole face in a moment.

Lastly, let not his very Dreams be neglected ; for, without question , there is a great *Analogy* between those Apprehensions which he hath taken by day into his Fancy, and his nocturnal Impressions ; particularly in that Age, which is not yet troubled with the fumes and cares of the World ; so as the Soul hath a freer and more defecated Operation : And this is enough for the disclosing of a good Capacity in the popular way which I have followed, because the Subject is general.

Now for the second Part of this Chapter , touching Inclinations : for after we know how far a Child is capable , the next will be to know unto what course he is naturally most inclined. There must go before a main research, whether the Child that I am to manage, be of a good nature or no ; as the same term is vulgarly taken , for an ingenious and tractable disposition : which being a fundamental Point, and the first root of all vertuous Actions, and though round about in every Mothers mouth, yet a thing which will need very nice and narrow Observation : I have spent some diligence in collecting certain private Notes, which may direct this Inquiry.

First, therefore, when I mark in Children much solitude and silence , I like it not , nor any thing born before his time, as this must needs be in that sociable and exposed Age, as they are for the most part. When either alone, or in company, they sit still without doing of any thing, I like it worse ; for surely all dispositions to Idleness, or Vacancy, even before they grow habits, are dangerous : & there is commonly but a little distance in time between doing of nothing, and doing of ill.

The





# THE APHORISMS OF EDUCATION.

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Time is the plainest Legend, and every day a leaf is turned.

**I**F we look abroad, we shall see many proceed yearly out of the Schools of Experience, whereas few, in comparison, are commended unto Degrees by us : indeed the multitude of those Schools infinitely exceeding our numbers ; but especially because the means which they follow are far more obvious and easie. Libraries and Lectures profiting none , but such as bring some measure of understanding with them ; but the Occurrents of the World being easily entertained by the weakest capacities , assisted only with common sense : neither therefore is this Legend of time to be contemned by those whose Wits are more pregnant, or Studies furnished with greatest choice. The Students of Common Law manifest the benefit arising from the use thereof ; who as by reading their Year Books they re-  
cover



cover the Experience by former Ages : so by daily repair to the Courts of Justice, they suffer nothing of the present to pass unobserved. And I note, That whereas foreign Universities (in conferring Degrees) regard meerly the performance of some solemn exercise : ours further require a certain expence of time, supposing (as I conceive) that howsoever exercise of form may be deceitfully dispatched of course : yet that he who lives some space among the assiduous advantages and helps of Knowledge, (except he be of the Society of the Antipodes, who turn night into day, and take no notice of what is done) cannot chuse but receive so much upon ordinary observation, as may make him Master of some Art ; which frequent opportunities, as they happily add something to those who are but idle lookers on, so, no doubt, they must advance perfection in those who are more studiously observant ; every day presenting their Judgments with matters examinable by the Precepts they read, and most producing to their inventions, occurrents fit for further inquiry.

Every Nature is not a fit Stock to graft a Scholar on.

**T**He Spaniard (that wrote the Trial of Wits) undertakes to shew what Complexion is fit for every Profession. I will not disable any for proving a Scholar ; nor yet dissemble that I have seen many happily forced upon that course, to which by nature they seemed much indisposed. Sometimes the possibility of preferment prevailing with the credulous, expectation of less expence with the covetous, opinion of ease with the fond, and assurance of remoteness with the unkind Parents, have moved them, without discretion, to engage their children in adventures of Learning, by whose return they have received but small contentment :

But



*But they who are deceived in their first designs, deserve less to be condemned, as such who (after sufficient trial) persist in their wilfulness are no way to be pitied. I have known some who have been acquainted (by the complaints of Governors, clamors of Creditors, and confessions of their Sons) what might be expected from them, yet have held them in with strong hand, till they have desperately quit, or disgracefully forfeited the places where they lived. Deprived of which, they might hope to avoid some misery, if their Friends, who were so careful to bestow them in a College when they were young, would be so good as to provide a room for them in some Hospital when they are old.*

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He seldom speeds well in his course, that stumbles at his setting forth.

**I** Have ever been unwilling to hear, and careful not to utter predictions of ill success; Oracles proceeding as well from Superstitious ignorance, as curious Learning: and what I deliver in these words, occasioned by examples past, I desire may be applied for prevention, rather than prejudice to any hereafter. To the same effect I heard a discreet Censor lesson a young Scholar, negligent at his first entrance to the Elements of Logick and Philosophy, telling him, That a Child starved at nurse, would hardly prove an able man. And I have known some who attended with much expectation at their first appearing, have stained the Maidenhead of their Credit with some negligent performance, fall into irrecoverable dislike with others, and hardly escape despair of themselves. They may make a better excuse, but not hope for more favour, who can impute the fault of their inauspicious attempts somewhere else; a circumstance necessarily to be considered where punishment is inflicted: but where reward is proposed for worth, it is as  
usually



usually detained from those who could not, as from those who cared not to deserve it.

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The way to Knowledge by Epitomes is too streight, by Commentaries too much about.

**I**T is sufferable in any to use what liberty they list in their own manner of Writing, but the contracting and extending the lines and sense of others, if the first Authors might speak for themselves, would appear a thankless office; and if the Readers did confer with the Originals, they would confess they were not thoroughly or rightly informed. • Epitomes are helpful to the memory, and of good private use, but set forth for publick Monuments, accuse the industrious Writers of delivering much impertinency, and divert many to close and shallow Cisterns, whose leisure might well be acquainted with more deep and open springs. In brief, what I heard sometimes spoken of Ramus, I believe of those thrifty Compendiums; They shew a short course to those who are contented to know a little, and a sure way to such whose care is not to understand much. Commentaries are guilty of the contrary extreme, stifling the Text with infinite additions, and screwing those conceits from the words, which, if the Authors were set on the Rack, they would never acknowledge. He who is discreet in bestowing his pains, will suspect those places to be desert and barren, where the way cannot be found without a guide; and leave curiosity in enquest of obscurities, which, before it, receive content, doth lose or tire it self with digressions.



Discretion is the most universal Art, and hath more Professors than Students.

**D**iscretion, as I understand it, consists in the useful knowledge of what is fit and comely; of necessary direction in the practice of moral duties, but most esteemed in the composing and framing civil behaviour: men ordinarily being better content to be dishonest, than to be conscious to themselves that they are unmannerly. Few study it, because it is attained rather by a natural felicity, than by any endeavour or pains; and many profess it, presuming on sufficiency to censure others: and as unable to discern themselves, concerning their own defects, as unaccustomed to be rightly informed. It little concerns men indifferent what we do in that kind; and our friends are either nothing offended therewith, or unwilling to offend us with their relation: our enemies seldom speak of it in our hearing; and when we hear, we as hardly believe them.

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They who travel far, easily miss their way.

**T**Travel is reputed a proper means to create men wise, and a possible to make them honest, because it forces circumspectness on those abroad, who at home are nursed in security; and perswadeth good behaviour and temperance to such, who (far from friends and means) are willing to have little to do with the Lawyer or Physician. Men coming into other Countries, as if born into a strange world, with some discretion above them, which teacheth both to distrust others, and keep themselves sober; and to shift off those homely fashions which Nature and Custom in their years of simplicity had put on them. But these effects are not general, many receiving more good in their  
Bodies



Bodies by the tossing of the Ship, whilst they are at Sea, than benefit in their Minds by breathing in a foreign Air, when they come to Land. Yet they are as desirous men should observe they have travelled, as careful in their travels to observe nothing; and therefore if they be not able to make it known by their relation and discourse, it shall appear by their cloths and gesture: Some attain to greater perfection, being able to shew at what charge they have seen other places, by their excellency in some other rare vices, or irregularity in strange opinions. As the times are, he is commended that makes a saving Voyage, and least discredits his Travels, who returns the same man he went.

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Somewhat of the Gentleman gives a tincture to a Scholar, too much stains him.

**H**E who advised the Philosopher (altogether devoted to the Muses) sometimes to offer Sacrifice at the Altars of the Graces, thought Knowledge to be imperfect without Behaviour, which experience confirms, able to shew, that the want thereof breeds as much disrespect to many Scholars with the Observers of Ceremonies, as improper affectation moves distaste in some substantial judgments. Indeed slovenliness is the worst sign of a hard Student, and civility the best exercise of the remiss: yet not to be exact in the phrase of Complement, or gestures of Courtesie, the indifferent do pardon to those who have been otherwise busied; and rather deride, than applaud such, who think it perfection enough to have a good outside, and happiness to be seen amongst those who have better; pleasing themselves more in opinion of some proficiency, in terms of hunting or horsemanship, which few that are studious understand, then they blush to be known ignorant in that which every man ought to know: To which vanity I have known  
 none



none more enclined, than those whose birth did neither require, nor fortunes encourage them to such costly idleness; who at length made sensible by necessity, haply have the grace to repent, but seldom times the gift to recover.

Books and Friends are better received by weight than number.

**T**He necessities of Life do warrant multitude of Employments, and the variety of Nature's excuse the diversity of delights: but to my discretion that course seems most desirable, whose business occasions no further trouble, nor leisure requires other Recreations than may indifferently be entertained with Books and Friends. They are indeed happy who meet with such whom they may trust in both kinds; and undoubtedly wise, that can well apply them: the imperfect apprehension and misuse never producing any good effect: For so we see capacious understandings (by continual inquiry and perusal of all sorts of Authors) thrive no better in their knowledge than some men of good disposition (addicted generally to acquaintance) are gainers by the reckoning, when they cast up their expence of time; the hunger of the one breedeth a Consumption, and the others thirst not determining but by some humorous Disease: nay, they who seem to respect choice, sometimes err perniciously: Which the Frenchman observed, who maintained his Country was much the worse by old mens studying the venom of Policy, and young mens reading the dregs of Fancy. And it is manifest that in our little Commonwealth of Learning, much disparagement is occasioned, when able Spirits (attracted by familiarity) are inflamed with Faction, and good Natures (carried away with the stream of more pleasant company) are drowned in good Fellowship.



Love that observes Formality is seated rather in the Brain, than in the Heart.

**B***Y formality, I mean something more than Ceremony and Complement (which are the gesture and phrase of dissemblers,) even a solemn reservedness, which may well consist with honesty: not but that I admire a constant gravity, which upon no assurance will bewray the least imperfection to any: but confess, I am far from suspecting simplicity, which (careful to observe more real duties towards all) is bold to trespass in points of Decorum amongst some, which without blushing could not be confest to others. A sign, from whence the greatest Reasoner draws an Argument of good affection, which (as divine Charity covers many offences) in the experience of common humanity is content to dispencc with. And although Policy shews it to be the safest course to give advantage to none, yet an ingenuous nature thinks that he is scarce able to distinguish betwixt an enemy and a friend, that stands wholly upon his own guard.*

An Enemy is better recovered by great kindness, than a Friend assured.

**T***Here are some reliques of goodness found even in the worst natures; and out of question seeds of evil in those who are esteemed best; whence it may appear less strange, that hearts possess'd with rancour and malice, are overcome with beneficence, and minds otherwise well qualified, prove sometimes ungrateful; the one forc't to confess satisfaction received far more than was due; the other to acknowledge a debt of greater value than they are able to pay; howsoever, smaller courtesies seem not visible,*

1

great



great ones inducing an Obligation upon Publick Record.

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The sincerest Liberality consists in refusing, and the most innocent Thrift in saving.

**T**He bestowing of gifts is more glorious than the refusing of bribes; because gifts are commonly delivered in publick, whereas men use not to confess what they owe, or offer what they ought not, before witnesses. But in true estimation, it is as honourable a vertue not to receive, as to disperse benefits; it being of greater merit wholly to abstain from things desirable, than after fruition to be content to leave them; as they who magnifie single life, prefer Virginity much before Widowhood. Yet some (in whom this kind of bounty is little observed) are unworthily censur'd for keeping their own, whom tenderness hot to get honestly teacheth to spend discreetly; whereas such need no great thriftiness in preserving their own, who assume more liberty in exacting from others.

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Commendations proceeding from Subtilty, captive the Object; from Simplicity, the Author.

**T**Here is a skill to purchase, and pay debts only with fair words, drawing on good offices, and requiring them with Commendations; the felicity whereof hath made Flattery the most familiar Rhetorick, a leaving the old method of Perswasion, by insinuating the worth of him who desires to receive; and with more ease raising a self conceit in the man who is apt to swallow such light Bribery, and not often indisposed to digest unthankfulness so curiously seasoned. But it is no great inconvenience that kind-

ness



ness should be bestowed gratis, or upon cheap conditions ; the loss is, when men of plain meaning adventure on the exchange and use of this coyn, who, forward to profess their belief, ingage the credit of their wisdom on the behaviour of such, whose actions are not within their power, and become bound in Suretiship, without the help of a Scrivener: which inconsiderate affection makes many earnest Speakers in defence of injuries done to others, and silent Patients of wrongs unexpectedly befalling themselves; desire to make good their error, pressing their tongues to so unjust service; or care to dissemble it, debarring them from the general liberty of poor complaint.

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Expectation prepareth applause with the weak, and prejudice with the stronger Judgments.

**T**He fashion of commending our friends abilities before they come to trial, sometimes takes good effect with the common sort, who, building their belief on Authority, strive to follow the conceit of their betters; but usually amongst men of independent judgments, this bespeaking of opinion, breeds a purpose of stricter examination; and if the report be answered, procures only a bare acknowledgment; whereas if nothing be proclaimed or promised, they are perhaps content to signify their own skill in testifying anothers desert: otherwise great wits, jealous of their credit, are ready to suppress worth in others, to the advancing of their own, and (if more ingenuous) no farther just, than to forbear detraction; at the best rather disposed to give praise upon their own accord, than to make payment upon demand or challenge.



The testimony of sufficiency is better entertained,  
than the report of Excellency.

**T**He nature of some places necessarily requires men competently endowed, but where there is choice, none think the appointment to be a duty of Justice bound to respect the best desert : nay, the best conceive it a work of free bounty, which men of mean qualities are likely to acknowledge, and the worldly make it a business of profit, unto which the most deserving are least apt to subscribe. But besides these unlucky influences from above, this cross success may be occasioned either by the too great confidence of those who hope to rise, or the jealous distrust of such as are already raised, whilst they too much presuming on their own desert, neglect all auxiliary strength, these suspecting some diminution to their own, stop the passage of another's worth; that being most certain, *Alterius virtuti invidet, qui diffidit suæ.*

He that appears often in the same place, gets little ground in the way to credit.

**F**amiliar and frequent use, which makes things (at first ungrateful) by continuance pleasing or tolerable, takes away the lustre from more excellent objects; and reduceth them from the height of admiration, to the low degrees of neglect, dislike, and contempt; which were not strange, if it wrought only among the Vulgar, whose opinion (like their Stomachs) is overcome with satiety, or men of something a higher stage, the edge of whose sight is abated and dulled by long gazing; but the same entertainment is given by the Judicious and Learned, either because they observe some defects, which at first  
sight



*sight are less visible ; or the Actors in this kind betray weakness in their latter attempts, usually straining so high at first, that they are not able to reach again in the rest ; or by this often obtrusion not required, discover a good conceit of their own Graces ; and men so well affected to themselves are generally so happy, as to have little cause to complain of Corrivals.*

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The Active man riseth not so well by his strength,  
as the expert by his stirrop.

**T**hey that climb towards preferment or greatness by their own vertue, get up with much ado and very slowly ; whereas such as are raised by other means, usually ascend lightly and appear more happy in their sudden advancements, sometimes by the only strength of those who stand above, exercising their power in their dependants commonly by subordinate helps and assistance, which young men happily obtain from the commendations of friends, old men often compass by the credit of their wealth, who have a great advantage in that they are best able to purchase, and likely soonest to leave the room.

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Few men thrive by one onely Art, fewer by many.

**A**mongst Tradesmen of meaner sort, they are not poorest, whose Shop windows open over a red Lettice ; and the wealthiest Merchants imploy Scriveners for security at home, as much as Factors for their advantage abroad, both finding not more warrantable gains by negotiating with the industrious, than profitable returns by dealing with unthrifts. The disposition of the time, hath



taught this wisdom to more ingenuous professions, which are best entertained when they come accompanied with some other respects, whence preciseness is become a good habit to plead in, and Papistry a privy commendation to the Practice of Physick, contentious Zeal making most Clients, and sensual Superstition yielding the best Patients. They who are intent by diverse means to make progress in their estate, cannot succeed well, as he that would run upon his hands and feet makes less speed than one who goes as nature taught him; the untoward moving of some unskilful parts, hindring the going forward of those which are better disposed.

It is good to profess betimes, and practise at leisure.

**T**Here is a saying, That the best choice is of an old Physician and a young Lawyer: The reason suppos'd, because where errors are fatal, ability of judgment and moderation are required; but where advantages may be wrought upon, diligence and quickness of wit are of more special use. But if it be considered who are generally most esteemed, it will appear, that opinion of the multitude sets up the one, and the favour of Authority upholds the other; yet in truth, a mans age and time are of necessary regard, such of themselves succeeding best, who in these or any other professions, neither defer their resolution too long, nor begin their practice too soon; whereas ordinarily, they who are immaturely adventurous, by their insufficiency hurt others; they who are tedious in deliberation, by some improvidence hinder themselves.



Felicity shews the ground where Industry builds a Fortune.

**A**Rchimedes the great Engineer (who in defending Syracuse against Marcellus, shewed wonderful Experiments of his extraordinary skill,) was bold to say, That he would remove the world out of his place, if he had elsewhere to set his foot. And truly I believe so far, that otherwise he could not do it : I am sure, so much is evident in the Architecture of Fortunes ; in the raising of which the best Art or endeavour is able to do nothing, if it have not where to lay the first stone ; for it is possible with the like Skill to raise a frame when we have matter ; but not to create something out of nothing : the first being the ordinary effect of industry, this only of Divine Power. Indeed, many from very mean beginnings have aspired to very eminent place, and we usually ascribe it to their own worth, which no doubt in some is great ; yet as in Religion we are bound to believe, so in truth the best of them will confess, that the first advantage was reached out meerly by a Divine hand, which also no doubt, did always assist their after endeavours. Some have the felicity to be born Heirs to good Estates, others to be made so beyond their hopes. Marriage (besides the good which oftentimes it confers directly) collaterally sometimes helps to Offices, sometimes to Benefices, sometimes to Dignities. Many rise by relation and dependance, it being a happy step to some, to have fallen on a fortunate Master, to some on a foolish, to some (few) on a good. There are divers other means, of which, as of these, I am not so fit to speak, but truly considered, they are all out of our own power ; which he that presumeth most, cannot promise himself ; and he that expects least, sometimes attains.





A  
**CONCEPT**  
 OF SOME  
**OBSERVATIONS**  
 INTENDED

*Upon Things most Remarkable in the Civil History of this Kingdom; and likewise in the State of the Church.*

*From the NORMAN Invasion, till the Twelfth Year of our Vertuous SOVEREIGN,*

**CHARLES**

*The FIRST,*

Whom God have in his precious Custody.

*Of WILLIAM the First.*

**W**ILLIAM the First was a Child of Fortune from his Cradle. We do commonly and justly stile him, *The Conqueror*: For he made a general Conquest of the whole Kingdom and People either by Composition or Arms. And he  
 sup-



suppressed in great part the former Customs and Laws, and introduced new Behaviours and Habits; which under shew of Civility, were in effect but Rudiments of Subjection. Lastly, he was near the Imposing, and (as I may term it) the Naturalizing here of his own *Language*: At least, he both made it and left it Currant in all Courts of *Plea*; whereof is yet remaining no small Impression.

Besides his Atchievements by Force, I note a great Secret of State silently wrapped in his high Tenures of Knight Service. For, those drawing as well Marriage as Wardship, gave him both power and occasion to Conjugate at pleasure the *Norman* and the *Saxon* Houses, which by degrees might prove a second Conquest of Affections, harder than the first.

Rarely had been seen for such a Prize, an evenier Trial by Battel than that at *Hastings*: Both Commanders well acquainted before with Adventures and Peril: Both animated and edged with Victories. In their Numbers (through confused Report) I can collect no enormous disparity. In their Persons equally valiant. And for any Right or Merit in the Cause, no difference but this: That either the One must keep a Kingdom ill gotten, or the Other get it as ill.

What were the main Errors, and what principally gave the Day, so long after, is hard to affirm. Well we may conclude, that on either side the Fight was constant and fierce: and surely undeterminable without the death, at least, of one of the Chiefs. For the *English* would not run away, and the *Normans* could not.

After this Success, His not Marching immediately



ly to the Head-City, when Terror would have swept the ground before him : but Casting about (for so the most have delivered) more like a Progress than a pursuit, as if one single Battel had given him leave to play with his Fortune, may seem strange, according to the Maxims of War at this Day : But, let all Discourse cease. States have their Conversions and Periods as well as Natural Bodies, and we were come to our *Tropique*.

In his farther Proceedings I note him sometimes most helped, and another while most hindered by the Clergy, than of mighty perswasion with the Temporal Lords and People : which taught afterwards a Lesson when he was fast in the Throne, how to Rivet his own Greatness, by Changing the Natives into *Normans*, or other Aliens of his proper choice, in the Highest Ecclesiastical Dignities.

Then was *Stigand* the Metropolitan, in a Synod formally and fairly Deposed, being too stiff for the times : Which was indeed the wringing Point, though other Objections made more noise.

He was Crowned on *Christmas* Day, in the year of our Saviour 1066. At which Time he would fain have Compounded a Civil Title of, I know not what, Alliance or Adoption, or rather Donation from *Edward* the Confessor : As if Hereditary Kingdoms did pass like New-years gifts : The truth is, He was the Heir of his Sword. Yet from those Pretences howsoever, there sprang this good, That he was thereby in a sort engaged to cast his Government into a middle or mixed nature, as it were between a lawful Successor, and an invader ; though generally, (as all new Empires do favour much of their beginnings)

it



it had more of the Violent than of the Legal.

One of the first Things in his Intent, but in effect one of the last, was the perfecting of that which we call the *Winchester* Book : being a more particular inquisition than had been before, of every Hide of Land within the precincts of his Conquest, and how they were holden : whenceforth we may account a full Re-settlement of Lordship and Propriety through the Realm. *Quere* ( for I find it obscure ) whether Possessions, for the most part, had not remained all the while before, in a kind of Martial Disposure, or perchancelittle better.

We have at this day more knowledge of whom he doubted, than of whom he trusted, ( which I believe were very few. ) Certainly, his Reign must needs be full of strong apprehensions, and his nature was prone enough to entertain them, as may well appear by the event, in two Personages of all other the likeliest to sit fast about him ; namely, *Fitz Aubert, alias Fitz Osbern*, ( for he is diversly termed ) and *Odo*, one of his own Brothers by the same Womb. These two had each of them contributed towards his Enterprize about Forty Ships apiece, and were the first foundation of his Fortunes, both in Strength, and in Example. But what became of them ? Marry, after they had been dignified here with Earldoms, the one of *Hereford*, the other of *Kent* ; *Fitz Osbern* ( as some report ) was executed under him : Or ( as the most ) was discarded into a Foreign Service, for a pretty shadow of Exilement. And *Odo* his Brother was a Prisoner even at the time of his own death : So heavy with some high minds is an overweight of Obligation : Or otherwise, great Deservers



servers do perchance grow intolerable Presumers. Or lastly, Those that help to Raise, stand ever in some hazard to be thought likewise the fittest to Depress. I have been sometimes tempted to wonder, how among these Jealousies of State and Court, *Edgar Atheling* could subsist, being then the Apparent and Indubitate Heir of the *Saxon* Line. But he had tryed and found him a Prince of limber vertues : So as though he might peradventure have some Place in his Caution, yet he reckoned Him beneath his Fear.

He was contemporal with three Popes, *Victor*, and *Alexander* the second of that Name, and *Hildebrand*, alias *Gregory* the Seventh. *Victor* took the first hold of him, by Ratifying his Nuptial Contract within the Degrees forbidden (which is none of the least Arts in the *Roman* Hierarchy, for the Chaining of Princes and their Issue to a perpetual Dependance.) *Alexander* drave it somewhat further, by lending his Banner to this Invasion : As they have been always frank of their Blessings to Countenance any Great action : and then (according as it should prosper) to Tissue upon it some Pretence or other. As, here first of all came in a Challenge of Homage, forsooth, by Promise : which though the Conqueror ever eagerly disavowed ; Yet, I know not how, by the cunning Incroachments of *Hildebrand* (that famous Intruder) who succeeded, He did abase and avale the Sovereignty into more Servitude towards that See, (as our Authors charge his Time) than had been since the name of a State or a Church among us.

Now for the Constitution and Character of his Person and Mind : He was not of any delicate Con-



Contexture : His Limbs rather sturdy than dainty : Sublime and almost Tumorous in his Looks and Gestures : yea, even in His Oaths ; for they say, He used to swear *By the Resurrection of the Son of God*. By nature far from Profusion , and yet a greater Sparer than a Saver ; For though he had such means to accumulate, yet His Forts, Castles, and Towers which he built, and his Garrisons which he maintained , and his Feastings (wherein he was only Sumptuous) could not but soak His Exchequer. Besides , the multiplicity of Rewards which hang upon such Acquests ; And likewise certain secret waste Pipes of *Espials* through the Realm , no less chargeable , than Necessary for new Beginners. But above all, I must note the Popes Legates and Dreyners, which began here to be frequent in His Time ; and are no where cheap.

One strange and excellent Fame doth follow Him : That the Land had never been before so free from Robberies and Depredations , as through His Reign ; scarce Credible in such a Broken and Rustling Time, if it were not so constantly delivered. But, it should seem , That to ingratiate himself with the vulgar (with whom there is nothing more popular than Security) He made it a Master-piece of his Regiment. And perchance Action had pretty well evacuated the idle people ; which are the stock of Rapine.

His Wife, the Lady *Magdalena* , brought him four Sons, and six Daughters ; And (besides her natural Fertility) we may almost account her pregnant of a Conquest : For, her Father Earl *Baldwin* of *Flanders* had then the *French* King in Tutelage : So as ( no doubt ) by her Mediation he drew



drew a great Concurrence from that Kingdom, and the adjacent Provinces. For these Reasons He loved her well : And I find his life little tainted with extravagant Lust ; for, his Pleasures were more of the Field, than of the Chamber. Yet, he had one Illegitimate Child (to keep it in fashion ) namely, *Fruevel*, Lord of *Nottingham* and *Derby*.

He left the Succession to his second Son, not because he bare his Name ( though that perhaps might have been some Motive : ) nor because he thought him the best timbred to support it : But *Robert* his eldest, having openly Rebelled against him ; and having ( as they write ) at a casual Incounter given him his Life ( which was too great a Gift to be either forgotten or acknowledged ) he had reason to prefer the more obsequious Child. And I think, we shall need to seek no further.

As for *Henry* his third Son, albeit he was born after his Father was a King ; and the two former were but the Issue of a Duke of *Normandy* ; so as by some ancient Examples ( if Examples could carry Diadems ) he might, and perchance did expect the Crown ; yet, He left him ( by our best Relations ) but a bare Legacy of Five thousand Pounds. Note the sober measure of that Age, when it was a King's younger Sons Portion, which is now scant an Aldermans : So much is either Wealth increased, or Moderation decayed.

But let me Conclude my Notes upon the Heroical Champion. He died not in his Acquisitive, but in his Native Soil : Nature her self as it were claiming a final Interest in his Body, when Fortune had done with Him. But one thing fell out  
to



to disquiet his Obsequies, That the Place where he should be laid, was put in Suit, as having formerly in the Time of his Power been wrested from the true Owner ; which a while suspended his Interment, and became a Declamatory Theme among the Religious Men of that Age ; That so Great a Conquerour of Foreign Lands should at length want Earth at Home to cover Him.

But it was the last of his worldly Felicities, that for the better Establishment of His Heir, he survived his own Victory twenty Years , eight Months , and sixteen Days. For , *Tempus conquirit omnia.*

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H E N -

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# HENRICI VI. Angliæ & Galliarum Regis, Hiberniæ Domini, *Etonensis* ad Tam- mesin Collegii Conditoris, *Vita & Excessus.*

Scriptore *HENRICO WOTTONIO* Anglo-  
Cantiano ejusdem Collegii Præfecto.



*I*nter honestam requiem quam Etonense Collegium Vergentibus jam Annis nostris indulget, Subinde me invasit hæc Cogitatio : Haud multum distare silentes à Defunctis. Quippe, quid interest nos terminet fatalis Dies, an præstinguat Inertia ? Unde reputanti mecum quid aggrederer, non ingratum omnino videbatur præsentis otii pretium fore, si Regis *HENRICI VI.* Vitam (cujus benificâ Pietate fovemur) è sanctioribus memoriis expromerem à primo fere vagitu ad extremum usque Diem; quo innocentius quidem quam feliciter, Imperium clausit. Quod si obscuriora jampridem amplexus Studia Magnorum Nominum Gloriæ quæ sub Calamum cadent minus fatifecerim. At interea quodcumque futurum sit, pro diverticulo saltem valeat ad fallendam Canitiem quæ indies obrepit.

Age ergo, revolvamus varios humanorum Casuum Fluctus & Procellas. En mirum sub Rege maxime omnium quietis avido, turbulentissime Scenæ Spectaculum :  
Ebquo



Eoque tristiori exitu, quo blandioribus initiis, ut nulla Optimo principi defuisse videatur, aut ludentis Fortune aut sevientis, Calamitas. Sed in ipso limine parcendum publico Mœrori. Paulisper indeflecti jacent tot fortium virorum, tot illustrium Familiarum Cineres. Ne, ut plerique Scribentium, pomposo nimis genitu, conceptum opus prœgravarem. Teque potius (Serenissime CAROLE Rex & Domine) Justî tenax, verique patiens, & cujus mores non minùs quàm leges cuncta temperant: Te, inquam, veterum ritu ante Exorsum compellare liceat, ut his conatibus benignâ fronte adesse velis, Dum priorum jam longè temporum Arumnas (quas divinum Numen sopivit) liberius quàm facundè peragam.

Lancastrii Stemmatis MAJESTAS (quoquo modo parta) per duorum Dominantium virtutes paxiter & successus occœperat paulatim valescere. De Henrici Quarti primordiis jam circumquaque Silentium: Aut ob tecta murmura comprimente (ut solet) Vulgi voces lato hæctenus domi forisque Fortune afflatu. At neque Nobilium videbantur inquieta Consilia, quorum ferocior Pars aperto Marte aut conjurationibus exhausti, Molliores Tempori serviebant. Quin & quædam subfulsit futura securitatis Fiducia. Quippe viginti jam trium Annorum dilapsu (tot enim à primi Lancastrii Imperio ad insequentis Obitum interfluxerant) Wallia post Oweni Glendori miserrimos Impetus, sub Henrico Quarto Composita, Scotieque Confinio per Henrici quinti Solertiam contra subitos incursum satis providè munito; si quid hîc forsân adhuc Turbidi, si quid Insidi detegeretur, promptum erat aliorum transfundere, & interna Suspicionum in Galliam velut exantlare, quo tum Tempestas incubuit.

In hoc statu Rerum Henricus Quintus post Victoriâ in Gallos ad Agennicuriâ (omnis Evi Memoriam illustrem)



lustrem) ingravescente Morbo, quin fortè inter bel-  
landi Sudores contraxerat, sit Saculi Fulmen, & brevi  
(proh nimium!) *Ætate, Gloriæ Satur, concessit Fatis,*  
*relictæ vix quadrimestri Filiolo.*

*Hic est ille HENRICUS Sextus, cujus Tempora*  
*in præsens meditamur, tot sortis Humanæ Documentis*  
*inclyta, quot ulla usquam Ætas in unum congeffit.*

*Sed antequam ulterius procefferim, non incongruum*  
*reor paucis aperire, Qualis tum esset Christiani Orbis*  
*Facies, Quanam apud nos Externorum Motuum, Quæ*  
*Civilium Origo, Quantum Anglorum Arma tum foras*  
*obtinnerint, quid intro sperandum, quidve timendum fue-*  
*rit.*

*Desunt cætera.*







*King Charles the: I*





AD  
REGEM

E  
SCOTIA  
REDUCEM  
*HENRICI WOTTONII*  
PLAUSUS ET VOTA.

MDCXXXIII.





C A R O L I N O  
CORNUBIÆ DUCI,

C E S T R I Æ COMITI, &c.

HENRICUS WOTTONIUS *seros Dies.*



ELSITUDINI Tuæ, tenellæ ad-  
huc Ætatis, insequentes PLA-  
SUS ET VOTA, Quæ PAREN-  
TEM Tuum, Optimum Regum è  
SCOTIA Reducem exceperunt, non  
inconsultè Dedico : Ut postquam Literis (A-  
vi- to jam Decore) imbutus fueris, ex hac quantu-  
lacunque Commentatiuncula Gazam haurias, Tripli-  
ci D I A D E M A T E Splendidior : Nempe  
HEREDITARIAM VIRTUTIS IMAGI-  
NEM.





A D

REGEM

E

SCOTIA REDUCEM

*Henrici Wottonii*

PLAUSU ET VOTA.

Augustissime *CAROLE*  
REX ET DOMINE.

A

Ntiquitus mos erat apud humaniores Gentium, quoties Justo Bonoq; Principe fruebantur, ne muta felicitas in pectoribus torperet, affectus & gaudia Præconiis, Votis, Plausibus effundere; Præsertim si quæ acclamantium Voces eliceret.

Nobilior occasio



Cujus ego tam sancti moris Emulatione quâdam raptus, discusso circâ præcordia frigore quod gravior jam ætas invexerat, ad celebrandum hanc Diem quâ Te nobis, Nosq; nobismetipsis restituis, flagrante fiduciâ accedo. Adeò enim propriâ dicendi Imbecillitate non deterreor, ut parùm absit quin eò me magis idoneum æstimem: Quippe, quid opus est Rhetorico apparatu? Cur auxiè nimis Verborum pondera expenderem? Sufficiet hodiè simpliciter gaudere. Sinceritas rudis ac impolita res est, quò incomptior eò alacrior: Et Facundia dum ornat, corrumpit lætitiâ. At neque id metuo, ne hoc officium blandientis videatur: & quasi ad Fortunæ Genua ambitiosæ projecti; quod sanè indignum foret ingenuo pudore quem à Parentibus, Indignum beatâ Mentis requie quam ex honestis studiis hausi. Unica tamen, fateor, in ipso limine Me circumcingit sollicitudo: Nimirum, ne Verecundiam illam quâ Majestas Tua cæteras Virtutes suavissimè condire solet etiam veris laudibus offendam. Nam cum ad alia omnia Fortissimus sis quæ aut Corporis Robur, aut Constantiam Animi postulent; solum vereor, ne hodiernos applausus & Elogia, quò justius debentur, eò mollius feras.

Legimus *Germanicum* (at quantum Virum!) paulò antè Prælium in *Chattos*, ferinâ opertum pelle ne nosceretur, appropinquasse noctu militum Tabernaculis, ut conceptam de se opinionem in tenebris subriperet: Adeò proprias plerumq; Laudes tenebrimè excipiunt qui maximè merentur. Unde fatis prævideo quàm necessarium sit, ut ad sacras tuas Aures Argumentis non ex levi Oratorum officinâ, sed paulò severioribus, aditum præmuniam. Dico igitur æquissimum esse ut neque pulchræ Principum,

nec



nec deformes Vitæ, ignobili silentio premantur : Sed boni Præviq̃ue eâdem scribendi quâ vivendi libertate : Nec minore Veritatis quàm Majestatis Reverentia, ad posterorum notitiam juxta transeant : Illi quidem, ne subductis Virtutum Exemplis, Virtutes ipsæ paulatim deficerent : Hi verò, ut soluti Legum vinculis, aliquo saltèm Annalium metu temperentur. Hoc ausim Tibi dicere, Præstantissime Domine, Et hoc ipsum quod ausim Tibimet-ipsi debeo ; Qui Triginta-tres jam Annos ita vixisti, Ita novem ferè regnasti, ut Verum non timeas. Clarissima erat olim, & æternùm Vivet Virginii Rufi ad Cluvium responsio ; Scis ( inquit ) Virgini, Quæ Historiæ Fides debeat : Proinde, si quidin Historiis meis legis aliter ac velles, Ignoscas rogo. Cui Virginius ; Cluvi, ne tu ignoras ideò me fecisse Quod feci, ut esset vobis liberum Scribere quæ libuisset. Ad hæc fuit inclyti quidèm sed privati Hominis securitas. Quantò magis exultet hæc dies ob receptum Regem, de cujus Vitâ Moribusque apertissimè simul ac tutissimè loquamur. Quin & confidentèr hoc adjiciam ; Si prima Architectrix NATURA ipsa Pectus Tuum ( ut Verbo Vitruviano utar ) fenestrasset ; Si omnium oculos non solùm intrà Secretiores Cubiculi parietes, sed ad intimos Cordis recessus admitteres, nihil omninò aliud appareret quàm splendor Boni, & Imperturbata Virtutum Serenitas. Quid dixi ? Si admitteres ? Ac si possent, Quos hîc Supremum NUMEN in sublimi & Lucido posuit, ex Oculis eripi, Et Vita vel Imperii rationem quasi prætensis Nubibus occulere : In hoc quidèm Obscuritas & ipsa solitudo est Majestate tectior. Putatne ille Abissinorum Imperator, quem ferunt quotannis semèl palàm conspici, eo minus notescere quid clanculùm fiat ? Annon eti-



am hodiè scimus *Domitianum* olim in secreto *Horario*, quo se indies seclusit, nihil aliud quàm præacuto stilo *Muscas* confixissè? Num *Tiberius* in *Capreeni* secessu delituit? Cùm inter tot *Vulnera* & *Laniatus* *Conscientiæ* (quæis tanquam *Furiis* agitabatur) multa quotidie divulsæ *Mentis* *Indicia* erumperent? Non certè. *Majestas* *Tua* & *sui* *Temporis*, & *venturi* *Principes* unicam solum & saluberrimam se celandi *Artem* docuit, quod nihil celandum moliris. Sunt quædam *Animalcula* ingrato aspectu, velut *Noctuæ* ac *Vespertiliones*, quæ *Natura* ad *Lucis* *Odium* damnavit: Nonnullos etiam *Potentium* fuisse scio, Qui inter imperii *Arcana* & pro magno *Versutiæ* *Mysterio* habuere, è longinquo coli; Ac si *Reverentia* in *Speluncis* tantum & *Crypteriis*, non in aprico habitaret. Unde hæc *Regendi Sophismata*? Paucis dicam ac libere. Per obliquos tramites incedebant quia nesciverunt (brevissimam *Viam*) esse *Bonos*. Tu autem non *Subditorum* *lumina* & *accessus* fugis: Non *abdito* gaudes: Non *Te* tuis subtrahis: Non *rigido* & *obducto* *Vultu* falsam *Venerationem* captas. Imò interdum etiam ad *Comitatem* quandam descendere non gravaris *dignitate* illæsa. Sic enim in *limpidissimo* sinu tecum reputas, *Si non esset supra potestatem Nostram latere posse, At esset infra Bonitatem latere velle*. Quà certè nihil demum esse popularius. Quippe *Bonos* *Reges* *Boni* omnes apertè, sed & improbißimi tacitè venerantur, dum *Virtutis* *pulchritudo* non secus ac *insolitum* aliquod *Jubar* vel *potentium* *oculos* perstringit. Quare cùm nuper in manus *TRANQUILLUM SÜETONIUM* sumpsissem (qui ipsa *Cæsarum* *Viscera* denudavit) ad fallendam dum aberas, *literato* aliquo *diverticulo*, *ingratam* *dierum* *longitudinem*:

&amp; in



& in illum fortè locum incidissem, quo tam graphice describitur *Augusti* ejulatus, in *Varianâ* Clade crebrò vociferantis, *REDDE MIHI, QUINTILI VARE, LEGIONES MEAS*; illicò exardebat *Tui* Desiderium, & vota pro reditu incaluere. Multò enim tum justius visum est, *Angliam* debuisse *SOROREM* suam anhelantibus suspiriis laceßere, quàm *Augustum* *QUINTILII* Manes: *Redde mihi, Scotia Soror, Regem nostrum: Redde Optimum Virorum: Quem nemo nisi malus non amat, nemo nisi ignarus non laudat. Redde Morum Rectorem, simul & Normam: Quò non solum latiores, sed & Meliores simus, dum propius contemplabimur (quod rarissimum est) in summo Fastigio minima Licentia Exemplar.* Cùm itaque Talis sis, (optime *R E X*) supplex, permittas rogo, si precibus quàm Argumentis flecti malis, ut novem (Tot enim computo) discreti Sermonis Populi, quorum habenas moderaris, *T E* Talem esse glori-entur. Idque prædicent non vernaculo solum cujusque Idiomate (quod gaudiis quidem nostris angustius foret) sed communiori hâc qualitercunq; Linguâ, ut & Exteri sciant, *BRITANNI-AN* Tuam, quæ olim primum *Orbi Christiano* & maximi nominis Imperatorem dedit, non adeò exaruisse quin & hodiè etiam laudatissimi *R E-GIS TYPUM* exhibeat.

Jam aliquantulum præmollitâ, uti spero, ad audiendi patientiam viâ, dehinc juvabit quædam ex toto hætenus *Vitæ tuæ Morumque* habitu quali carptim delibare, eorum more qui Flores legunt. Etenim delectu magis rerum quàm ubertate gestio: quanquam non ignarus, adeò profusam fuisse V-terum in hoc Dicendi Genere aut Diligentiam aut Ambitionem, ut non inscitè forsan *T I M Æ-*



US dixerit, *ALEXANDRUM* Macedonem citius omnem *ASIAM* subegisse, quàm *ISOCRATES* Panegyricum scripsisset. Enimvero, Arti tunc nimis indultum videtur, dum in feraci Eloquentiæ sæculo lasciviabant Rhetorum Ingenia. At me decet, simplicitatis simul nostræ ac Senectutis memorem, Summa potius ex encomiis Tuis attingere, quàm singula persequi; ut ipsa Orationis Brevitas velût elabentium Annorum fugam imitetur. Cæterum Antè alia sese offert Eximia Ortus tui Nobilitas: quâ in longâ Antecedentium *REGUM* serie cunctis, ne ipso quidem *PARENTE* excepto, præluces. Id paucis clarius deducam. Atavus Tuus, *HENRICUS* *Septimus* (Felicior an Fortior nescio) *Rubellam Albanque ROSAS*, duarum præpotentium Familiarum Insignia, per *ELISABETHÆ EBORACENSIS Conubium*, Exul ferè simul & Victor univit: quæ divulsæ Patriam tot annos infestis Odiis & Cruore polluerant.

Beatius Regnorum quàm Rosarum vinculum *Parentis Tui* Auspiciis debemus, vel ob id solum non sine summâ Veneratione memorandi. At in *Te* unico (*Augustissime CAROLE*) omnium post Romanos, omnis Ævi Nationum, quæ *Britanniam* per Jus aut arma possederunt, confluit gloria. In *Te*, inquam, Unico; quem primum *CAMBRICI*, *ANGLO-SAXONICI*, *SCOTICI*, *NORMANNICI*, ac *DANICI* demùm, Germinis *SURCULUM* ex hætenus Coronatis agnoscimus. In hoc fortassè, (si Comparationis Vilitas non spernatur) Celeberrimo *Europa ISTRO* non absimilem, quem per immensa spatia devolutum tot illustrium alveorum Undæ nobilitant.

Scriptit



Scriptit inter nostrates haud obscurus Author, non prius *Majores* nostros legitimum in Angliâ *Normannorum* Imperium agnovisse, (quod tam ægro initio laboraverat) Quàm *MATTHILDIS HENRICO* Primo enupta, Sobolem ex Antiquo *Saxonicorum Regum* Sanguine, in hanc lucem protulisset. Erat autem illa *DAVIDIS ETHELDREDI* Regis Abnepotis, ex progenitoribus *Tuis*, *SOROR*. Quantò nunc splendior *Causa Majestatem Tuam* omnibus Ulnis ambiendi, qui ex tam multiplici Imperantium prosapiâ, ad *Nos* defluxisti? Postquàm & *Cimbrici* Sanguinis Vetustissimi, Additamentum cæteris Decoribus accessit, ex *ANNA*, Matre Virilis Animi *HEROINÆ*. Et quantò nunc veriùs repetamus, quod Superiori *Ævo Buchananus*, felicissimi post Antiquos Ingenii Vates, *Aviæ Tux* (utinam feliciore Fato!) cecinit,

*Missa per innumeros Sceptra tueris Avos.*

Sed hæc quidem hætenùs vix *Tua* reputas : Ad propria transeo, quæ non minùs illustrant quàm illustrantur.

Tria animadvertimus, *Optime REX* (quâ appellatione iterùm libentè & sæpiùs utar) in Primordiis *Tuis* ad insequentes progressus haud lævis momenti, ut ferè semper incrementis inhæret Principiorum sapor.

Primum, Quod non in supremam Imperii Spem natus es. Unde Adulatio (quanquàm velox & Vigil-Malum) quæ ipsa summorum Hæredum Incunabula circumstat, mollioribus Annis *Tuis* segniùs incubuit : & propria interim Indoles, simpliciore haustu, generosum *Honesti Succum* imbibebat.

Nam



Nam certè in formandis & quasi (ut sic dicam) instillandis privati cujusque, nedum Principum, primævis propensionibus, Reipublicæ multum interest: Cujus non solum Fulcimina, sed & simulachra sunt futuri.

Alterum, quod *Fratri* successisti non modicis quidem Naturæ Dotibus. Unde *Parentum* exhinc solertior & contractior Sedulitas (curam enim excedebat) circa Unici Filii Ornatum. Quin & *Tui* ipsius erectiores indies Spiritus, cum Tantæ jam Expectationis Onus in *Te* solum recidisset. Tum admoti qui ætatem illam nondum Negotiis aptam, Literis fideliter imbuerent: Tum acciti qui *Te*, paulatim crescente robore, Equestribus Exercitiis polirent. Quæ Memini quàm decorâ dexteritate in primo Juventæ agitabas: Donec postea in frequenti Hastarum decursione, nescio plus spectantibus Gaudii, an Pavoris injiceres.

Tertiò in Mentem venit quod aliquandiù, quasi luctante Naturâ, Corporis Artibus paulò invalidior eras, & Vigori longè Impar quem nunc lætantes stupemus. Quod equidem secretioris Providentiæ Consilio contigisse autumem, quo intentior tum esset Ingenii excolendi Curâ; ut Hæredem Regis clam futurum decuit; Quem omnium post multa Sæcula principum Sapientissimum, ne Maligni quidem negant.

A primitiis *Tuis* ad robustiora propero, promissæ Brevitatis non oblitus.

Post Peregrinationem, variis Casibus obnoxiam, ad coronam Pervenisti: Unde constat quantum ipsemet tum auderes, cum Omnes interim *Domi*, *Tui* causâ trepidarent. Sed Cœlestis Favor *Te* nobis Incolumem reduxit, & ne tinctum quidem

Exo-



Exoticis Coloribus : velut alterum *U L Y S S E M*, cui satis erat (vel *H O M E R O* Teste) cognovisse Mores Hominum & Urbes.

Adsumpto *Diademate*, emicuit antè alia Religiosus Animus, Regnorum Columnen, Bonorum Gaudium. Sacellum Regium nunquam ordinatius. Auctior indiès Insignium Theologorum numerus. Conciones nullo unquam *Ævo* frequentiores, nullo Doctiores: Et Exemplum Principis, Concionibus Validius. Nulla ex ore execratio temerè prodiit. Ab omni paulò lasciviori, nedùm sordido sermone, Aures abhorrebant; qui sub *E D O A R D O* Quarto fortassè, cum Vagi Amores regnarent, pro *Aulicâ Elegantiâ* habebatur. Nec intrâ Palatii parietes Pietas stetit; sed per Regnum diffusa. Intacti Ecclesiæ redditus. Templorum hinc inde jacta Fundamenta: Collapsus passim restituit. Et quod præcipuè posteri loquentur, Pientissimo *Tuo* Monitu excitatæ Regni Opes, ad restaurandam *Ædem* Apostolo Gentium Sacram, quæ passa erat Temporis injurias; Omnium Orbis Christiani (quis dubitet?) pari vetustate Amplissimam. Ubi effulsit Majestatis Tuæ cura, in demoliendis Privatorum *Ædificiis*, quæ tam visendi operis faciem dehonestabant: Nec minùs in administratione totius Negotii imposita, Vigilantissimo Præfuli, qui ob spectatissimam Fidem & Judicium, nuperrimè altiora meruit.

Jam post Deum, Quàm tenero erga Subditos affectu? Cum Contagio grassaretur, Ad publica Jejunia, Jussu *Tuo* recursum. Cum Inediæ majori Metu quàm Malo premeremur, Annonæ flagellatores aperire Horrea coacti, lenitis Frugum pretiis.

Inter has sanctiores Curas non omiserim, Providen-



dentia *Tua* peculiare Præconium ; cujus Origo paulò altius repetenda.

Enatæ sunt foràs antè aliquot Annos, aut fortè ex antiquo recruduerunt, Controversiæ quædam, circà sublimes *Fidei Articulos*, quæ cum ad nos quòque transvolassent, ( ut facillè se diffundunt Ingeniorum Flammæ, ) ne hîc etiam Pulpita & Calami, cum Inquietudine publicâ incalescerent, *Majestas Tua* per *Editum*, laudatissimâ temperie, omnem utrimque Disceputationem compressit. Sentiant Alii quid velint ; Meo Arbitratu ( si Verbo sit venia ) *Disputandi Pruritus, est Ecclesiarum Scabies*. Referam quod mihi contigit observâsse non semel. Duos nempe de *Re* quâpiam acerrimè disceptantes, donec utroque ex alio in aliud Contentionis æstu abrepto, Ambo tandem, primò *Charitatem*, deinde etiam *Veritatem* amiserant. Quò procederet irrequietum Acumen, nisi premeretur ? Nullus est finis Argutiarum. Sed maturè Obviàm itum est.

His Pietatis Laudibus subjiciam Ingens gratitudinis, Ingentius ferè Constantiæ documentum, erga *GEORGIUM VILLIERIUM, BUCKINGHAMIA DUCEM*, Quem, cum inter *Hispanici* Itineris discrimina, lateri *Tuo* præcipuus comes adhæsisset, Domi postea per omnes utriusque Fortunæ Scopulos, quasi repensâ vice, tutò circumtulisti ; donec improvîsum Diem clausit. Vidimus etiam non leves Favoris *Tui* Radios in Alterum ex Fidis comitibus, & solertis Judicii Virum coniectos.

At hæc non solum inter Argumenta Animi Fidei Officiorum memoris ( quod verè Regium est ) recenseo ; sed & singularis ergà Parentem etiam defunctum Obsequii, cui *Buckinghamius* tot Annos



in delitiis fuerat : Ac si Majestas *Tua* sese tam Affectuum ejus, quàm Regnorum Hæredem reputasset : Raro inter Omnium Sæculorum memorias Exemplo. Erat sanè Dux ille ob multa Amabilis, eademq; rarissime conjuncta. Singulis Corporis Artubus quasi affabrè compositus : Forma tamen , an Venustas superaret, incertum. Animo autem haud dubiè intrepido. Impositis, adsumptisve Curis æquè intentus. Aderat, tot negotiis districto, incredibilis Temperies & Æquabilitas. Appetitum Gloriæ haud negaverim, quem generosi Spiritus tardissime deponunt. At quod super omnia suavissimum ; nulla Morum austeritas. Nihil in externo tumidi. Sed Obvius, Affabilis, & cuique ferè Expositus : Ac si in tantâ Fælicitate, vix Fælicitatem suam sensisset. Quo vel uno meritis videatur, ut mollius decumberet.

Pollère post hæc incepit Principibus Majestatis Tuæ Curis indièsque pollet, quò probatior eò acceptior, Vir sanè moderato vitæ Habitu, & gravissimi Consilii : ac transmissis Inanibus, ad solidam Prudentiam natus. Quem nominare Injuriosum foret ; nam qui ingenuè describitur, sine Nomine intelligatur.

Ac meritò Supremum in Affectus Imperium, sibi soli vindicavit Dignissima *Regalis Thalami CON-SO RS*, Ipsa etiam longo *Regum Stemmata* oriunda. Sed satis est dicere *MAGNI HENRICI FILIA*, ac *JUSTI LUDOVICI SOROR*. Quam, ob Charissimam jam utriusque sexus Pignora, ob Castissimæ Venustatis Decus ( & quod Conjugale Vinculum maxime beat ) ob congruos Mores, aded Sanctè & unicè amas, ut meritò videaris ex Optimi *Patroni*, in Optimi *Conjugis* Titulum transivisse. Castimonie Temperantiam adjunx-

L

isti,



isti, cognatam comitem: quas inter Impotentes & Miseros, quis non tacitus præteriret? Sed in Rege, sed in Juvene, tam vegetæ Ætatis; & in tantâ ad omnes Appetitus explendos promptitudine, laudemus magis an miremur, nescio.

Jam post hæc Elogia, quæ partim Amorem, partim etiam Stuporem conciliant; de Temporis *Tui* Justitiâ vel dubitare injustissimum fuerit.

Non pigebit tamen paulò fusiùs repetere rem in obscuræ fortis *Homine*, illustrissimi Exempli. Contigit *Londini* nescio quis Tumultus, ob quendam ex Apparitorum manibus ereptum, qui alieno ære obstrictus in Carcerem ducebatur: ubi inter confusos Animorum motus unus aut alter (ut ferme fit) ex fortuitis vulneribus perire: unde *Johannes Stamfordius* Quidam, Vir manu promptus qui se his Turbis fataliter immiscuerat) pro Homicidii reo, in Vincula conjectus est. Non caruit apud *Majestatem Tuam* Intercessoribus magni Nominis; Et certissima jam effulgebat (ut in vulgus credebatur) impetrandæ Veniæ Spes, quia *Buckinghamia Duci* à Cubiculo fuerat, & inter suæ Conditionis Clientes, Hero aliquandiu gratissimus ob Eximium Corporis Robur & luctandi peritiam. Cujus tum etiam recens adhuc Memoria: quod misellum fortasse Audaciorem fecerat. At neque superstitum Preces, neque Viri ipsius notissima Fortitudo, Nec denique tam dilecti nuper Capitis, cujus in Clientelâ fuerat, recordatio, apud *Majestatem Tuam* Justitiâ prævaluere; Quin (magnum dictu) Laqueo Vitam finit.

Recentior est Memoria Supplicii, quod *Baro* per vetustæ Prosapiæ, palàm passus est ob Facinus Natalibus suis Indignum. Sed si vetus Ingeniosi Auctoris Observatio adhuc valeat, *Quadam esse Clari-*



ora, quædam Majora; Equidem Baronis Clarius Spectaculum, sed Stamfordii Majus crederem.

At quò me rapit, dùm Hæc Revolve, non in-suavis quædam Meditatio? Habet *Majestas Tua* in stricti Juris Tribunalibus, Idoneos Judices: Qui rigidiùs pronunciant. Habet etiam consultissimūn Equi Bonique Antistitem, Antiquis Prætoribus parem: Qui, pro Populi levamento, severiora emollit. Sed Hi seorsim, discretis Soliis locantur. Si quis fortè quærat, cur non simul, quod expeditius videatur? Dicam quod sentio. Exoptabant *MAJORES* nostri, ex gravissimâ quidem Providentiâ, *Justitiam* & *Lenitatem*, Quæ in Magistratu inferiori divulsæ sedent, in solo *SUPREMI* Pectore Societas. Et sanè sic est, *Majestas Tua* velut ad Majorum desiderium composita, Has adeò temperatè commiscuit, ut neque Mali audeant, neque doleant Boni. Hæterus intelligi velim Me solùm de Communibus quasi Flagitiiis coercendis loquutum, quæ ubique Terrarum pullulant: Nam de Atrocioribus apud Nos (Divino Beneficio) Ne Verbum, Imò, Ne Somnium quidem. Laboramus excellenti Ignorantiâ. Nescimus quid Perduellio, quid contra salutem Publicam Machinator, quidve illud sit, quod *Grammatici* Læsam Majestatem vocant. Cum Rebus ipsa Vocabula obsoleverunt. Nec mirum quidem. Quis enim, nisi omnium Mortalium Stupidissimus idem & Sceleratissimus, parique prorsus Vecordiâ ac Nequitia, tam Justii Piique *MODERATORIS* Quietem violaret?

Jam ut *Justitiam* (quàm Imperii *Tui* Sanitatem dixerim) æquissimo libramine tueris, hoc est, neque tensis nimium, neque laxatis Nervis: Iam nunc



omittis quæ ad Securitatem spectant. Idem enim alioquin Imperiis, quod Corporibus nostris, contingeret: Quæ periculosè subsistunt, ubi sola Valetudine, sustinentur. Quare post Bellum cum duobus simul Potentissimis Regibus, Eventu (ut in Humanis fit) vario, per Nova utrimque Fœdera confopitum; Princeps Domi Cura erat de maritimo Robore resarciendo, ut Insularium Regnorum *TUTOREM* decuit. Unde Classis Regia quotannis Auctior & Instructior: Itèm, Commodiores Navibus Stationes dilectæ, & promptiore ad fortuitos Casus exitu: *Majestate Tuâ* non solum jubente, sed & propriis Oculis ipsa loca subeunte: Ac si in re tanti momenti, vix alienis crederes. Deinde accuratior quàm unquàm antea, Armorum lustratio; & in universum exercitior, statis Temporibus, Militia.

Intèr hæc, Incivile esset filère quod Prudentes Temporum adnotârunt, *Majestatem Tuam* Consultis (ut vocant) de Statu, frequentius intervenire, quàm superiorum Quenquam *Regum*. Nisi fortè ad *EDOARDUM* Sextum oculos reflectamus, quem ferunt etiam Puerum rarò abfuisse.

In illo *Consilii Tui Cœtu*, *Supremi Præsules* Reverentiam, ex utroque *Regno selecti Proceres* Dignitatem, adjungunt. Sunt quos exterarum Rerum usus, Sunt quos Municipalium Legum Peritia, exornat. *Et Secretariorum* Erudita, Fidelisque sagacitas accidentibus invigilat. Sed super hæc, Ipsa *Domini* præsentia nescio quid salutiferum spirat. Parùm est quod dixi, Præsentiam solum. Imò ex iis qui Consilia Tua participant (non omninò, fateor incuriosus, ignoscas rogo) sæpiùs accepi, quàm attentè quoties interesse libet, proposita



posita revolvīs : Quàm patienter auscultas ; Quàm acri Judicio singula quæque expendis ; Quam pertinax sis ( non enim utar molliori voce ) ubi Bono , Quam Strenuus ubi Magno Animo opus sit. Denique in Secretioribus Negotiis , Quam restrictam Taciturnitatem imponis , & Quam severè exigis. In hoc quoque , exemplo proprio præmonstrante quod jubes. Quippe præter alia , Duo quidem *Majestas Tua* beatissimo nexu copulavit : Nimirum *Nullus usquàm Principum , Post Constituta Imperia , natus est Secretitior Custos ; Et tamen cujus Secretum & Silentium minùs timemus.* Quod de Optimo Viro *Julio Agricolâ* dictum olim legimus , qui *Romanorum Primus , CALEDONIÆ* *Tuæ* Limbum invasit. Quippe *Majestas Tua* non introrsus & sinu foveat immanfuetas & subdoles cogitationes ; Non offensionis scintillis incubat donèc exæstuent : sed Celso & Nobilissimo Candore , si quæ concepta fuerint , recludis , & , ut sic dicam , exhalas. Enimverò in nullâ , fateor , Virtutum Tuarum reverentiâ lubentiùs hæreo , quam in hoc ipso Heroicæ Ingenuitatis Elogio. Nam ut summus *ALTISSIMI* Character Veritas est , Ita quid suam in Terris imaginem *REFERENTES* , magis quam ipsâ Veracitas condecoret , aut magnificentius vestiat ?

Vidimus Haftenus : erga Parentem obsequium ; in Amicos Constantiam ; In Conjugio Fidem ; in fovendâ Republicâ non Regis sed Patris Affectum. Nec inter hæc , pro conditione Temporum & perplexo Rerum Statu , neglecta erga Sororem Unicam Optimi Fratris Officia , Quæ mihi semper visa est sola sui Sexus omnibus Malis Major , & ipsâ obscuritate Illustrior , & quidem *Intra Fortune sortem , sed Extra imperium Posita.* Quam quantum ames ,



Imò quantum æstimes, ex nuperâ Legatione patuit; Cum in gravissimo *Vidue* Luctu, deferendo Solatio Primorem è Nobilibus, & priscis Ipsum Virtute ac Moribus Virum, ablegares: ut amantissimæ Legationi, ex ipso Legati Delectu, aliquid etiam Dignitatis accederet. Hoc de Solamine.

Quod ad Subsidium spectat, Nonne *Majestas Tua* ex Primoribus etiam *Scotica* Nobilitatis *MARCHIONI*, quanquam hîc assiduis circa Teipsum & intimis officiis obstricto, probandæ Fortitudinis suæ Veniam indulgit? Per quæsitissimas Ambages, in tanto Viarum interclusu, per Maris Terræque Discrimina, Per loca Urbesque Peste & Inediâ obsitas: Ubi ferè difficilius erat penetrare, quam vincere: ac durius Pati, quam Facere. Si post hæc Successus defuere; At non animosa Regis Voluntas, At non Subditorum Virtus, At non sumptus variis modis, At non Legationes interim Legationibus accumulatæ, de sedanda, per æquas Conditiones & amicabilem Tractatum, Orbis Insaniâ. De cætero vel *SOLOMONIS* monitu acquiescendam *NEMO ANTE OBITUM GLORIETUR.*

Jam inter tot Curas, quibus vel Optimi Regum maxime premuntur, non injucundum fuerit, paulisper inquirere quam eleganter intervalla Otii disponis. Nobilium Equorum usu gaudes; quos nemo peritius aut mansuetos flectit, aut ferocientes domat. Adeo ut aptius an dignius fecerit, amigerim, Qui nuper *Majestati Tue* Statuam Equestrem ex perenni Ære fundi curavit: *LISIERII* vivax Opus.

Accedit Musica, quæ tam Organica, quam Vocalis, sub Te indies, quam ante hac, Modulatio: Ut note



Utpote ad Aurium Tuarum Judicium accommodata. Hanc ne mollior videretur, quasi Venatione temperas. Quâ, Belli Imagine, aded animosus Spiritus exerces, ut difficile dictu sit, Venandi Voluptatem magis, an ipsum Laborem ames: aut utrùm de Prædâ Victoriâ, an Longam Prædæ Fugam malles.

Sed omnium Oblectationum *Tuarum* Splendidissima, est excellentium Operum & Artificum Amor: Quêis in utrâq; tam Pingendi, quàm Sculpendi Arte, ita Palatia decorasti; ut Magnificentia *Tua* videatur *Italiam*, maximam elegantium Artium Matrem, aut Saltem post *Græcos*, præcipuam Altricem, in *Angliam* transfudisse.

His Spectaculis quid amœniùs, imò ferè quid doctiùs, rogo, Quàm elinguem illam Umbrarum & Luminum Eloquentiam, ac tacitam Lincarum Poësim, & quasi animata Marmora contemplari? Hic *Tinctoretti* quos designavit Artus & Musculos, moveri Spectator juraret. Hic *Bassani* Volucres cantillant, mugiunt Boves, Pecora balant. Hic *Raphaelis* Vultus spirant: *Titiani* etiam loquuntur. Hic in *Corregiano* Politiam: In *Parmensi* Concinnitatem laudares. Nec *Belgicis* etiam sua Laus deest. Qui si Campos depinxerint; omne Vigentium Genus viret, Flores rident, Montes eriguntur, Valles subsidunt. Eadem etiam in Statuis erudita Varietas: Quarum Hæ Membrorum vivacitate quâdam; Aliæ Mollitiæ gaudent. Sed hæc Oculorum delinimenta sunt. Ad mentem reficiendam, Interdum librum aliquem Selectioris Argumenti, plerumque Homines legis: Optimè gnarus, quantum *PRINCIPI* expediat suorum nôsse Ingenia. Est & quando, veterum Epigrammata recensendo Animum oblectas, non minori Acumine quàm componebantur.



Sic seria tua, sic remissiora cursim peragravi. At ipsa quam cepi in his quanquam ita leviter delibandis Voluptas, Calamum jam currentem nescio quo modo novo Impetu extimulat, ut *Majestatis Tuæ* veram Effigiem in Contractiori Modulo, & quasi sub uno simul intuitu (si tantum Veniæ indulseris) vel mihimet ipsi repræsentem, Quam sic Mente concipio.

Staturam dicerem Justæ proximam. Corpus erectum & agile. Color in Universum ex *EBORACENSI Albore*, quàm *LANCASTRIA Rubedine* plus hausit. Cæsaries nigellæ quàm flavæ propior. Frons multum Fidei præfert. Oculos generosa quædam Verecundia honestat: non qualem olim de *Syllâ* sed de *Pompeio* legimus. In Gestibus nihil affectatum. In toto etiam aspectu nil Turgidi, nil Effertati; sed alliciens ac decora Suavitas. Alacritatem & vigorem celerior incestus prodit: Alioquin sedati Affectus & compositi mores. Propositi & promissi tenacissimus. Amans veri. Vitiis Otor. Justus, Constans, Fortis: & non simpliciter tantum sed scienter Bonus.

Talis es: Talemque quanto Applausu recipimus? videre mihi videor, dum Horrida interdum & Tranquilla simul contendo, quotiescunque *RICHARDUS* ille *TERTIUS Eboraco* forsàn suo, aut longinquius *Londinum* remearet, & Procures circa se conciret, Quàm nutabant Nobilium Capita, Quàm pallebant Ora, Quàm sollicitas inter se suspiciones ac murmura conferebant, Ac si dirus repente Cometes, aut infansum aliquod Sidus supra Horizontem emerisset. Sed contra Justo Bonique; *PRINCIPIS* Reditus, nihil aliud omnino est quàm ipsa Solis Anastrophe; Cum Ver-



Vernalibus radiis deformem Hyemen expellit, ac  
 blando Tepore cuncta circumquaque refovet & ex-  
 hilaret. Euge igitur *Rex* omnibus Bonis Gratissime.  
 Sed in quæ Vota desinam? *Veteribus* in usu erat  
 (quorum Exemplo percitus exiguum hunc laborem  
 audacter nimium subivi) post *Trajani* Tempora sub  
 Laudatissimo quoque Imperatore, hujusmodi accla-  
 mandi Formula, *Vive ANTONINE*, *Regna*  
*THEODOSI*, *AUGUSTO* felicior, *TRA-*  
*JANO* Melior. Sit autem Hic Imperii *Tui* novis-  
 simus Character, quod *Optanda sunt Laudandis Pau-*  
*ciora*. Igitur postquam hoc tantum ex ardenti  
 affectu voverim, ut *CAROLUS* Optimus *REX*  
 & *DOMINUS* noster *Regnet Vivatq; Sibimet*  
*ipsi soli Dinq; similis*, Finis esto.

*O Fortunatos nimium Bona si sua norint!*



A



A  
P A N E G Y R I C K  
T O  
King *C H A R L E S* ;  
B E I N G  
O B S E R V A T I O N S

Upon the *Inclination, Life and Government*  
of our late *S O V E R E I G N*.

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Written in Latin

By Sir *H E N R Y W O T T O N* Knight,  
( Provost of *Eaton College* ) a little before his  
Death.

And now Englished by a Friend of the Authors.



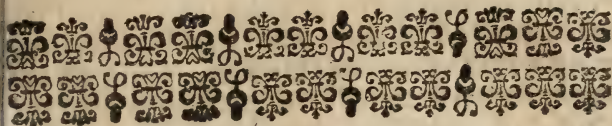


TO OUR  
 Young *C H A R L E S*;  
 D U K E of CORNWALL,  
 EARL of CHESTER, &c.

*HENRY WOTTON* wisheth long life.

**T**Hese following Vowes and Acclamations (where-  
 with Your Father (the best of Kings) was  
 received at his Return from Scotland) I dedi-  
 cate not unadvisedly to your Highness that when  
 you shall be seasoned with Erudition, (now your Ornament  
 from many Ancestors) you may draw from this (what-  
 ever) small Memorial, a Treasure more glorious than a  
 triple Diadem, namely, AN HEREDITARY IMAGE  
 OF VERTUE.





TO THE

K I N G,

At his Return from *SCOTLAND*,

Sir HENRY WOTTON'S *Vows*  
and *Acclamations*.

*Imperial CHARLES, my King and Master.*



Custom it was anciently, among the civiler Nations, so oft as they enjoyed a just and a Gracious King, (that their mute felicity might not contract a dulness in their Breasts) to pour forth their affections and joyes in Elogies, wishes, and applauses; But chiefly then, when any nobler occasion invited the rejoycers expressions. Which sacred customs, Emulation in some sort, having transported me, and dispell'd the



the chilness from my breast which the weight of age hath introduced, I shall with flagrant confidence betake my self to celebrate this Day, whereon your Majesty doth restore your self to us, and us unto our selves. So far indeed am I from being discouraged by the weakness of my own elocution, that I am even ready to esteem my self thereby the abler. For, what need is here of dressings Rhetorical? Wherefore should we so over solicitously balance the weight of words? Suffice it this day simply to rejoyce. Sincerity is a plain and impolite thing, the less tricked the more chearful; and Eloquence while it adorneth corrupteth our gladness. Nor is it my fear, that this shall seem a flatterers act, (as it were) ambitiously prostrate at Fortunes feet, which in truth were unworthy of that ingenuous modesty, derived from my *Parents*, unbecomming that blessed Rest of mind I drew from liberal Studies. Yet doth one solitude at the very entrance, I confess, surround me, lest (namely) even with true praises I offend that modesty, wherewith your Majesty useth so sweetly to season your other Vertues; for whereas you are most stout in all things else, that requires validity of Body, or Constantness of Mind, I only doubt, lest you should bear this days Applauses and Elogies, by so much the more tenderly, by how much they are the more justly due.

We read that *Germanicus* (and yet how great a Personage!) not long before the *Battel* against the *Chatti*; did under the disguise of a Beasts Skin, (that he might not be observed) by night, approach his Souldiers Tents, to catch up by dark, what they conceived of him. So do those commonly with most tenderness admit their own commendations, who most deserve them.

Whence



Whence I sufficiently foresee the necessity of assuring my access to your *Sacred Ears*, not by Arguments drawn from the slight Magazines of Rhetorick, but by others of a soberer sort. I shall therefore affirm it most equitable, that neither the gallant, nor the baser lives of Princes be pressed down in ignoble silence. But that both good and bad be transmitted equally to the knowledge of Posterity, in a like freedom of writing, as living: and with no less reverence of Truth, than of Majesty. Those, least vertuous examples failing, Vertues themselves by degrees decay: These, that evading the power of Laws, yet may be bridled through some awe of Record. This to you, I may dare to speak (my most gracious Master) and even that I may dare, I owe to your self alone, who now have so lived 33 years, and so reigned near to nine, that you dread not Truth.

Most famous was of old, and will live for ever, that answer of *Virginus Rufus*, to *Cluvius*: You know, *Virginus*, (saith he) *what credit is due to History: wherefore if you read any thing in my books, otherwise than you would have it, pardon me.* To whom *Virginus*, Thou canst not (*Cluvius*) be ignorant of this, That therefore I did what I have done, that it might be free for you to write what you pleased. This was indeed the confidence of a gallant, but yet of a private man.

How much more eminent may the joy be of this day for a King returned, of whose Life and Morals we may speak both openly and safely. Yea, let me add this with confidence, that if Nature her self (the first Architectress) had (to use an expression of *Vitruvius*) windowed your Breast: if your majesty should admit the eyes of all men,  
not



not only within the privatest parts of your Bed-Chamber, but even in the inwardest closets of your Heart, no other thing at all would there appear, save the splendor of your goodness, and an undistemp'ered serenity of your Vertues. What said I? if you would admit? as if those whom the supream Power hath set on high, and in the light, could be hid from our Eyes? or cover, as it were by a drawn cloud, the wayes of their Lives and Government? Herein no doubt, Obscurity and Solitude it self, is more veiled than Majesty. Thinks that *Abissine* Emperor (whom Men Report to appear to publick view but once a year) that therefore it is less known what he doth in secret? Know we not at this day, that *Domitian* even in his closest Cabinet, wherein each day he shut up himself, did nothing but stick Flyes with a pointed Bodkin? Lay *Tiberius* hid in his recess to the Islands of *Caprea*, when among so many Wounds and Tortures of his Conscience (which as so many Furies tormented him) many tokens of a distracted mind did daily break forth? surely no.

Your Majesty hath taught the Princes of your own, and future times, the only and most wholesome way of self concealing, in that you indeavour nothing to be concealed. There are certain Creatures of ingrateful aspect, as *Bats* and *Owls*, condemned by Nature to hate the light. I know also that some in power have also held it among the secrets of State, and as a great mystery of Craft, to be served at a distance; as if Reverence did only dwell in Dens and Caves, not in the Light. Whence then these Subtilties of Government? In a word and freely; they walked in crooked paths, because they knew not (the shortest way)



to be good. But, your Majesty doth not shun the eyes and access of your Subjects, delight not in covert; nor withdraw your self from your own people: you do not catch at false veneration with a rigid and clouded countenance; yea, sometime you vouchsafe to descend even to some familiarity without offence to your dignity: for thus you reason with your self in the clearness of your own bosom; *If it were not above our power to lie concealed, yet were it below our goodness to desire it*: than which nothing surely can be in effect more popular; for good Kings all good men openly revere, and even the worst do it silently: Whilest Vertues beauty, not unlike some brightest Rayes, strikes into the most unwilling eyes. Wherefore as of late, I took in hand *Tranquillus Suetonius*, (who hath laid open the very bowels of the *Cæsars*) to beguile in the time of your absence with some literate diversion, the tedious length of those days, and fell by chance upon that passage, so lively describing the wailings of *Augustus*, after the *Varian* defeat, often crying out, *Fender me, Quintilius Varus, my Legions*; my desires of your Majesty instantly flamed out, and my wishes glowed for your Return: for it seemeth then much juster for *England* to have solicited her SISTER with these panting inspirations, than *Augustus* the Ghost of *Quintilius*, *Restore to me, Scotland my Sister, our King*; *Restore the best of men, whom none but the wicked love not; none but the ignorant praise not: Restore both the Director and Rule it self of Morality, whereby we may become not the gladder only, but the better too, while at hand we may contemplate (a thing most rare) One in highest Place, not indulging to himself the least excess*. Since therefore, such you are (O best of Kings;) suffer I



humbly pray, if rather by Prayers than Arguments you choose to be inclined, That the nine Nations of different Language (for I reckon them no fewer) over which you gently reign, may glory in your being such : and may each declare it, not in their native Dialects alone ( which would not give sufficient compass to our joyes ) but however, in this also more publick Tongue ; That even foreigners may know your *Britany* , which formerly bestowed upon the Christian World their first and most renowned Emperor, is not become so barren yet as not to afford, even at this day, a Type of the highest famed King.

Having now thus ( I hope ) somewhat smooth'd the way to your Patience , in hearing : good it will be henceforth out of the whole state of your Life and Carriage thus far , summarily to pick up some particulars, as those do who make their choice of Flowers. For I please my self more in the choice , than in the plenty of my Matter. Although I am not ignorant neither, that in this kind of speaking, the diligence , or ambition of the Ancients was so profuse, that perhaps *Timens* said not unwittily , That *Alexander* the *Macedonian* sooner subdued all *Asia*, than *Isocrates* did write his *Panegyrick*. Certainly, there seems then to have been too great an indulgence to Art, while the Wits of Orators were wanton in that fertile age of Eloquence : but it becometh me ( mindful both of my simplicity and age ) to touch rather the heads of your praises, than to prosecute them all ; that even the succinctness of my speech, may as it were, resemble the passage of my fleeting years. In the first place is offered the eminent Nobleness of your Extraction : whereby in a long Order of antecedent



dent Kings, your lustre is above them all, your Father himself not excepted. This in brief I will deduce more clearly : Your Great Great-Grandfather *Henry* the Seventh, (whether more valiant, or fortunate, I know not) being almost at once an Exile, and a Conqueror, united by the Marriage of *Elizabeth* of York, the white Rose, and the red; the Armories of two very powerful Families, which being in division, had so many years polluted their own Countrey with blood and deadly Fewds. The more blessed Colligation of the Kingdoms, than that of the Roses, we owe to the Happiness of your Father, who even for that alone were to be remembred ever with highest veneration. But, in you singly (most Imperial *Charles*) is the conflux of the glory of all Nations, in all Ages, which since the *Romans* have possessed *Britany*, either by Right, or by Arms; in you, I say, alone : whom the *Cambrians* first, the *English-Saxons*, *Scots*, *Normans*, and finally the *Danes* do acknowledge with us, to be the branch of that Stock that hitherto hath worn the Crown. In this perchance (if the meanness of the comparison be not rejected) not unlike to *Europe's* famous *Ister*, which rolling along through vast Countries, is ennobled with the waters of so many famous streams. One not obscure among our Authors, hath written, that our Ancestors would not acknowledge the *Norman* Rule in *England* for legitimate (which had so weak a beginning) until *Maud* marrying with *Henry* the First, had brought into the world a Child of the Blood of the ancient *Saxon* Kings: she was Sister to *David*, Nephew twice removed off King *Ethelred*, your Progenitor.

How much is there now a nobler cause for our



embracing your Majesty with open arms, who are descended unto us from so plentiful a Race of Kings, since the access of the most ancient *Cambrian* Blood to the rest of your Nobility, by Queen *ANNE* your Mother, a Lady of a great and masculine Mind? And how much the more truly may we now repeat, that which in the former Age *Buchanan* (a Poet, next the Ancients, of most happy invention) sang to your Grand-mother, I wish with happier fate!

*From numberless Progenitors you hold  
Transmitted Scepters, which they sway'd of old.*

But all these hitherto you scarcely account your own. I pass then to such as are your own peculiar, which confer no less of lustre, than they admit.

Three particulars we observe, (O best of Kings,) which Appellation I now again willingly, (and shall often use) in your Beginnings, of no small importance to your succeeding Progress; as for the most part of the first favour of Principles, continues in the after-growth's.

First, That you were not born to the supreme hope of Sovereignty, so as flattery (though an evil swift and watchful) which attends the Cradles of Potent Heirs, more gently pressed on your tender years. And the whiles your native goodness drank in with a draught more uncompounded the generous liquor of Integrity; for no doubt, how the earliest dispositions of private Persons (much more of Princes) be at first formed, and as it were instilled, that I may so speak, is of highest importance to the Commonwealth; whereof they  
are



are to become afterwards not only the Props, but also the Precedents.

Next, That you succeeded a Brother of no small Natural Endowments, which begat thence-forward in your Parents a more industrious and closer sedulity ( for it surpasseth care ) for the accomplishment of their only Son : Nay , your own spirits daily grew the more intent , when now the weight of so vast an expectation was lodged on your self alone. Then were advanced to you such who faithfully instructed in learning that youth of yours, as yet unapt for business. Then such were sent for, who as your strength increased , dressed you in the exercises of the Horse ; which I call to mind with how graceful a dexterity you managed : until afterwards at a solemn Tilting, I became uncertain whether you strook into the beholders more Joy or Apprehension.

In the third place , It comes to mind , that for some time , while Nature was as it were in struggling, you were somewhat weak of limbs, and far below that vigour , which now with gladness we admire : which I may judge to have befallen by the secret Councel of Providence , thereby at that time to render more intense the care of furnishing your mind , as became the Heir , then secretly designed of a King ; whom Malignants themselves deny not to have been the wisest of all Princes from many Ages past. From your first Essayes I shall hasten to your stronger times, not unmindful of my promised business.

After your foreign Travels , obnoxious to many hazards, you came unto the Crown , whence it appeared , how much your self then dared to adventure , when the while at home each one was



trembling for your sake. But the favour of Heaven brought you back safely to us ; not so much as coloured with out-landish Dye ; not unlike another *Ulysses*, who accounted it sufficient (even by *Homer's* witness ) *To have known the Morals of Men and Cities.*

When you had assum'd the Crown, before all other things, there was resplendent in you a Religious Mind : the Support of Kingdoms : the Joy of good Men. The Chappel Royal was never more in order. The number of eminent Divines daily increased. Sermons in no age more frequented ; In none more learned ; And the example of the Prince more effectual than the Sermons. No execrations rashly proceeded from your mouth. Your ears abhorring, not only any wanton, but even the least fordid word : which perchance under *Edward* the Fourth, while toyish Loves did reign, passed for Courtly Eloquence ; Neither stopped this Piety within the Walls of Court, but was diffused also through the Kingdom.

The Church Revenues were not touched ; Temples here and there new founded ; Dilapidations repaired ; And, ( which Posterity will chiefly speak of ) the Riches of your Kingdom, excited by your most religious Exhortation, for Restauration of the Church consecrated to the Apostle of the Nations, ( out of question the amplest and equally ancient of the Christian world ) which had sustained the injuries of time. Where your Majesties care was greatly conspicuous in demolishing those private dwellings which disgraced the aspect of so goodly a Fabrick : And not less in imposing the management of that whole business upon that

most



most vigilant Prelate, who for his singular fidelity and judgment, hath lately merited far higher place.

Now (next to God) how tender was your affection to your People? When the Sickness raged, by your Command recourse was had to publick Fastings. When we were pressed with greater fear than evil of Famine, the Hoarders of Provisions were constrained to open their Garners, and the prices of Grain abated. Among these most Pious Cares, I cannot omit one peculiar Elogy, proper to your own Providence, whereof I must repeat the Original a little higher.

There were hatched abroad some years ago, or perhaps raked up out of Antiquity, certain Controversies about high points of the Creed, which having likewise flown over to us, (as flames of Wit are easily diffused) lest hereabout also both Pulpits and Pens might run to heat and publick disturbance: Your Majesty with most laudable temper by Proclamation suppressed on both sides all manner of debates. Others may think what pleaseth them; In my opinion (if I may have pardon for the phrase) *The Itch of disputing, will prove the Scab of Churches*. I shall relate what I have chanced more than once to observe. Two (namely) arguing about some subject so eagerly, till either of them transported by heat of contention, from one thing to another, they both at length had lost first their Charity, and then also the Truth. Whither would restless subtilty proceed, if it were not bounded? there is of captiousness no end: but seasonable provision was made against it.

To these praises of Piety, I will add a very



great evidence of Gratitude : and almost a greater of Constancy, towards *George Villiers* Duke of *Buckingham* : him, when amidst the dangers of the *Spanish* Journey, he had been the nearest of your Attendants, your Majesty afterwards, as in requital, bore safely with you at home, through all the rocks of either Fortune, till an unforeseen day was his conclusion.

We observed also no ordinary beams of your Favour to be cast upon another of your trusty Associates in the same Journey, a Person of approved Judgment. Neither do I recount these only among the Arguments of an heart mindful of faithful Offices (which indeed is Kingly) but likewise of singular obsequiousness towards your Father, even when deceased; to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* had been for many years a Favourite : as if your Majesty had reputed your self as much the Heir of his Affections, as you were of his Kingdoms ; An Example rare among the Memorials of all Ages. This Duke was indeed amiable in many respects, which seldom are concurrent. Each limb of his Body almost very exactly composed : yet doubtful it was, whether his shape, or gracefulness excelled : undubitably of an undaunted spirit; equally intent upon his cares, whether imposed, or assumed : There was present with him in the midst of so many distractions an incredible temper and equability. I will not deny his appetite of glory, which generous minds do ever latest part from ; but, above all, the most pleasing was, That he had no austerity of behaviour, nothing outwardly tumerous : but was obvious, affable, and almost to all men free and open : as if in so high a felicity, he had scarce been sensible of his hap-



happinefs: for which alone he may feem to have deferved a more gentle end.

Hence forward there began to be powerful, and fo daily holds on in your Majestie's moft important cares, a person unquestionably of an habitual moderate life, and sober counfel: and the oftner tryed, the more acceptable; not fway'd to vanity, born to a folid prudence, whom to name might be injurious: for he that is described ingenuoufly, may be known without a name.

But the higheft Empire over your affections, is deservedly challenged alone by the moft worthy Consort of your Royal Bed, Her felf likewise proceeding from a long defcent of Kings. But fufficient is to know ſhe is *THE DAUGHTER OF HENRY THE GREAT, AND THE SISTER OF LEWIS THE JUST*; Whom, for deareſt Pledges already of either Sex; for the comelineſs of chaſteſt graces, and (which chiefly bleſſeth the Nuptial Bed) For congruity of diſpoſitions, Your Maſteſty ſo religiously and ſo particularly doth love, that juſtly you appear to have paſſed from the Title of the beſt Patron to that of the beſt Husband.

To Chaſtity, you have added Temperance, her neareſt Companion: which in miſerable and impotent men, who would not paſs by with ſilence? but theſe in a King! in one ſo young! of ſuch vigorous age! and in ſuch a promptneſs of ſatiſfying all deſires, I know not whether we ſhould more commend or admire them. Now, after theſe Elogies (which in part beget affection, in part alſo aſtoniſhment) to doubt once of the juſtneſs of your times, were moſt unjuſt. Yet ſhall I not think amiſs to repeat a little at large, a thing of noble



noble example, in a person of obscure condition. There fell out at *London*, I know not what tumult, for one rescued from the Serjeants hands, whom for Debt they were leading to Prison. Amidst those confusions, one or other (as oft it chances) died of sudden hurts; whereupon one *John Stamford*, a man of a ready hand (who had fatally run into the broyl) was apprehended as guilty of Murder: He wanted not intercessors of great Power about your Majesty; and there seemed an assured hope of obtaining his Pardon (as the vulgar believed) because he had attended on the Duke of *Buckingham* in his Chamber, and among the followers of his own condition, had been for some time very acceptable to his Lord, for his singular Ability of Body, and skill in Wrestling, whereof the remembrance as then was fresh, which perchance had made the poor man the more audacious. But neither the intercessions of the living, nor the mans own well-known valour, nor finally the remembrance of such a Favourite but lately dead, whom he had served, could prevail with your Majesty above Justice; but that (which is glorious to speak) he concluded his life at the Gallows, Fresher is the remembrance of that Nobleman's Death, a Baron of very ancient Lineage, who suffered publicly for a Fact unworthy of his Birth. But, if a witty Authors old Observation may yet have place, *that some examples are nobler, others greater*, I should verily believe the Barons Nobler, but *Stamford's* Greater.

But whither doth this pleasant Meditation transport me, while I revolve these things? At Common Law Your Majesty hath in the Courts of strict Justice, able Judges, which pronounce severely :  
you



you have also a most learned Chancellour for Right and Equity (not inferiour to the ancient Pretors) who, for the Peoples relief, qualifieth that severity; But these are in distinct Courts placed apart. And if one should ask by chance, Why not together, since that might seem the more dispatching way? I will deliver my opinion: It was the Wish of our Ancestors (out of a most grave Providence) that Justice and Lenity, which have their seat disjoyned in the inferiour Magistrate, might be confociated in the only brest of the Sovereign. And truly so it is; for your Majesty being composed as it were, according to the wishes of those our Forefathers, hath so tempered these together, that neither the evil presume, nor the good repine. Hitherto I would be understood to have only spoken of the restraint of common vices, which swarm in all Parts of the World; for of more hainous transgressions among our selves (by God's goodness) we have not a word, no not so much as a dream: we suffer under an excellent ignorance: we know not what a Rebel is; what a Plotter against the Common-weal: nor what that is, which Grammarian call *Treason*: the names themselves are antiquated with the things: and (in truth) no marvel; for, what wretch (unless he were of all mortal men the most stupid and wicked, and as foolish as malicious) would violate the quiet of so Just and Pious a Moderator?

Now as you maintain your Justice, (which I may call the health of your Kingdom) in a most even balance, that is neither too much stretching, nor slackning the Reins; so neither do you omit what concerneth security; The like else would befall Empires that happens to our Bodies, which subsist



sist dangerously, if nothing but meer health sustain them. Wherefore after a War with two mighty Kings together, with various event ( as it chanches in humane affairs) and quieted by new Confederations on either side ; your principal care at home, was to repair the Maritime strength, as became the Defender of Insular Kingdoms. Hence was the Navy Royal yearly more increased and furnished ; and more commodious Harbours chosen for the Ships, and of readier issue upon sudden occasion ; Your Majesty not only commanding, but with your own eyes surveying the places , as if in a matter of that moment you might scarce trust another mans : Then a more exact view of Arms than formerly had been used , and generally the *Militia* at set times much better trained.

Amidst these things, it were unhandson to pass by with silence that which the prudent of the time have noted ; namely, that Your Majesty is more frequent at the Councils of State ( as we call them ) than any of our former Kings , except happily we cast back our eyes upon *Edward* the Sixth , whom they say, even in his Child-hood , to have been seldom absent.

In that assembly of your Council, the chief Prelates add reverence, the Nobles chosen out of both Kingdoms dignity.

Some are there , whom foreign experience, some whom the knowledge of our Laws adorns : and the learned and faithful Sagacity of your Secretaries watched over all accidents ; but above these, the presence it self of the Sovereign breathes alwayes , I know not what of happiness. Your presence only, have I said ? That is little ; yea, of those who participate in your Counsels, have I many



many times heard (not uninquisitive, I acknowledge, for which pardon me, I beseech you) how attentively (as often you are pleased to be present) you revolve things propounded; how patiently you hear; with how sharp judgment you ponder the particulars; how stiff you are (for I will use no milder word) in good resolutions, and how stout in great.

Finally, In secret affairs, what a close secrecy you command, and how severely you exact an account thereof; in this also, your own example leading your Commandment. For besides other, there are two things which your Majesty hath most blessedly bound together; namely, *There was never Prince since the Constitution of Empires, a safer preserver of a secret, and yet none whose secrecy and silence we less may fear*; which we read anciently noted of that excellent man *Julius Agricola*, who was the first Roman that invaded the skirts of your *Caledonia*: for your Majesty doth not nourish secretly in your bosome fierce and crafty thoughts, nor cover the embers of offence till they break forth into heat; but out of a high and most noble Candor, if any chance to be conceived, Your Majesty vents them, and (as I may say) exhales them. Truly, I confess, I do not more willingly insist in the reverence of any of your Vertues, than in this very attribute of your heroical ingenuity: for as the supreme Character of the MOST HIGH is Verity: so what can more become or more magnificently deck his REPRESENTANTS on earth, than Veracity it self?

Hitherto we have observed your obsequiousness towards your Parents, constancy towards your Friends, fidelity towards your Consort, and towards



wards cherishing of the Commonwealth; not only the affection of a King, but of a Father. Neither amidst these (as the condition of the times, and the perplexed state of things would bear) did you neglect the offices of an excellent Brother towards your only Sister, whom I have always thought the only Person of her Sex, *greater than all troubles*, and even by her obscurity the more resplendent: indeed, placed *within the chances* of Fortune, but *out of her command*: Whom how much Your Majesty loves, nay, how much you esteem, did appear by a late Ambassage, when in the depth of her Widow mournings, your Majesty, to carry her consolations, sent the chief of your Nobility, and him a Personage of most ancient vertue and behaviour; that to a most affectionate Legation, some addition might be made of Dignity, from the choice it self of the Ambassadors. *This of Consolation.*

Concerning her *Support*: did not Your Majesty give leave to a Marquess of the chief Nobility in *Scotland*, though tied here to your Person by near and assiduous Attendance, to exercise his valour abroad? through intricacies most studied, in such a stop of passages; through hazards by Sea and Land; through Places and Towns beset with Plague and Famine: where it was almost easier to conquer, than to get entrance, and harder to suffer, than to act? If after this, Success was wanting, yet was not the generous affection of a King; not the valour of his Subjects; not expences of divers kinds; not Legations (the while) upon Legations, to appease (if it were possible) by equal conditions, and by friendly Treaty, the frenzy of the time: for the rest, we must repose our selves in *Solon's* advice, *Let no man glory before his End.*



Now amongst so many cares ( wherewith even the best of Kings are chiefly oppress'd ) it will not be unpleasant to enquire a little, how elegantly Your Majesty doth dispose your vacant hours.

You delight in the use of the great Horse, whom already dressed, no man doth more skilfully manage ; or better break, if rough and furious : Infomuch, as I doubt whether it were more aptly or deservedly done of him, who hath lately erected an *Equestrian Statue* to Your Majesty of solid Brass, the lively work of *Lissierius*.

To this I must add Musick, both Instrumental and Vocal, which under you grows every day more harmonious and accurate, as being fitted to the judgment of your ear. This (lest it should seem too tender a delight) you temper as it were with hunting. In which Image of War you do so exercise your vigorous spirits, that it is hard to say, whether you love the pleasure more, or the labour, or whether you had rather wish the killing, or the long standing of the Game.

But the most splendid of all your entertainments, is your love of excellent Artificers, and Works : wherewith in either Art both of Picture and Sculpture you have so adorned your Palaces, that *Italy*, (the greatest Mother of Elegant Arts) or at least (next the *Grecians*) the principal Nursery, may seem by your magnificence to be translated into *England*.

What can be more delightful than those sights ? nay, I am ready to ask, what more learned than to behold the tongueless eloquence of lights and shadows, and the silent Poësie of lines, and ( as it were ) living Marbles ? Here would the spectator swear the limbs and muscles design'd by *Tintoret* to move ;



move ; there the Birds of *Bassano* to chirp, the Oxen bellow, and the Sheep to bleat : Here the faces of *Rafael* to breathe, and those of *Titian* even to speak : there a man would commend in *Correggio* delicateness, in *Parmesano* concinnity. Neither do the *Belgians* want their praise ; who if they paint Landships, all kind of vegetables seem in their verdure ; the flowers do smile , the hills are raised, the valleys in depression : In your Statuary works the like learned variety ; of which some glory in a kind of vivacity, some in tenderness of parts ; but those are the entertainment of your eye. Now to recreate your mind, sometimes a Book of choicest subject ; but oftneft, Men you read, knowing full well how much it doth import a Prince to understand the conditions of his People. There are times also when you refresh your thoughts in the rehearsal of some ancient Epigrams, with no less acuteness than they were composed.

Thus have I cut sorily run over your serious times, and your remissions : but the very pleasure I have taken in passing through these , though but very lightly, doth (I know not how) infuse into my pen, now in motion , a new spirit , to represent (with Your Majestie's leave) though it be but to my self, your true Portraicture in little, and (as it were) in one short view together , which I thus conceive in my fancy.

I may say your stature is next a just proportion ; your body erect and active ; your colour or complexion hath generally drawn more from the white Rose of *York*, than the red of *Lancaster* ; your hair nearer brown than yellow ; your brow proclaimeth much fidelity ; a certain verecundious generosity graceth your eyes , not such as we read of

*Sylla*



*Sylla*, but of *Pompey*; in your gestures nothing of affectation; in your whole aspect no swelling, nothing boysterous, but an alluring and well becoming suavity: your alacrity and vigour, the celerity of your motions discovers; otherwise your affections are temperate, and demeanour well settled; most firm to your purposes and promises, loving Truth, hating Vice; Just, Constant, Couragious, and not simply so, but knowingly Good.

Such you are; and being such; with what applause shall we receive you! Me thinks I see, when sometimes I compare together horrid and quiet Times, as often as *Rich.* the Third return'd, perchance from his *York* or further off, to *London*, and assembled his Peers about him; how the heads of Noblemen did hang! how pale their cheeks! what solicitous suspicions and murmurs they conferred together; as if suddenly some dismal Comet or inauspicious Star had risen above the Horizon! But contrariwise, the return of a just, and a good Prince, is in truth nothing else but the very approach of the Sun, when with his vernal beams he doth expel the deformed Winter, and with a gentle heat doth comfort and exhilarate all things about us.

Live therefore, O King, to all that are good, most grateful. But in what wishes shall I end? After *Trajan's* times there was among the Ancients (with whose example smitten, I have too boldly undertaken this small labour) under every renowned Emperour a form of acclamation in this kind, *Long maiest thou live, Antonius; Long maiest thou reign, Theodosius; Happier than Augustus, Better than Trajan*: but let this be the concluding



Character of your Majesties time; *That the Things we can wish, are fewer than those we praise.*

Wherefore, when I have out of an ardent zeal only wished this, that *Charles* our excellent King and Master may reign and live like himself alone, and long;

Be this the Conclusion,  
*In what transcendent happiness were we,  
If know we would how fortunate we be?*









Robert Devereux Earle of Essex  
W. Dole F.





OF

ROBERT DEVEREUX,

Earl of ESSEX;

AND

GEORGE VILLIARS,

Duke of BUCKINGHAM:

*Some Observations by way of PARALLEL  
in the time of their estates of Favour.*



Mongst those Historical Employments, whereunto I have devoted my latter years, (for I read, that old men live more by memory than by hope) we thought it would be a little time not ill spent, to confer the Fortunes and the Natures of these two great Personages of so late knowledge. Wherein I intend to do them right with the truth thereof, and my self with the freedom.



The beginning of the Earl of *Essex* I must attribute wholly or in great part to my Lord of *Leicester*; but yet as an Introducer, or supporter, not as a Teacher: for as I go along, it will easily appear, that he neither lived nor died by his discipline. Always certain it is, that he drew him first into the fatal Circle from a kind of resolved privateness at his house at *Lampsie*, in *South-Wales*; where, after the Academical life, he had taken such a taste of the Rural, as I have heard him say, (and not upon any flashes or fumes of Melancholly, or traverses of discontent, but in a serene and quiet mood) that he could well have bent his mind to a retired course. About which time, the said Earl of *Leicester* bewrayed a meaning to plant him in the Queens favour; which was diversly interpreted by such as thought that great Artizan of Court to do nothing by chance, nor much by affection. Some therefore were of opinion, that feeling more and more in himself the weight of time, and being almost tired (if there be a satiety in Power) with that assiduous attendance, and intensive circumspection which a long indulgent fortune did require, he was grown not unwilling, for his own ease, to bestow handsomly upon another some part of the pains, and perhaps of the envy.

Others conceived rather, that having before for the same ends brought in, or let in Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and having found him such an apprentice as knew well enough how to set up for himself, he now meant to allie him with this young Earl, who had yet taken no strong impressions. For though the said Sir *Walter Raleigh* was a little before this, whereof I now spake by occasion, much  
fallen



fallen from his former splendour in Court : yet he still continued in some lustre of a favoured man, like billows that sink by degrees, even when the wind is down that first stirred them.

Thus runs the discourse of that time at pleasure. Yet I am not ignorant, that there was some good while a very stiff averſation in my Lord of *Essex* from applying himself to the Earl of *Leicester*, for what secret conceit I know not ; but howsoever, that humour was mollified by time ; and by his Mother ; and to the Court he came under his lee.

The Duke of *Buckingham* had another kind of Germination ; and surely had he been a Plant, he would have been reckoned among the *Sponte nascentes*, for he sprung without any help, by a kind of congenial composure (as we may term it) to the likeness of our late Sovereign and Master of ever blessed memory ; who taking him into his regard, taught him more and more to please himself, and moulded him, (as it were) Platonically, to his own *Idea* ; delighting first in the choice of the Materials, because he found him susceptible of good form ; and afterward by degrees, as great Architects use to do, in the workmanship of his Regal hand : nor staying here, after he had hardened and polished him about ten years in the School of observance, (for so a Court is) and in the furnace of tryal about himself, (for he was a King could peruse men as well as books) he made him the associate of his Heir apparent, together with the now Lord *Cottington* (as an adjunct of singular experience and trust) in foreign travels, and in a business of Love, and of no equal hazard (if the tenderneſs of our zeal did not then deceive us ; )



enough (the world must confess) to kindle affection even betwixt the distantest conditions ; so as by the various and inward conversation abroad, (besides that before and after at home) with the most constant and best natured Prince, *Bona si sua nōrint*, as ever *England* enjoyed, this Duke becomes now secondly seized of favour, as it were by descent (though the condition of that estate be commonly no more than a Tenancy at Will; or at most for the life of the first Lord) and rarely transmitted : which I have briefly set down, without looking beyond the vail of the Temple, I mean, into the secret of high inclinations ; since even Satyrical Poets (who are otherwise of so licentious fancy) are in this point modest enough to confess their ignorance.

*Nescio quid certè est quod me tibi temperet Astrum.*

And these were both their springings and Imprimings, as I may call them.

In the profluence or proceedings of their fortunes, I observe likewise not only much difference between them ; but in the Earl, not a little from himself. First, all his hopes of advancement had like to be strangled almost in the very Cradle, by throwing himself into the *Portugal* Voyage without the Queens consent, or so much as her knowledge ; whereby he left his friends and dependants near six months in desperate suspense what would become of him. And to speak truth, not without good reason : For first, they might well consider, That he was himself not well plumed in favour for such a flight : Besides, That now he wanted a Lord of *Leicester* at home (for he was  
dead



dead the year before) to smoothe his absence, and to quench the practices at Court. But above all, it lay open to every mans discourse, that though the bare offence to his Sovereign and Mistriss was too great an adventure; yet much more, when she might (as in this case) have fairly discharged her displeasure upon her Laws. Notwithstanding, a noble report coming home before him, at his return all was clear, and this excursion was esteemed but a Sally of youth: Nay, he grew every day more and more in her gracious conceit: whether such intermissions as these do sometimes foment affection; or that, having committed a fault, he became the more obsequious and plyant to redeem it: Or that she yet had not received into her Royal brest any shadows of his popularity.

There was another time long after, when Sir *Fulke Grevill* (late Lord *Brook*) a man in appearance intrinsical with him, or at the least admitted to his Melancholy hours, either belike espying some weariness in the Queen, or perhaps (with little change of the word, though more in the danger) some wariness towards him; and working upon the present matter (as he was dexterous and close) had almost super-induced into favour the Earl of *Southampton*; which yet being timely discovered, my Lord of *Essex* chose to evaporare his thoughts in a Sonnet (being his common way) to be sung before the Queen, (as it was) by one *Hales*, in whose voice she took some pleasure; whereof the complot, me thinks, had as much of the Hermit as of the Poet.

*And if thou should'st by her be now forsaken,  
She made thy Heart too strong for to be shaken.*

As



As if he had been casting one eye back at the least to his former retiredness. But all this likewise quickly vanished, and there was a good while after fair weather over head. Yet still, I know not how, like a gathering of Clouds, till towards his latter time, when his humours grew Tart, as being now in the Leës of favour, it brake forth into certain sudden recesses; sometimes from the Court to *Wansteed*, otherwhiles unto *Greenwich*, often to his own Chamber; Doors shut, Visits forbidden, and which was worse; divers Contestations (between) even with the Queen herself, (all preambles of ruine;) wherewith, though now and then he did wring out of her Majesty some petty contentments, (as a man would press sowre Grapes) yet in the mean time was forgotten the Counsel of a Wise, and then a Prophetical Friend who told him, that such courses as those were like hot Waters, which help at a pang, but if they be too often used, will spoil the stomach

On the Dukes part, we have no such abrupt strains and precipices as these, but a fair fluent and uniform course under both Kings: And surely, as there was in his natural Constitution a marvellous equality, whereof I shall speak more afterwards; so there was an image of it in his Fortune, running (if I may borrow an ancient comparison) as smoothly as a numerous Verse, till it met with certain Rubs in Parliament, whereof I am induced, by the very Subject which I handle, to say somewhat, so far as shall concern the difference between their times.

When my Lord of *Essex* stood in favour, the Parliaments were calm; Nay, I find it a true obser-



servation, that there was no Impeachment of any Nobleman by the Commons from the Reign of King *Henry* the sixth, until the eighteenth of King *James*, nor any intervenient precedent of that Nature ; not that something or other could be wanting to be said, while men are men : For not to go higher, we are taught easily so much by the very Ballads and Libels of the *Leicestrian* time.

But about the aforesaid Year, many young ones being chosen into the House of Commons, more than had been usual in great Councils, ( who though of the weakest wings, yet are the highest Flyers) there arose a certain unfortunate and unfruitful Spirit in some places ; not sowing, but picking at every stone in the Field rather than tending to the general Harvest. And thus far the consideration of the Nature of the Time hath transported me, and the occasion of the Subject.

Now on the other side, I must with the like liberty observe two weighty and watchful Sollicitudes (as I may call them) which kept the Earl in extreme and continual Caution, like a Bow still bent ; whereof the Duke's thoughts were absolutely free.

First, he was to wrestle with a Queens declining, or rather with her very setting Age (as we may term it,) which, besides other respects, is commonly even of it self the more umbratious and apprehensive, as for the most part all Horizons are charged with certain Vapours towards their Evening.

The other was a matter of more Circumstance, standing thus, *viz.*

All Princes, especially those whom God hath  
not



not blessed with natural issue, are (by wisdom of State) somewhat shy of their Successors; and to speak with due Reverence, there may be reasonably supposed in *Queens Regnant*, a little proportion of tenderness that way, more than in *Kings*. Now there were in Court two names of *Power*, and almost of *Faction*; the *Effexian*, and the *Cecilian*, with their adherents; both well enough enjoying the present, and yet both looking to the future, and therefore both holding (correspondency with some of the principal in *Scotland*, and had received advertisements and instructions, either from them, or immediately from the King, as indubitate Heir of this Imperial Crown.

But lest they might detect one another; this was Mysteriously carried by several instruments and conducts, and on the *Effexian* side, in truth, with infinite hazard: for Sir *Robert Cecil*, who (as Secretary of State) did dispose the publick Addresses, had prompter and safer conveyance; whereupon I cannot but relate a memorable passage on either part, as the story following shall declare.

The Earl of *Effex* had accommodated Master *Anthony Bacon* in partition of his House, and had assigned him a noble entertainment: this was a Gentleman of impotent feet, but a nimble head, and through his hand ran all the intelligences with *Scotland*; who being of a provident nature (contrary to his Brother the Lord Viscount St. *Albans*) and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous Secret, would many times cunningly let fall some words, as if he could much amend his Fortunes under the *Cecilians* (to whom he was near of alliance and in blood also) and who had made (as he



he was not unwilling should be believed) some great proffers to win him away: which once or twice he pressed so far, and with such tokens and signs of apparent discontent to my Lord *Henry Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Northampton*, (who was of the party, and stood himself in much Umbrage with the Queen) that he flies presently to my Lord of *Effex* (with whom he was commonly *prima admissio*, by his bed side in the morning) and tells him, that unless that Gentleman were presently satisfied with some round sum, all would be vented.

This took the Earl at that time ill provided (as indeed oftentimes his Coffers were low) whereupon he was fain suddenly to give him *Effex-House*; which the good old Lady *Walsingham* did afterwards disengage out of her own store with 2500 pound: and before, he had distilled 1500 pound at another time by the same skill. So as we may rate this one Secret, as it was finely carried, at 4000 pounds in present money, besides at the least 1000 pound of annual pension to a private and bed-ridden Gentleman: What would he have gotten if he could have gone about his own business?

There was another accident of the same nature on the *Cecilian* side, much more pleasant, but less chargeable, for it cost nothing but wit. The Queen having for a good while not heard any thing from *Scotland*, and being thirsty of news, it fell out that her Majesty going to take the air towards the Heath (the Court being then at *Greenwich*) and Master Secretary *Cecil* then attending her, a Post came crossing by, and blew his Horn; The Queen out of curiosity asked him from whence the Dispatch came; and being answered, From *Scotland*,



land; she stops the Coach, and calleth for the Packet. The Secretary, though he knew there were in it some Letters from his Correspondents, which to discover, were as so many Serpents; yet made more shew of diligence, than of doubt to obey; and asks some that stood by (forsooth in great haste) for a knife to cut up the Packet (for otherwise he might perhaps have awaked a little apprehension;) but in the mean time approaching with the Packet in his hand, at a pretty distance from the Queen, he telleth her, it looked and smelt ill-favour'dly, coming out of a filthy budget, and that it should be fit first to open and air it, because he knew she was averse from ill scents. And so being dismissed home, he got leisure by this seasonable shift, to sever what he would not have seen.

These two accidents, precisely true, and known to few, I have reported as not altogether extravagant from my purpose, to shew how the Earl stood in certain perplexities, wherewith the Dukes days were not distracted. And this hath been the Historical part (as it were) touching the difference between them in the rising and flowing of their fortunes.

I will now consider their several indowments both of *Person* and *Mind*, and then a little of their *Actions* and *Ends*.

The Earl was a pretty deal the taller, and much the stronger, and of the abler body: But the Duke had the neater limbs and freer delivery; he was also the uprighter, and of the more comely motions; for the Earl did bend a little in the neck, though rather forwards, than downwards: and he was so far from being a good Dancer, that he



he was no graceful goer. If we touch particulars, the Duke exceeded in the daintiness of his leg and foot, and the Earl in the incomparable fairness and fine shape of his hands ; which (though it be but feminine praise) he took from his Father : For the general Air , the Earl had the closer and more reserved Countenance, being by nature somewhat more cogitative, and (which was strange) never more than at meals, when others are least : Inasmuch, as he was wont to make his observation of himself, that to solve any knotty business which cumbered his mind, his ablest hours were when he had checked his first appetite with two or three morsels, after which he sate usually for a good while silent : yet he would play well and willingly at some games of greatest attention, which shewed that when he listed , he could license his thoughts.

The Duke on the other side, even in the midst of so many diversions, had continually a very pleasant and vacant face (as I may well call it) proceeding no doubt from a singular assurance in his temper. And yet I must here give him a rarer Elogy, which the malignest eye cannot deny him, That certainly, never man in his place and power, did entertain greatness more familiarly, nor whose looks were less tainted with his felicity ; wherein I insist the rather, because this in my judgement was one of his greatest virtues and victories of himself.

But to proceed, in the attiring and ornament of their bodies, the Duke had a fine and unaffected politeness , and upon occasion costly, as in his Legations.

The Earl , as he grew more and more attentive  
to



to business and matters, so less and less curious of clothing: Infomuch, as I do remember, those about him had a conceit, that possibly sometimes when he went up to the Queen, he might scant know what he had on; for this was his manner: His Chamber being commonly stived with Friends or Suiters of one kind or other, when he was up, he gave his legs, arm, and brest to his ordinary servants to button and dress him, with little heed, his head and face to his Barber, his eyes to his letters, and ears to Petitioners, and many times all at once; then the Gentleman of his Robes throwing a cloak over his shoulders, he would make a step into his Closet, and after a short prayer, he was gone: only in his Baths, he was somewhat delicate. For point of diet and luxury, they were both very inordinate in their appetites, especially the Earl, who was by nature of so indifferent a taste, that I must tell a rare thing of him (though it be but a homely note) that he would stop in the midst of any physical Potion, and after he had licked his lips, he would drink of the rest; but I am weary of such slight Animadversions.

To come therefore to the inward furniture of their Minds, I will thus much declare.

The Earl was of good Erudition, having been placed at study in *Cambridge* very young by the Lord *Burleigh*, his Guardian, with affectionate and deliberate care, under the oversight of Doctor *Whitgift*, then Master of *Trinity College*, and after Archbishop of *Canterbury*: A man (by the way) surely of most Reverend and Sacred memory, and (as I may well say) even of the Primitive temper; when the Church by lowliness of spirit, did flourish in the high examples: which I have inserted as a  
 due



due recordation of his vertues, having been much obliged to him for many favours in my younger time.

About sixteen years of his age, (for thither he came at twelve) he took the formality of Master of Arts, and kept his Publick Acts. And here I must not smoothe what I have received by constant Information, That his own Father died with a very cold conceit of him; some say, through the affection to his second son *Walter Devereux*, who was indeed a diamond of the time, and both of an hardy and delicate temper and mixture: But it seems, this Earl, like certain vegetables, did bud and open slowly; Nature sometimes delighting to play an after-game as well as Fortune, which had both their turns and tides in course.

The Duke was Illiterate, yet had learned at Court, first to sift and question well, and to supply his own defects, by the drawing or flowing unto him of the best Instruments of experience and knowledge, from whom he had a sweet and attractive manner, to suck what might be for the publick or his own proper use; so as the less he was favoured by the Muses, he was the more by the Graces.

To consider them in their pure Naturals, I conceive the Earls Intellectual faculties to have been his stronger part, and in the Duke his Practical.

Yet all know, that he likewise at the first was much under the expectation of his after-proof; such a Solar influence there is in the Sovereign aspect. For their Abilities of discourse or pen; the Earl was a very acute and sound speaker when he would intend it; and for his writings, they are



beyond example, especially in his familiar Letters and things of delight at Court, when he would admit his serious habits, as may be yet seen in his Impresses and Inventions of entertainment, and above all in his darling piece of love, and self love; his Stile was an elegant perspicuity, rich of phrase, but seldom any bold Metaphors; and so far from Tumour, that it rather wanted a little Elevation.

The Dukes delivery of his mind, I conceive not to be so sharp, as solid and grave; not so solid and deep, as pertinent, and apposite to the times and occasions.

The Earl I account the more liberal, and the Duke the more magnificent; for I do not remember that my Lord of *Essex* in all his life time did build or adorn any house, the Queen perchance spending his time, and himself his means; or otherwise inclining to popular ways; for we know the people are apter to applaud house-keepers, than house-raisers. They were both great cherishers of Scholars and Divines; but it seems the Earl had obtained of himself one singular point, that he could depart his affection between two extremes: for though he bare always a kind of filial reverence towards Dr. *Whitgift*, both before and after he was Archbishop; yet on the other side, he did not a little love and tender Mr. *Cartwright*, though I think truly, with large distinction between the Persons and the Causes, however he was taxed with other ends in respecting that party.

They were both fair-spoken Gentleman, not prone and eager to detract openly from any man; and in this the Earl hath been most falsely blemished  
in



in our vulgar Story : only against one man he had forsworn all patience, namely *Henry Lord Cobham*, and would call him (*per Excellentiam*) the Syco-phane (as if it had been an Embleme of his name) even to the Queen her self, though of no small insinuation with her ; and one Lady likewise (that I may civilly spare to nominate, for her sex sake) whom he used to term the Spider of the Court : yet generally in the sensitive part of their Natures, the Earl was the worst Philosopher, being a great Resenter, and a weak Dissembler of the least disgrace : And herein likewise, as in the rest, no good Pupil to my Lord of *Leicester*, who was wont to put all his passions in his pocket.

In the growth of their Fortunes, the Duke was a little the swifter, and much the greater ; for from a younger Brothers mean estate, he rose to the highest degree whereof a Subject was capable, either in Title or Trust. Therein I must confess, much more comfortable to *Charles Brandon* under *Henry the Eight*, who was equal to him in both.

For matter of Donative and addition of substance, I do not believe that the Duke did much exceed him, all considered, under both Kings.

For that which the Earl of *Essex* had received from her Majesty, besides the Fees of his Offices, and the disposition of great Summs of money in her Armies, was (about the time of his Arraignment, when faults use to be aggrayated with precedent benefits) valued at three hundred thousand pounds sterling in pure gift for his only use, by the Earl of *Dorset*, then Lord Treasurer ; who was a wise man, and a strict Computist, and not well affected towards him. And yet it is worthy of note



in the Margent of both Times, that the one was prosecuted with silence, and the other with murmur; So undoing a measure is popular judgment!

I cannot here omit between them a great difference in establishing of both their Fortunes and Fames.

For the first: the Duke had a care to introduce into near place at the Court divers of his confident Servants, and into high places very sound and grave Personages. Whereas, except a Pensioner or two, we can scant name any one man advanced of the Earls breeding, but Sir *Thomas Smith*, having been his Secretary; who yet came never further (though married into a noble House) then to the Clerk of the Council, and Register of the Parliament: not that the Earl meant to stand alone like a Substantive (for he was not so ill a Grammarian in Court;) but the Truth is, in this point, the *Cecilians* kept him back, as very well knowing that upon every little absence or disaffinity, he should be subject to take cold at his back.

For the other, in the managing of their Fames, I note between them a direct contrary wisdom; for the Earl proceeded by way of Apology, which he wrote and dispersed with his own hands ut large, though till his going to *Ireland* they were but airy objections. But of the Duke this I know, that one having offered for his ease to do him that kind of Service, he refused it with a pretty kind of thankful scorn, saying, that he would trust his own good intentions which God knew, and leave to him the pardoning of his Errours; and that he saw no fruit of Apologies, but the multiplying of dis-



discourse ; which surely was a well settled Maxim. And for my own particular (though I am not obnoxious to his memory in the expression of *Tacitus, Neque injuria, neque beneficio*, saving that he shewed me an ordinary good Countenance : And if I were, yet I would distinguish between Gratitude and Truth) I must bear him this Testimony, that in a Commission laid upon me by Sovereign Command, to examine a Lady about a certain filthy accusation, grounded upon nothing but a few single names taken up by a Foot-man in a kennel, and streight baptized, (A list of such as the Duke had appointed to be poisoned at home, himself being then in *Spain* : ) I found it to be the most malicious and frantick surmise, and the most contrary to his nature, that I think had ever been brewed from the beginning of the World, howsoever countenanced by a Libellous Pamphlet of a fugitive Physician even in print ; and yet of this would not the Duke suffer any answer to be made on his behalf, so constant he was to his own principles.

In their Military Services, the Characters of the Earls employments were these, viz.

His forwardest, was that of *Portugal*, before mentioned.

The saddest, that of *Roan*, where he lost his brave Brother.

His fortunatest piece I esteem the taking of *Cadiz Malez*, and no less modest ; for there he wrote with his own hands a censure of his Omissions.

His jealousst employment was to the relief of *Calais*, besieged by the Cardinal Arch-duke : about



which, there passed then between the Queen and the *French King* much Art.

His Voyage to the *Azores* was the best, for the discovery of the *Spanish* weakness, and otherwise almost a saving Voyage.

His blackest was that to *Ireland*, ordained to be the Sepulchre of his Father, and the Gulph of his own Fortunes.

But the first, in 88, at *Tilbury Camp*, was in my judgment, the very poison of all that followed; for there whilst the Queen stood in some doubt of a *Spanish invasion* (though it proved but a Morrice-dance upon our Waves) she made him in Field Commander of the Cavalry (as he was before in Court,) and much graced him openly in view of the Souldiers and people, even above my Lord of *Leicester*: the truth is, from thenceforth he fed too fast.

The Duke's imployment abroad in this nature, was only in the Action of the *Isle of Reez*, of which I must note somewhat for the honour of our Country, and of his Majesties times, and of them that perished and survived, and to redeem it generally from mis-understanding. Therefore after enquiry amongst the wisest and most indifferent men, of that Action, I dare pronounce, that, all Circumstances pondred, A tumultuary landing on our part, with about 1000 in the whole; On theirs, ready to receive us, some 200 Horse, with near 2000 Foot, and watching their best time of advantage, none of their Foot discovered by us before, nor so much as suspected, and only some of their Horse descryed stragling, but not in any bulk or body; their Cavalry not a Troop of *Biscoigners*, mounted in haft, but the greater part Gentlemen of



of Family, and of Pickt Resolution, and such as charged home both in Front and on both Flanks into the very sea; about sixscore of their 200 Horse strewn upon the Sand, and none of them but one killed with a great shot; and after this, their Foot likewise coming on to charge, till not liking the business, they fell to flinging of stones, and so walked away.

I say, these things considered and laid together, we have great reason to repute it a great impression upon an unknown place, and a noble argument, that upon occasion, we have not lost our Ancient vigour. Only I could wish that the Duke, who then in the animating of the Souldiers shewed them very eminent assurance of his valour, had afterwards remembered that rule of *Apelles*, *Manum de Tabula*. But he was greedy of honour, and hot upon the publick ends, and too confident in the prosperity of beginnings, as somewhere *Polybius*, that great Critique of war, observeth of young Leaders, whom fortune hath not before deceived.

In this their Military care and dispensation of reward and punishment, there was very few remarkable occasions under the Duke saving his continual vigilancy and voluntary hazard of his person, and kindneses to the Souldiers, both from his own table and purse; for there could be few disorders within an Island where the Troops had no scope to disband, and the Inferiour Commanders were still in sight.

In the Earl we have two examples of his severity, the one in the Island Voyage, where he threw a Souldier with his own hand out of a Ship; the other in *Ireland*, where he decimated certain



Troops that ran away, renewing a piece of the *Roman Discipline*.

On the other side, we have many of his Lenity, and one of his Facility, when he did connive at the bold Trespass of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who before his own arrival at *Fayall*, had landed there against his precise Commandment ; at which time he let fall a Noble word, being pressed by one, (whose name I need not remember) that at the least he would put him upon a Martial Court : That I would do (said he) if he were my friend.

And now I am drawing towards the last act, which was written in the Book of necessity.

At the Earls end I was abroad , but when I came home (though little was left for Writers to glean after Judges ) yet, I spent some curiosity to search what it might be that could precipitate him into such a prodigious Catastrophe ; and I must , according to my professed freedom , deliver a circumstance or two of some weight in the truth of that story, which was neither discovered at his arraignment , nor after in any of his private confessions.

There was amongst his nearest attendants , one *Henry Cusse*, a man of secret Ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate Counsels smothered under the habit of a Scholar, and slubbered over with a certain rude and clownish fashion, that had the semblance of integrity.

This Person, not above five or six weeks before my Lords fatal irruption into the City, was by the Earls Special Command suddenly discharged from all further attendance, or access unto him, out of an inward displeasure then taken against his sharp and



and importune infusions, and out of a glimmering oversight, that he would prove the very instrument of his ruine.

I must adde hereunto, that about the same time my Lord hath received from the Countess of *Warwick* (a Lady powerful in the Court, and indeed a vertuous user of her power) the best advice that I think was ever given from either Sex; That when he was free from Restraint, he should closely take any out-lodging at *Greenwich*, and sometimes when the Queen went abroad in a good humour, (whereof she would give him notice) he should come forth, and humble himself before Her in the Field.

This Council sunk much into him, and for some dayes he resolved it: but in the mean time, through the intercession of the Earl of *Southampton*, whom *Cuffe* had gained, he was restored to my Lords ear, and so working advantage upon his disgraces, and upon the vain foundation of vulgar breath, which hurts many good men, spun out the final destruction of his Master and himself, and almost of his Restorer, if his pardon had not been won by inches.

True it is, that the Earl in *Westminster-Hall* did in general disclose the evil perswasions of this man; but the particulars which I have related of his dismission and restitution, he buried in his own brest for some reasons apparent enough; indeed (as I conjecture) not to exasperate the Case of my Lord of *Southampton*, though he might therewith a little peradventure have mollified his own. The whole and true Report I had by infallible means from the person himself that both brought the advice from the aforesaid excellent Lady, and carried  
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the discharge to *Cuffe*, who in a private Chamber was stricken therewith into a swoon almost dead to the earth, as if he had fallen from some high Steeple : such Turrets of hope he had built in his own Fancy.

Touching the Duke's sudden period, how others have represented it unto their Fancies, I cannot determine : for my part, I must confess from my soul , that I never recal it to mind without a deep and double astonishment of my discourse and reason.

First of the very horror and atrocity of the Fact in a Christian Court, under so moderate a Government ; but much more at the impudency of the pretence, whereby a desperate discontented Assassinate would after the perpetration have honested a meer private revenge (as by precedent circumstances is evident enough) with I know not what publick respects , and would fain have given it a Parliamentary cover. Howsoever, thus these two great Peers were disrobed of their Glory; the one by judgment, the other by violence, which was the small distinction.

Now after this short contemplation of their diversities ( for much more might have been spoken, but that I was fitter for Rapsody than Commentary) I am lastly desirous to take a summary view of their Conformities , which I verily believe will be found as many, though perchance heeded by few, as are extant in any of the ancient Parallel.

They both slept long in the arms of Fortune : They were both of ancient blood, and of Foreign extraction : They were both of straight and goodly stature , and of able and active bodies : They  
were



were both industrious and assiduous, and attentive to their ends: They were both early Privy-Councillors, and imployed at home in the secretest and weightiest affairs in Court and State: They were both likewise Commanders abroad in Chief, as well by Sea, as by land: both Masters of the Horse at home, both chosen Chancellours of the same University, namely, *Cambridge*: They were both indubitable strong, and high-minded men; yet of sweet and accostable Nature, almost equally delighting in the press and affluence of Dependants and Suiters: which are always the Burs, and sometimes the Briars of Favourites. They were both married to very vertuous Ladies, and sole Heirs, and left issue of their Sex, and both their Wives converted to contrary Religions. They were both in themselves rare and excellent examples of Temperance and Sobriety; but neither of them of Continency.

Lastly, after they had been both subject (as all Greatness and Splendor is) to certain obloquies of their actions; They both concluded their earthly felicity in unnatural ends, and with no great distance of time in the space either of life or favour.

And so having discharged this poor Exercise of my Pen according to my Knowledge and Reality, let us commit those two noble Peers to their Eternal rest, with their memorable abilities remaining in few, and their compassionate infirmities common to all.





THE  
D I F F E R E N C E  
AND  
D I S P A R I T Y

Between the  
Estates and Conditions  
OF  
G E O R G E  
Duke of BUCKINGHAM,  
AND  
R O B E R T

Earl of E S S E X ;

Written by the *Earl of Clarendon* in his  
younger dayes.

**T** Hough it shall appear an unseasonable itch of  
Wit to say ought in this Subject, and an  
unskilful one, if invention reach not what  
is already said, with all the swelling Elo-  
gies that shall attend all that fall from that  
Pen; yet I shall presume (disavowing only the vanities)



to think that in the severest considerations of their Persons, in their Educations, in their Insinuations into favour, in managing that Favour, in their whole Education (but that they were both glorious in the eyes of their Princes) they were as distant, as unfit, as impossible for Parallels, as any two vertuous and great persons (for so they were both) we can direct our discourse to. Their engagements, incumbrances, and disadvantages, being so different, that it was the just wonder (and yet continues) of the world, that the Earl could ever fall, (his whole fate being in the discretion of his own soul;) and the Duke (who all his life of favour, stood the mark shot at by the most petulant and malicious spirits this Climate ever nourished) could stand so long.

He that shall walk in a short survey of both their times, actions, and dependencies, shall find them these.

Though the first approach of the Earl to Court was under the shadow of the Great Earl of Leicester, yet he owned him rather for his invitation thither, than his preferment there.

For no question he found advantage from the stock of his Fathers Reputation; the people looking on his quality with reverence (for I do not find that any young Nobleman had yet surprized their hopes, or drawn their eyes) and on his youth with pity; for they were nothing satisfied concerning his Fathers death, who had been advanced to honourable dangers by the mediation of such as delighted not in his company; as it was the mysterious wisdom of those times to poyson with oyl, & homines per honores ferire. And if there were not any such compassion in the Queen, yet surely she beheld him as the son of an excellent man, that died in her service, and had left a precious fame surviving.

In the Court he stayd not above a year, but undertook that journey into the Low Countreys with his Father-in-law,



law, and went General of the Horse in a great Army, though he was not full nineteen years of age, there being then no such Criticisms as interpreted the acceptance or pursuit even of the greatest dignity and command, a conspiracy against the State; but all men were glad to see him set himself so brave a task, by undertaking such an Employment.

From this first action he took a Charter of the peoples hearts, which was never cancell'd; but as if they had looked only on the boldness, not the success of his enterprises, he was sure to return with triumph, though the Voyage miscarried: for amongst all his foreign undertakings; if they be weighed in the peoples usual Scale, the Cost, though there was not above one or two prosperous returns, and as many that had sad and calamitous issues; yet he never suffered the least publick imputation or murmur; but was received with that joy, as if the Fleet or Army were sent out to bring him home, not any spoil or conquest, (to which he had wholly dedicated his faculties.)

He moved only in his proper Orb; out of it he was extra sphaeram activitatis, and rather of much business, (as a man towards whom the Queen had directed some rayes of affection) than of much dexterity above other men.

Surely, I by no means imagine him built or furnished for a Courtier.

For however the Arts and mysteries of a Court are undefinable, yet as in the reformation and improvement of all Sciences, there are certain principles and maxims unalterable and unquestionable, so there is a certain comparity, conformity, and complacency in the manners and a discreet subtilty in the composition, without which (as with those principles) no man in any Age or Court shall be eminent in the Aulical function.

Now how ill the Earl was read in this Philosophy, his  
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servant Cuffe (whose observations were sharp enough<sup>r</sup> whatever Stoicisms raved in his nature) well discerned, when he said, Amorem & odium semper in fronte gessit, nec celare novit.

And I shall not impute it to his want of will (though that would be but an ill argument, for his Courtship) nor of power, for he did many greater things ; but only of skill to contrive conveniences of honours and preferments at Court, for such friends as might have been good out-works to have fortifi'd and secur'd his own condition, except all his dependants were of another complexion than could have lived in that Air.

And indeed, I do not find that the Earl much inclined to, or desired the reputation of a Courtier, besides the preservation of himself, and the Queens affection (which yet he endeavoured rather to master, than to win ; ) but he seemed, though he had such places of honour and attendance as be the most significant badges of a Courtier, but in pace belli gerere negotium, and retired only from the War to prevent Peace.

Then if we visit his correspondencies abroad (which he rather maintained out of state, than contrived out of skill) we shall see they were always with an eye upon actions, and his Intelligences had ever some hint of Tumult and Commotion ; as if the King of Spain was loud or frantick at his devotions, as when he vowed at Mass, that he would be reveng'd of England, though he sold all those Candlesticks upon the Altar : This information was given by the Earl. But it was observed then, that if there were ought intended against the Life or Person of the Queen, though it were in the Court of Spain, where the Earl had especially his Leigiers, the first notice came over by my Lord Cecil, for whom (indeed) it seemed as necessary there should be treasons, as for the State that they should be prevented. Insomuch as it was then (how unjustly



justly soever) conceived, that though he created none, yet he fomented some conspiracies, that he might give frequent evidences of his loyalty, having no other advantage (as the Earl and others had in person) to justify him in an ordinary estimation, but by eminent services.

And those he knew must be best relished, that concerned her own preservation; and therefore in the least vacations from Treasons, he was ever busie to set on foot some vigilant and tender Law (as there was scarce any Parliament, without some such) that had a peculiar eye to the Queens safety. Which (however they are by such as cannot apprehend the danger of those times, looked upon without much reverence) could not but make singular impression in the Queens heart of his fidelity.

The Incumbrances that the Earl had to wrestle withal (for I shall only look over his life without particular enquiry into his actions, which had all glorious ends, or glorious intentions) were fewer than ever any great man ever met withal, and his advantages more in number, and in weight.

'Tis true, he was rivall'd by a strong and subtile faction, which cared and consulted for his ruin, as a foundation they must build upon; and were intent to betray him abroad, and mis-interpret him at home: yet the danger was thus allay'd, that they were all his publique and professed enemies, and so known unto the Queen, that they durst never impertinent urge ought against him, since they were sure their malice was concluded, when the reason of their objection happily might not be considered.

And indeed, that trick of countenancing and protecting factions (as that Queen almost her whole Reign did with singular and equal demonstration of grace look upon several persons of most distinct wishes one towards another) was not the least ground of much of her quiet and success. And she never doubted but that men that were never so opposite



in their good will each to others, nor never so dishonest in their projectments for each others confusion, might yet be reconciled into their Allegiance towards her. In-somuch, that during her whole Reign, she never endeavoured to reconcile any personal differences in the Court, though the unlawful emulations of persons of nearest trust about her, were even like to overthrow some of her chiefest designs. A Policy seldom entertained by Princes, especially if they have issues to survive them.

Among the advantages the Earl had (and he had many that will distinguish him from any man that hath, or is likely to succeed him) I shall rank the nature and the spirit of that time in the first place. For I shall not mention his Interest in the Queens favour, till the last, which shall appear greatest by the circumstances that lost it.

'Twas an ingenuous un-inquisitive time, when all the passions and affections of the people were lapped up in such an innocent and humble obedience, that there was never the least contestations, nor capitulations with the Queen; nor (though she very frequently consulted with her Subjects) any further reasons urged of her actions, than her own will.

When there were any grievances, they but reverently conveyed them to her notice, and left the time and order of the rest to her Princely discretion. Once they were more importunate and formal in pursuing the complaints of the Purveyors for Provision, which without question was a crying and an heavy oppression: The Queen sent them word, they all thought themselves wise enough to reform the misdemeanours of their own families, and wish't that they had so good opinion of her, as to trust her with her servants too. I do not find that the Secretary who delivered this Message, received any reproach or check, or that they proceeded any further in their inquisition. In this excellent



time the Queens remarkable Grace indeared the Earl to the regard of the people, which he quickly improved to a more tender estimation neither was this affection of theirs ever an objection against him, till himself took too much notice of it; for the Queen had ever loved her people without the least scruple of jealousy, nor was ever offended if he was the darling of their eyes, till she suspected he inclined to be the darling of their hearts.

In his Friendships he was so fortunate, that though he contracted with ancient enemies, and such as he had undeserved by some unkindness, as grievous as injurious, it is not known that ever he was betrayed in his trust, or had ever his secrets derived unhandsonly to any ears that they were not intended to: and this, if he had not planted himself upon such, whose zeal to his service was more remarkable than their other abilities, would have preserved him from so prodigious a fate.

Lastly, he had so strong an harbour in the Queens breast, that notwithstanding these dangerous indiscretions of committing himself in his recreations and shooting-matches to the publique view of so many thousand Citizens, which usually flocked to see him, and made within the reach of his own ears large acclamations in his praise; notwithstanding his receiving into his troop of attendance, and under that shadow bringing into the Court, divers persons not liked by the Queen, and some that had been in prison for suspicion of Treason, as Captain Wainman; and then his glorious feather-triumph, when he caused two thousand Orange-tawny Feathers, in despite of Sir Walter Raleigh, to be worn in the Tilt-yard, even before Her Majesties own face (all which would have found regret in the stomachs of most Princes :) yet neither these, nor any whispers that were destill'd into the Queens ears (for ought appears) ever lessened him in her Highness's regard till he committed such strange mistakes as ever have been  
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prosecuted with most exemplary punishments by the Laws themselves : which ( though in jealousy of Princes, they oft compound Treasons out of circumstances & possibilities ) yet are as tender of the reputation of great men as in any Common-wealth whatsoever.

If toward his period the Queen grew a less merciful interpreter of his failings and successes ; 'twas when she believed he grew too familiar, and in love with his passions, and had a mind not to be satisfied but upon his conditions, and too insensible of his own errors. And (truly) that would not be unfitly applyed to him, that was once said of the terrible Mountford Earl of Leicester, in the reign of Henry the Third ; ( though nothing be more horrible to me than the peculancy of that wit, which for an unhand-som jest, would accuse him of a purpose to be King ( for doubtless in his solemn purposes he was of a firm & unshaken allegiance ) that he had a spirit too great for a Subject. For besides that he look'd from above, and with a displeasure that had a mixture of scorn more than anger upon such as courted not his protection, his talk was in an high and unusual dialect ; he took much delight to discover an hatred ( like a contempt ) of the King of Spain, and would often mention his person as familiarly as Luther did our Henry the Eighth ; and as Fox begins his Book against the Pope with the first lines of Tullies Oration against Cataline, Quousque, tandem, &c. and so he would write in his ordinary Letters, and publish in his Apology, I will teach that proud King to know, &c. Which sounded possibly not so acceptable to the Queen herself, who though she were perfect enough in her dislike to that King, thought that the greatest Subjects ought not to approach the infirmities, or the mention of any King without some reverence. And the Earl in his zeal to the Hollanders ( when the great design was to mediate a Truce between Spain and them, and almost



the whole Council-board inclin'd that way) would not only in the violence of his opposition shew a dislike to the insolency and tyranny of the Spaniards, but of the very Government of a Monarchy.

Then his carriage towards the Queen her self was very strange, and his usual converse upon too bold terms, which proceeded not from any distemper but his passions, (though natural choler be but an unruly excuse for roughness with Princes :) but 'twas a way traffick (I know not upon what unlucky success) he had from the beginning fancied, and lasted even to his end. Insomuch, as upon his first restraint, (which was not many monthes before his conclusion) he did somewhat neglect the Queens pardon, because it came not accompanied with a new grant of his Lease of the farm of sweet Wines, which was then near expired; though she intimated to him, that she only deferred that Grace upon the Physicians *Maximes*: *Corpora impura, quo magis pascas, læseris.*

Lastly, If ever that uncouth speech fell from him to the Queen, which is delivered to us by one that was much conversant then in the secrets of the Court, That she was as crooked in her disposition, as in her carcass (when haply there was a little unevenness in her shoulders) all my wonder at his destruction is taken from me: and I must needs confess, I am nothing satisfied with that loose report which hath crept into our discourse, that shortly after his miserable end, (which indeed deserved compassion from all hearts) I know not upon what unseasonable delivery of a Ring or Jewel by some Lady of the Court, the Queen expressed much reluctancy for his death. I am sure no discovery, no expression, either to his Memory, Friends, or Dependants, can weigh down the indignity of the Sermon at Pauls Cross, and set out by Command, or that Discourse that was so carefully commended abroad of his Treasons; which were two of the most pestilent Libels,  
against



against his Fame, that any Age hath seen published against any Malefactor, and could not with that deliberation have been contrived, and justified by Authority, had not there been some sparks of indignation in the Queen that were unquenched even with his blood.

'Tis time to call my self homewards to the view of those considerations, in which will clearly appear the inequality of the Duke's condition, to what hath been said of the Earl: and it may be, I have been at my distance too bold an undertaker of these actions, which were performed so many years before my cradle.

I shall not much insist on the Duke's Morning, being so different from that of the Earls, as would discountenance all purposes of bringing them into one circle; he had no satisfaction in his friendships, or pretence in his quality, but was his own Harbinger at Court. For though the Herald may walk in as large a Field of his Pedegree, as shall concern any Subject, yet that being no in-let to his advancements, or occasion of his favour, I shall leave to such as shall have the preferment to write his Life. 'Tis true, that soon after his approach was found to be acceptable, and that he was like enough to be entertained by Him that had most power to bid him welcome; he received pretty conveniences from the respects of some great men, which at most (being as much out of disaffection to others as tenderness to him) yielded him rather assistance, than support; so that indeed he was (if ever any) *Faber fortunæ suæ*: and all such as will not be impudent strangers to the discerning spirit of that King who first cherish'd him, cannot but impute it to a certain innate wisdom and vertue that was in him, with which he surprized, and even fascinated all the faculties of his incomparable Master. He was not sooner admitted to stand there in his own right, but the eyes of



all such as either look'd out of judgment, or gazed out of curiosity, were quickly directed towards him, as a man in the delicacy and beauty of his colour, decency and grace of his motion, the moſt rarely accompliſhed they had ever beheld; whileſt ſome that found inconveniences in his nearneſs, intended by ſome affront to diſcountenance his ef-feminacy, till they perceived he had masked under it ſo terrible a courage as would ſafely protect all his ſweetneſſes.

And now he quickly ſhewed the moſt glorious Star that ever ſhined in any Court; inſomuch that all Nations proſecuted him with love and wonder, as faſt as the King with Grace; and to his laſt he never loſt any of his luſtre.

His ſwiftness and nimbleneſs in riſing, may be with leſs injury aſcribed to a Vivacity, than any Ambition in his nature; ſince it is certain the Kings eagerneſs to advance him, ſo ſurprized his youth, that he ſeemed only to ſubmit his ſhoulders, without reſiſtance to ſuch burdens as his Highneſs would be pleaſed to lay on him; and rather to be held up by the violent inclination of the King, then to climb up by any Art or induſtry of his own: yet once ſeated, he would not affront that judgment that raiſed him, by an unſeaſonable diffidence of himſelf, but endeavour'd with an underſtanding boldneſs to manage thoſe employments which his modeſty would never ſuffer him to court.

During the Reign of his firſt Maſter, I cannot but ſay, he enjoyed an indifferen calm in his Fortune & Favour; for though there were ſome boiſterous interruptions by the clamour of the people, yet ſhortly again their affections were as violent (and almoſt as ſenſeleſs) toward him, as ever their accuſations were before or after; Inſomuch as the Chief Rulers among them performed frequent viſits to him, when he was ſomewhat diſeaſed in his health, and out of a zealous care of him, would have begot in him ſome jealouſie, that his Phyſicians and neareſt Attendants about



about him, being (perhaps) of the same Religion with the King of Spain, had a purpose by poison to revenge some injuries (these people had conceived) in the right of that Nation. And here the Fortunes of our great Personages met, when they were both the Favourites of the Princes, and Darlings of the people. But their affections to the Duke, were but very short lived.

And now 'tis seasonable to say somewhat of the disposition and spirit of this time, since the disparity of those we treat of, will be in that discerned, and the Earl be found by so much to have the advantage, that there will be little need of conferring the particulars of their lives. 'Twas a busie querulous forward time, so much degenerated from the purity of the former, that the people under pretences of Reformation, with some petulant discourses of Liberty (which their great Impostors scattered among them, like false glasses to multiply their fears) began *Abditos Principis census, & quid occultius parat exquirere*: extended their enquiries even to the Chamber and private actions of the King himself, forgetting that truth of the Poet, -- *Nusquam Libertas gratior extat, -- quam sub Rege pio*: 'Twas strange to see how men afflicted themselves to find out calamities and mischiefs, whilest they borrowed the name of some great persons to scandalize the State they lived in: A general disorder throughout the whole body of the Commonwealth; nay the vital part perishing, the Laws violated by the judges, Religion prophaned by the Prelates, Heresies crept into the Church and countenanced: and yet all this shall be quickly rectified without so much as being beholding to the King, or consulting with the Clergy.

Surely had Petronius now lived, he would have found good cause to say, *Nostra regio tam præsentibus plena est numinibus, ut facilius possis deum quam hominem invenire*. For my part, whether the frenzy was nourish'd in



he warm brest of young men (who are commonly too much in love with their own time, to think it capable of reformation;) or whether it was fomented by riper heads, that had miscarried in their propositions of advancement, and are violent in the successes of Queen Elizabeth; or whether it was only the revolution of time that had made them unconcerned in the loyal fears that governed sixty years since, I shall not presume to guess: but shall rather wish for the spirit and condition of that time, as he did for wars and commotions, Quoniam acerbissima Dei flagella sunt, quibus hominum pertinaciam puniunt, ea perpetua oblivione sepelienda, potius quam memoriæ mandanda esse.

King James being no sooner dead, but such as had from his beginning impertinently endeavoured to supplant him, and found that he was so deeply rooted in his Sovereigns acceptance, that there should be no shaking him with clamorous objections, found some means to commend over his condition and transcendent power, as they termed it, as a matter of publick consequence to the people: and from this instant to his fatal end, he stood as it were opposed, notwithstanding all the shelter of the Sovereigns regard, to all the calumnies and obloquies the impudent malice of the Rabble could sing on him: and in all their pretences of Reformation, as if their end were only his shame, not amendment, they rather cudgel than reprehend him. Of this wild rage (not within the main purpose of an Apology) I shall give one or two instances, insisting on them only as they were mentioned in the indigested noise of the people, not as they were marshalled with other imployments in any publick Declaration or Remonstrance.

There were two errors chiefly laid to his charge, and so eagerly urged, that in them he was almost concluded an Enemy to the King and Countrey; which certainly in the next Age will be conceived marvellous strange Objections: the



one being a strong Argument of his Worth, the other a piece of its Reward: the first was the plurality of Offices, though they were immediately conferred on him by the King, or else such as he was promoted to by his Majesties own allowance, to acquire to the which, there was no condition but his Majesty was a witness, if not a surety for the performance; and yet for the execution of them never man studied more to apt himself, nor descended to meaner Arts to give general content. And here possibly it concerned his Mirth, to see his ambition prosecuted of some who desired to ease him of this Guilt by undertaking his Trust.

The other was the preferment of his Kindred, upon whom his Majesty (delighting to give all gracious expression of his affection to the Duke) would (to enliven any branch that grew from the same Stock) confer both Honour and Living. And this surely had so little signification of offence in the Dukes conscience, that he thought he should have sinned against the Law of Nature, and a generous disposition, that it would have been an eternal brand to his name and memory, if being so seized of this great Kings favour, he had no regard but to his own advancement.

And 'tis not improbable, that his noble care of his Family, confirmed him in the estimation of his Master, who knew that all Fountains ought to bestow themselves upon their Neighbour-brooks, and could have hoped for little effects from his service, whose care was only directed for himself.

Now whether the importunate clamour upon these two faults (whereof he found no regret, but comfort in himself) made him so to esteem of the popular discretion, and honesty; or whether he esteemed it the same ignominy to have his allegiance exalted with blasphemy, as (for attending the Prince out of Spain) he was called out Redeemer; or to have his misfortunes mistaken into disloyalty, when his



Enterprises succeeded not according to the impossible expectation of the people : certain it is, that all his later time he wholly neglected all compliance with them. 'Tis not unlikely he might wonder, that in all the scrupulous enquiry for Reformation, there was never the least blemish of dislike towards any great man, but such as were in the immediate regard and estimation of the King : As if all misdemeanours had been committed within the Verge of his Majesties own Chamber.

I shall not confer any of these particulars with the Earl. When the noise of the people had disquited him into action from Court (which was his Orb) though he could not put off the place, or rather the Title of Command, he committed himself a most willing Pupil to the directions of such as were generally thought fit to manage affairs of that nature : and here it cannot be deny'd, but as he was a vigilant and observant Student in the contemplative part, so he improved the courage of the whole Army by his example.

And surely, there is no cause to doubt, he would in short time have made so glorious a progress in his profession (however he seemed shaped for easier skirmishes) as the world should have seen that promptness and alacrity in his nature, that could happily have travelled in any path he could direct it, had he not been cut off by that execrable Treason, as makes all good men tremble, and Posterity shall start at it : and had he not been marvellously secured in the tranquillity of his own soul from any of that guilt the Rabble had conferred on him, it had been no hard matter to have fortified himself against the knife of a Villain, though it were sharpened in the lowdest forge of revenge the great Patron of Murder hath countenanced since the spilling of the first blood. But he that was unsafe only in the greatness of his own spirit ; could not be perswaded to wear any privy-coat, but (which he never put off)



off) of a good conscience. And the same Providence that conveyed him into grace, with so different marks from other men, would not suffer him to fall, but by such a fate as may determine all the Monarchies of the world; and which had been seldome acted, but upon the most Eminent and Honourable Persons of their times.

And here again, he may be said to meet with the Earl, that they both died by the people, though by very different affections, which continued so preposterous, as Justice upon the One (for Justice is the Execution of the Law) was interpreted a Conspiracy; And Treason upon the Other, conceived Religion; and yet one had the Royal Sacrifice of his Sovereign sorrow, which the other wanted.

In contriving and contracting his Friendships, he was provident and circumspect enough (as may appear by those Marriages in which he linked his House;) and in the observation of them he was so severe and real, as he wanted some of that, which is usually the poison of Noble minds, Suspicion; looking no further into the affections of those he chose, than the Testimony of their own hearts, though this Confidence sometimes was like to prove dangerous to him. And here the Earl had the day too: For his friends were Skreens between him and envy, and his own infirmities taken from him, and imposed on them; when the Duke was so far from that ease or being discharged of the burthen that belonged to them, that he was traduced with all the mistakes of all his friends, kindred, and dependants; as if he were the mischievous Agent, they only improvident and surprized Instruments.

'Tis true, they were neither of them much skilled in that Paradox of charity, loving their enemies: and yet the Dukes easiness to reconciliation, and too soon forgetting the circumstances of Grudges, betrayed him often to the injuries of such as had not the same spirits.



Concerning the parts and endowments of his *Mind*, if the consideration of Learning extend it self not further than drudgery in Books, the Dukes employments forbid to suspect him for any great Scholar: but if a nimble & fluent expression, and delivery of his *Mind* (and his discourse was of all Subjects) in a natural and proper dialect be considered, he was well letter'd: but if he had that Eloquence of Nature or Art, I am sure he wanted that other accident, (which the best Judge attributed to the Earl as an Eloquence that passed the other two) the pity and benevolence of his hearers; insomuch that his words & speeches were never entertained with that candour or common charity of Interpretation, as civilly belongs to all Delinquents: witness that speech in the fulness of his joy, he let fall to his Majesty in the behalf of his people, which was immediately perverted and carpt at, as an aggravation of his other imaginary and fantastick offences.

He was besides not only of an eminent affection to learning, in conferring dignities & rewards upon the most learned men; either of which is seldom without judgment; and he was the Governour in a Province of Learning, which was an Argument he confuted the people by, when he suffered himself to be chosen Chancellour of the University of Cambridge, even at the time when they had concluded his destruction, as a man odious to all Subjects.

In his Liberalities and rewards of those he fancied, he was so chearfully magnificent, and so much at the mercy of his Dependants, that if they proved improvident or immodest in their Sutes, the inconveniency and mischief was surely his; insomuch as he seemed wholly possest from himself, and to be only great for their use; and he had then so happy a bravery in deriving of his Favours, and conferred them with so many noble circumstances, as the manner was as obliging as the matter, and mens understandings oft-times as much puzzled as their gratitude.



If the Earl sided him here, his bounty fell upon more unthrifty men; for there are many Families owe their large possessions only to the openness of the Dukes hand, though much be lost too in the ingrattitudes of the Receivers.

But that which shined with most lustre in him, & which indeed flowed in his nature much above its proportion in other men, was an admirable affability and gentleness to all men. And this was the pomp and glory of all his Titles; Inasmuch as though his Memory were a place so taken up with high thoughts, and unlikely to have any room for matters of so small importance; he was ever known to entertain his younger acquaintance with that familiarity, as if they had been stairs by which he ascended to his greatness.

He had besides such a tendernefs and compassion in his nature, that such as think the Laws dead if they are not severely executed, censured him for being too merciful; but his charity was grounded upon a wiser Maxime of State: Non minus turpe Principi multa Supplicia; quàm Medico multa Funera. And he believed doubtless, the Hanging was the worst use man could be put to.

And now, me thinks, to believe a man drest in all these real ornaments of Honour, could be an Enemy to the Publick, to his Country, is as ingenuous as to believe a man of a solemn friendliness to ten thousand men, and of a resolved hatred to mankind.

Of all imputations, that was the most unskilful, which accused him of a purpose and design to enrich himself. Certainly that was never in his voms; and possibly the Auditors of his Revenues do not find his Estate so much increased from the time of his first Master, though he enjoyed a glorious Harvest of almost four years, which if it had been brought in to his own use, could not but have made an envious addition. Since then, till their Evenings, these two great Persons can hardly meet:

Let



*Let not the violence of their deaths reconcile them, since the same consideration might as well unite the great King of France, and the Marshal Byron, and many others of more different conditions.*

*He that shall continue this Argument further, may haply begin his Parallel after their deaths; and not unfitly: He may say, that they were both as mighty in Obligations as ever any Subjects, and both their Memories & Families as unrecompenced by such as they had raised. He may tell you of the Clients that burnt the Pictures of the one, and defaced the Arms of the other, lest they might be too long suspected for their Dependants, and find dis-advantage by being honest to their Memories. He may tell you of some that grew strangers to their houses, lest they might find the Tract of their own foot-steps, that might upbraid them with their former attendance. He may say, that both their Memories shall have a reverend favour with all Posterity; and all Nations. He may tell you many more particulars, which I dare not do.*

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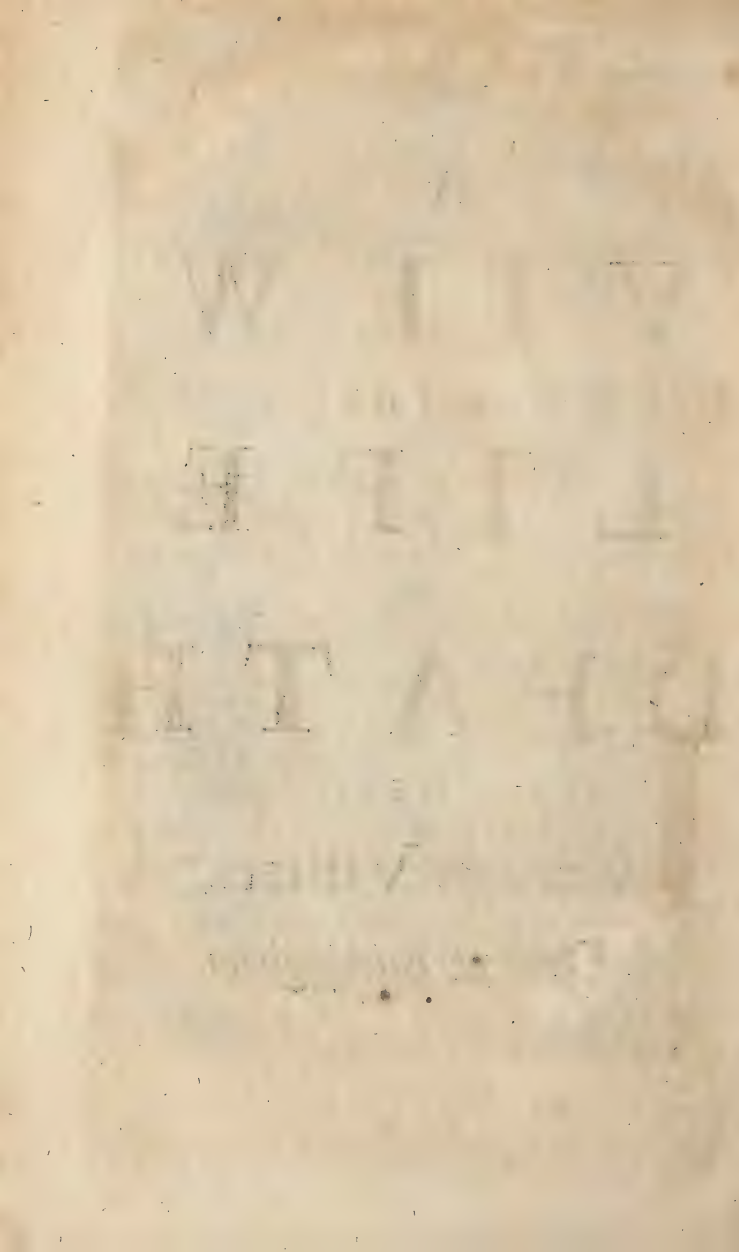


A  
VIEW  
OF THE  
LIFE  
AND  
DEATH  
OF

George Villiers,

Duke of *Buckingham.*









T H E  
L I F E and D E A T H  
O F  
G E O R G E V I L L I E R S,  
Late Duke of BUCKINGHAM:

**I** Determine to write the Life and the End, the Nature and the Fortunes of *G E O R G E V I L L I E R S*, late Duke of *Buckingham*: (esteeming him worthy to be Registred among the great Examples of Time and Fortune:) which yet I have not undertaken out of any wanton pleasure in mine own Pen; nor truly, without often pondering with my self before-hand what Censures I might incur. For I would not be ignorant by long Observation, both abroad and at home; That every where all greatness of Power and Favour is circumvested with much prejudice. And that it is not easy for Writers to research, with due distinction (as they ought) in the Actions of Eminent



Personages, both how much may have been blemished by the envy of others, and what was corrupted by their own felicity; unless, after the period of their Splendour, which must needs dazle their beholders, and perhaps oftentimes themselves, we could, as in some Scenes of the fabulous Age, excite them again, and confer a while with their naked Ghosts. However, or my part, I have no servile or ignoble end in my present labour, which may on either side restrain or embase the freedom of my poor judgment. I will therefore steer as evenly as I can, and deduce him from his Cradle through the deep and lubrick waves of State and Court, till he was swallowed in the Gulph of fatality.

I find him born in the year of our Saviour 1592. on the 20 of *August*, at *Brookeby* in *Leicester-shire*, where his Ancestors had chiefly continued about the space of 400 years, rather without obscurity, than with any great Lustre, after they had long before been seated at *Kinalton* in the County of *Nottingham*. He was the third Son of *George Villiers* Knight, and *Mary* late Countess of *Buckingham*, and Daughter to *Anthony Beaumont* of *Coleorton*, Esquire, names on either side well known of Ancient extraction. And yet I remember there was one, who in a wild Pamphlet which he Published, besides other pitiful Malignities, would scant allow him to be a Gentleman. He was nurtured where he had been Born, in his first Rudiments, till the years of 10; and from thence sent to *Billisden-School* in the same County, where he was taught the principles of Musick, and other slight Literature, till the thirteenth of his age; at which time his Father died. Then his beautiful and provident



Mother, (for those Attributes will not be denied her) took him home to her House at *Goodby*, where she had him in especial care ; so as he was first (as we may say) a Domestick Favourite : But finding him (as it should seem) by nature little studious and contemplative, she chose rather to endue him with conversative Qualities and Ornaments of youth, as Dancing, Fencing, and the like ; Not without aim then perchance (though far off) at a Courtiers Life : To which lessons, he had such a dextrous proclivity, as his Teachers were fain to restrain his forwardness ; to the end that his Brothers, who were under the same training, might hold pace with him. About the age of eighteen, he travelled into *France*, where he improved himself well in the Language, for one that had so little Grammatical Foundation ; but more in the exercises of that Nobility, for the space of three years, and yet came home in his natural plight, without affected forms, (the ordinary Disease of Travellers.) After his Return, he passed again one whole year (as before) at *Goodby*, under the Wing and Counsels of his Mother : and then was forward to become a Suiter at *London* to Sir Roger *Ashton's* Daughter, a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to King *James*, and Master of the Robes. About which time, he falls into intrinsical society with Sir *John Greham*, then one of the Gentlemen of his Majesties Privy-Chamber : who, I know not upon what Luminaries he espied in his face, dissuaded him from Marriage, and gave him rather encouragement to woo Fortune in Court. Which advice sank well into his fancy ; for within some while, the King had taken up certain Glances, (whereof the first was at *Apthorpe*, in a Progress) such liking of his



person, that he resolved to make him a Master-piece, and to mould him, as it were, Platonically to his own *Idea*. Neither was his Majesty content only to be the Architect of his Fortune, without putting his Gracious hand likewise to some part of the work it self. Infomuch as it pleased him to descend, and to avale his goodness, even to the giving of his foresaid friend Sir *John Greham* secret directions, how, and by what degrees he should bring him into Favour. But this was quickly discovered by him, who was then as yet in some possession of the Kings Heart. For there is nothing more vigilant, nothing more jealous than a Favourite, especially towards the wayning time and suspect of satiety. So as many Arts were used to discuss the beginnings of new affection, (which lie out of my Road, being a part of another mans Story.) All which notwithstanding, for (I omit things intervenient) there is conveyed to Mr. *Villiers* an intimation of the Kings pleasure to wait, and to be sworn his servant; And shortly after, his Cup-Bearer at large; And the Summer following he was admitted in Ordinary. After which time Favours came thick upon him, (liker main Showers, than sprinkling Drops or Dews) for the next *St. Georges-day* he was Knighted, and made Gentleman of the Kings Bed-Chamber; and the very same day had an annual Pension given him, for his better support, of one thousand pounds out of the Court of Wards. At *New-years-tide* following, the King chose him Master of the Horse. After this he was installed of the most Noble Order. And in the next *August* he created him Baron of *Whaddon*, and Viscount *Villiers*. In *January* of the same year, he was advanced Earl of *Buckingham*, and



and sworn here of his Majesties Privy-Council ; as if a Favourite were not so before. The *March* ensuing, he attended the King into *Scotland*, and was likewise sworn a Counsellor in that Kingdom ; where (as I have been instructed by unpassionate Men ) he did carry himself with singular sweetness and temper ; which I held very credible , for it behoved him, being new in favour, and succeeding one of their own, to study a moderate style among those generous spirits. About *New-years-tide* after his return from thence (for those beginnings of years were very propitious unto him, as if Kings did chuse remarkable days to inaugurate their Favours , that they may appear acts as well of the Times, as of the Will) he was Created Marquess of *Buckingham*, and made Lord Admiral of *England*, Chief Justice in *Eyre* of all the Parks and Forests on the South Side of *Trent*, Master of the Kings-Bench Office , ( none of the unprofitable pieces ) Head Steward of *Westminster* , and Constable of *Windsor-Castle*.

Here I must breath awhile, to satisfy some that perhaps might otherwise wonder at such an Accumulation of Benefits, like a kind of Embroidering or listing of one Favour upon another. Certainly the Hearts of great Princes , if they be considered as it were in abstract , without the necessity of States, and Circumstances of time, being, besides their natural extent, moreover once opened and dilated with affection, can take no full and proportionate pleasure in the exercise of any narrow Bounty. And albeit at first they give only upon choice and love of the person, yet within a while themselves likewise begin to love their givings, and to foment their deeds, no less than Pa-



rents do their Children. But let us go on.

For these Offices and Dignities already rehearsed, and those of the like nature, which I shall after set down in their place, were (as I am ready to say) but the facings or fringes of his Greatness, in comparison of that trust which his most Gracious Master did cast upon him in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, when he made him the chief Concomitant of his Heir apparent, and only Son, our dear Sovereign now being, in a Journey of much Adventure, and which (to shew the strength of his privacy) had been before not communicated with any other of his Majesties most reserved Councillors at home, being carried with great closeness, liker a business of Love than State; as it was in the first intendment. Now, because the whole Kingdom stood in a zealous trepidation of the absence of such a Prince; I have been the more desirous to research with some diligence, the several passages of the said Journey, and the particular Accidents of any moment in their way. They began their motion in the year 1623, on Tuesday the 18 of *February*, from the Marquess his House of late purchase, at *New Hall* in *Essex*, setting out with disguised Beards, and with borrowed Names of *Thomas* and *John Smith*. And then attended with none, but *Sir Richard Greham*, Master of the Horse to the Marquess, and of inward trust about him. When they passed the River against *Gravesend*, for lack of Silver, they were fain to give the Ferry-Man a piece of two and twenty shillings, which struck the poor fellow into such a melting tenderness, that so good Gentlemen should be going (for so he suspected) about some quarrel beyond Sea, as he could not forbear to acquaint  
the



the Officers of the Town with what had befallen him, who sent presently Post for their stay at *Rochester*, through which they were passed before any intelligence could arrive. On the brow of the Hill beyond that City, they were somewhat perplexed by espying the *French* Ambassador, with the Kings Coach, and other attending him, which made them baulk the beaten road, and teach Post-Hackneys to leap Hedges. At *Canterbury*, whither some voice (as it should seem) was run on before, the Mayor of the Town came himself to seize on them, as they were taking fresh Horses, in a blunt manner, alleadging first a Warrant to stop them, from the Council, next from Sir *Lewis Lewkner*, Master of the Ceremonies, and lastly from Sir *Henry Manwaring*, then Lieutenant of *Dover-Castle*. At all which confused fiction, the Marquess had no leisure to laugh, but thought best to dismask his Beard, and so told him, that he was going covertly with such slight company, to take a secret view being (Admiral) of the forwardness of his Majesties Fleet, which was then in preparation on the narrow Seas: This, with much ado, did somewhat handsomely heal the disguise-ment. On the way afterwards, the Baggage Post-Boy, who had been at Court, got (I know not how) a glimmering who they were; but his mouth was easily shut. To *Dover*, through bad Horses and those pretty impediments, they came not before six at night; where they found Sir *Francis Cottington*, then Secretary to the Prince, now Baron of *Hanworth*, and Mr. *Endymion Porter*, who had been sent before to provide a Vessel for their Transportation. The foresaid Knight was conjoined for the nearness of his place, on the

Prin-



Princes affairs ; and for his long Residence in the Court of *Spain* , where he had gotten singular credit even with that cautious Nation , by the temper of his Carriage. Mr. *Porter* was taken in, not only as a Bed-Chamber servant of Confidence to his Highness, but likewise as a necessary and useful Instrument, for his natural skill in the *Spanish* Tongue. And these five were at the first the whole *Parada* of this Journey. The next morning, for the night was Tempestuous, on the 19th. of the aforesaid Month, taking Ship at *Dover* about six of the Clock, they landed the same day at *Bul-loyn* in *France*, near two hours after Noon ; reaching *Monstruel* that night (like Men of dispatch ;) and *Paris* the second day after , being *Friday* the one and twentieth. But some three Posts before, they had met with two *German* Gentlemen that came newly from *England*, where they had seen at *New-Market* the Prince and the Marquess taking Coach together with the King, and retaining such a strong impression of them both, that they now bewrayed some knowledge of their persons ; but were out-faced by Sir *Richard Greham*, who would needs perswade them they were mistaken. Which in truth is no very hard matter , for the very strangeness of the thing it self ; and almost the impossibility to conceive so great a Prince and Favourite so suddenly Metamorphosed into Travel-lers, with no greater Train , was enough to make any man living unbelieve his five senses. And this I suppose ; next the assurance of their own well resolved Carriage against a new accident, to have been their best Anchor in all such Incounters. At *Paris* the Prince spent one whole day to give his mind some contentment in viewing of a famous Ci-



ty and Court, which was a Neighbour to his future Estates. But for their better vailing of their Visages, his Highness and the Marquess bought each of them a Periwig, somewhat to over-shadow their fore-heads. Of the King they got a sight after dinner in a Gallery, where he was solacing himself with familiar pleasures. And of the Queen Mother as she was at her own Table; in neither place descryed, no not by *Monsieur Cadinet*, who saw them in both, and had been lately Ambassadour in *England*. Towards Evening, by a meer chance, in appearance, though under-lined with a Providence, they had a full sight of the Queen *Infanta*, and of the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, with other great Ladies, at the practise of a Masquing Dance, which was then in preparation; having over-heard two Gentlemen who were tending towards that sight, after whom they pressed, and were let in by the Duke *De Mount Basen*, the Queens Lord Chamberlain, out of humanity to Strangers, when divers of the *French* went by. Note here, even with the point of a Diamond, by what oblique steps, and unimaginable preparatives, the high Disposer of Princes Affections doth sometimes contrive the secrets of his Will. For by this casual curiosity, it fell out: that when afterwards the Marriage came in motion between our Sovereign Lord, and the aforesaid most Amiable Princess; it must needs be (howsoever unknown) no small spur to the Treaty, that she hath not before been altogether a stranger to his Eye.

From the next day, when they departed at three of the Clock in the morning from *Paris*, the 23. of *February*, were spent six days to *Bayon*, the last Town of *France*, having before at *Bordeaux*,  
bought



bought them five riding Coats, all of one colour and fashion, in a kind of Noble simplicity; where *Sir Francis Cottington* was imployed in a fair manner to keep them from being entertained by the Duke *De Espernon*, telling him they were Gentlemen of mean Degree, and formed yet to little Courtship, who perchance might otherwise (being himself no superficial Man in the practices of the World) have pierced somewhat deeper than their outside.

They were now entred into the deep time of Lent, and could get no flesh in their Inns. Whereupon fell out a pleasant passage (if I may insert it by the way among more serious :) There was near *Bayon*, on Herd of Goats with their young ones, upon which sight, the said *Sir Richard Greham* tells the Marquess, he would snap one of the Kids, and make some shift to carry him close to their Lodging. Which the Prince over-hearing, *Why Richard*, says he, do you think you may practise here your old tricks again upon the Borders? Upon which words, they first gave the Goat-Herd good contentment, and then while the Marquess and his Servant being (both on foot) where chasing the Kid about the stack, the Prince from Horseback killed him in the Head with a *Scottish* Pistol. Set this Fear for a Journal Parenthesis, which yet may shew how his Highness even in such slight and sportful damage, had a Noble sense of just dealing.

At *Bayon*, the Count *De Gramont*, Governour of that jealous Key, took an exquisite notice of their persons and behaviour, and opened himself to some of his train, That he thought them to be Gentlemen of much more worth than their Habits, be-



beswrayed ; yet he let them courteously pass. And four days after they arrived at *Madrid*, being *Wednesday*, the fifth of *March*. Thus have I briefly run over transcurfions, as if my Pen had been posting with them. Which done , I shall not need to relate the affluence of young Nobles and others from hence into *Spain*, after the voice of our Prince his being there had been quickly noised, and at length believed ; neither will I stay to consider the Arts of *Rome*, where now all Engines were wheted (though by the Divine blessing very vainly) when they had gotten a Prince of Great *Britain* upon Catholick Ground, as they use to call it.

This , and the whole matter of Negotiation there, the open entertainments, the secret working, the Apprehension on both sides, the appearance on neither ; And in sum, all the circumstances and respect of Religion and State intermixed together in that commixture, will better become a Royal History, or a Council-Table, than a single Life. Yet I cannot omit some things which intervened at the meeting of two *Pleiades*, methinks not unlike that which Astrologers call a Conjunction of Planets, of no very benign Aspect the one to the other ; I mean, the Marquess of *Buckingham*, and the *Conde d'Olivares*. They had some sharper and some milder differences, which might easily happen in such an intervene of *Grandees*, both vehement on the parts which they swayed. But the most remarkable was upon supposition of the *Condes*, (as fancies are cheap) that the Marquess had intimated unto her some hopes of the Prince his Conversion ; which coming into debate, the Marquess so roundly disavowed this gilded dream, as *Olivares* alleadged he had given him *La-*

*Men.*



*Mentida*, and thereupon forms a Complement to the Prince himself ; which *Buckingham* denying, and yet *Olivares* persisting in the said Complement, the Marquess, though now in strange Hands, yet seeing both his Honour and the Truth at stake, was not tender likewise to engage his Life, but replied with some heat, that the *Condes* asseveration would force him to do that which he had not done before ; for now he held himself tyed in terms of a Gentleman, to maintain the contrary to his affirmative in any sort whatsoever. This was the highest and the hardest point that occurred between them ; which that it went so far, was not the Dukes fault ; nor his fault neither, (as it should seem) that it went no further.

There was another memorable passage one day of gentler quality, and yet eager enough. The *Conde d' Olivares* tells the Marquess of a certain flying noise, that the Prince did plot to be secretly gone : To which the Marquess gave a well temper'd answer, That though Love had made his Highness steal out of his own Countrey, yet Fear would never make him run out of *Spain* in other manner than should become a Prince of his Royal and generous Vertues.

In *Spain* they stayed near eight entire Months, during all which times, who but *Buckingham* lay at home under Millions of maledictions ? Which yet, at the Prince his safe arrival in the *West* did die, and vanish here and there into Praises and Elogies, according to the contrary motions of popular Waves. And now to summ up the Fruit of the Journey, discourses ran thus among the clearest Observers. It was said, that the Prince himself, without any imaginable stain of his Religion ; had  
by



by the sight of Forreign Courts, and Observations  
or the different Natures of People, and Rules of  
Government, much excited and awaked his spirits,  
and corroborated his judgment. And as for the  
Marquess, there was note taken of two great additions  
which he had gained : First, he was returned  
with encrease of Title, having there been made  
Duke, by Patent sent him, which was the highest  
degree whereof an *English* Subject could be capable.  
But the other was far greater, though closer ; for  
by so long and so private, and so various consociation  
with a Prince of such excellent nature, he  
had now gotten as it were two lives in his own Fortune  
and Greatness ; whereas otherwise the estate  
of a Favourite is at the best but a Tenant at will,  
and rarely transmitted. But concerning the *Spanish*  
Commission, which in publick conceit was the  
main scope of the Journey, that was left in great  
suspence, and after some time utterly laid aside ;  
which threw the Duke amongst free Wits (where-  
of we have a rank Soil) under divers Censures.  
The most part were apt to believe, that he had  
brought down some deep distaste from *Spain*, which  
exasperated his Councils ; Neither was there  
wanting some other, that thought him not altogether  
void of a little Ambition, to shew his power,  
either to knit or dissolve. Howsoever, the whole  
Scene of affairs was changed from *Spain* to *France*,  
there now lay the prospective. Which alteration  
being generally liked, and all alterations of State  
being ever attributed to the powerfullest under  
Princes (as the manner is where the eminency of  
one obscureth the rest ; ) the Duke became suddenly  
and strangely Gracious amongst the multitude,  
and was even in Parliament highly exalted ; so as  
he



he did seem for a time to have overcome that natural Incompatibility, which in the experience of all Ages hath been noted between the Vulgar and the Sovereign Favour. But this was no more than a meer bubble or blast, and like an Ephemeral fit of applause, as eftsoons will appear in the sequel and train of his Life. I had almost forgotten, that after his return from *Spain*, he was made Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, ( which is as it were a second Admiralty ) and Steward likewise of the Manour of *Hampton-Court*; Dignities and Offices still growing of Trust or Profit: And the King now giving not only out of beneficent disposition, but a very habitual and confirmed custom.

One Year, six Months, two days after the joyful Reception of the Prince his Son from *Spain*, King *James*, of Immortal ( Memory among all the lovers and admirers of Divine and Humane Sapience ) accomplished at *Theobalds* his own days on Earth. Under whom the Duke had run a long Course of calm and smooth Prosperity: I mean long, for the ordinary Life of Favour; and the more notable, because it had been without any visible Eclipse or Wave in himself, amidst divers variations in others.

The most important and pressing care of a new and Vigorous King, was his Marriage, for mediate establishment of the Royal Line. Wherein the Duke having had an especial hand, he was sent to conduce hither the most Lovely and Vertuous Princess *Henrietta Maria*, youngest Daughter to the Great *Henry* of *Bourbon*, of whom his Majesty ( as hath been said ) had an ambulatory view in his Travels, (like a stollen taste of something that  
pro-



provoketh appetite.) He was accompanied with none of our Peers but the Earl of *Mountgomery*, now Lord Chamberlain, a Noble Gentleman, of trusty, free, and open nature; and truly no unsuitable Associate, for that he himself likewise, at the beginning of King *James*, had run a Circle in the wheeling vicissitude of Favour.

And here I must crave leave in such of high quality, or other of particular note, as shall fall under my pen, (whereof this is the first) not to let them pass without their due Character, being part of my professed ingenuity.

Now this Ambassy, though it had a private shew, being charged with more formality than matter, (for all the essential Conditions were before concluded) could howsoever want no Ornaments, or bravery to adorn it. Among which, I am near thinking it worthy of a little remembrance, that the Duke, one solemn day, Gorgeously clad in a suit all over-spread with Diamonds, and having lost one of them of good value, perchance as he might be dancing, after his manner, with lofty motion, it was strangely recovered again the next morning in a Court full of Pages: Such a diligent attendant was Fortune every where, both abroad and at home.

After this fair discharge, all Civil Honours having showered on him before, there now fell out great occasions to draw forth his spirits into action, a breach first with *Spain*, and not long after with *France* it self, notwithstanding so streight an affinity, so lately treated with the one, and actually accomplished with the other. As if indeed (according to that pleasant Maxim of State) Kingdoms were never married, This must of necessity involve



the Duke in business enough to have over-set a lesser Vessel, being the next Commander under the Crown, of Ports and Ships.

But he was noted willingly to embrace those Overtures of publick employment. For at the Parliament at *Oxford*, his Youth and want of Experience in Maritime service, had somewhat been shrewdly touched, even before the sluces and flood-gates of popular liberty were yet set open. So as to wipe out that Objection, he did now mainly attend his charge, by his Majesties untroubled and serene Commands, even in a tempestuous time. Now the men fell a rubbing of Armour, which a great while had layn oyled : The Magazines of Munitiion are viewed : The Officers of Remains called to account : frequent Councils of War, as many private conferences with expert Sea-men, a Fleet in preparation for some attempt upon *Spain*.

The Duke himself personally imployed to the States General ; and with him joyned in full Commission the Earl of *Holland*, a Peer both of singular grace and solidity, and of all sweet and serviceable vertue for publick use.

These two Nobles, after a dangerous passage from *Harwich*, wherein three of their Ships were foundred, arrived the fifth day at the *Hague* in *Holland*. Here they were to enter a treaty, both with the States themselves, and with the Ministers of divers allied and confederate Princes, about a common diversion, for the recovery of the *Palatinate* where the Kings only Sisters Dowry had been ravished by the *German Eagle*, mixed with *Spanish Feathers* : A Princess resplendent in darkness, and whose vertues were born within the chance, but without the power of Fortune.

Here



Here it were injurious to over-slip a Noble act in the Duke during this Imployment, which I must, for my part, celebrate above all his Expences: There was a Collection of certain rare Manuscripts, exquisitely written in Arabick, and sought in the most remote parts by the diligence of *Erpenius*, the most excellent Linguist: These had been left to the Widow of the said *Erpenius*, and were upon sale to the *Jesuits* at *Antwerp*, liquorish Chapmen of such Ware. Whereof the Duke, getting knowledge by his worthy and learned Secretary, Doctor *Mason*, interverted the bargain, and gave the poor Widow for them five hundred pounds, a sum above their weight in silver, and a mixed act both of bounty and charity, the more laudable, being out of his natural Element. These were they, which after his death were as Nobly presented, as they had been bought, to the university of *Cambridge*, by the Dutcheßs Dowager, as soon as she understood, by the aforesaid Doctor *Mason*, her Husband's intention, who had a purpose likewise (as I am well instructed) to raise in the said University (whereof he was Chancellor) a fair Case for such Monuments, and to furnish it with other choice Collections from all parts, of his own charge: perchance in some emulation of that famous Treasury of knowledge at *Oxford*, without parallel in the Christian World. But let me resume the file of my Relation, which this Object of Books (best agreeable to my course of life) hath a little interrupted.

The aforesaid Negotiation, though prosecuted with heat and probable appearance of great effects, took up a month before the Duke's return from his excentricity, (for so I account Favourites abroad) and then at home he met no good news of the



*Cadiz* attempt. In the preparation thereof, though he had spent much sollicitude *ex officio*, yet it principally failed (as was thought) by late setting out, and by some contrariety of weather at Sea; where by the particular design took vent before hand, a point hardly avoidable in actions of noise, especially where the great *Indian Key* to all Cabinets is working.

Not long after this, the King, pondering in his Wisdom the weight of his Foreign Affairs, found it fit to call a Parliament at *Westminster*: this was that Assembly, where there appeared a sudden and marvellous conversion in the Duke's Case, from the most exalted, (as he had been both in another Parliament, and in common Voice before) to the most depressed now; as if his condition had been capable of no Mediocrities. And it could not but trouble him the more, by happening when he was so freshly returned out of the *Low Country Provinces*, out of a meritorious employment, in his inward conceit and hope. Which being the single example that our Annals have yielded, from the time of *William de la Pool*, Duke of *Suffolk*, under *Henry* the Sixth, of such a concurrence of two extremes, within so short time, by most of the same Commenders and Disprovers, (like the natural breath of man, that can both heat and cool) would require no sleight memorial of the particular Motives of so great a change, but that the whole Case was dispersed by the Knights of Shires, and Burgessees of Towns, through all the Veins of the Land, and may be taken by any, at pleasure, out of the Parliament Registers. Besides that, I observe it not usual among the best patterns, to stuff the report of particular lives with matter of publick record,



record, but rather to dive (as I shall endeavour, before I wipe my Pen) into secret and proper afflictions; howsoever, somewhat I must note in this strange *Phainomenon*. It began from a travelled Doctor of Physick, of bold spirit, and of able Elocution; who being returned one of the Burgessees (which was not ordinary in any of his Coat)-fell by a Metaphorical Allusion) translated from his own Faculty, to propound the Duke's as a main cause of divers infirmities in the State, or near that purpose; being sure enough of Seconds, after the first On-set, in the Lower House. As for any close intelligence that they had before hand with some in the Higher, (though that likewise was said) I want ground to affirm, or believe it more than a general conceit; which perhaps might run of the working of envy amongst those that were nearest the object, which we see so familiar, both in natural and moral causes. The Duke's Answers to his Appeachments, in number thirteen, I find very diligently and civilly couched: and though his heart was big, yet they all favour of an humble spirit, one way, equitable consideration, which could not but possess every vulgar conceit, and somewhat allay the whole matter, that in the bolting and sifting of near fourteen years of such power and favour, all that came out, could not be expected to be pure and white, and fine Meal, but must needs have withal among it a certain mixture of *Padar* and *Bran*, in this lower age of humane fragility. Howsoever this Tempest did only shake, and not rent his Sails. For his Majesty considering that almost all his Appeachments were without the compass of his own Reign; and moreover, That nothing alleged against him, had, or could be proved by

R 3 Oath,



Oath, according to the Constitution of the House of Commons ; which the Duke himself did not forget in the Preface of his Answers. And lastly, having had such experience of his fidelity, and observance abroad, where he was chief in trust, and in the participations of all hazards, found himself engaged in honour, and in the sense of his own natural goodness, to support him at home from any further inquietude, and too dear buy his highest testimonies of divers important imputations, whereof the truth is best known to his Majesty while he was Prince.

The Summer following this Parliament (after an Embarque of our Trading Ships in the River of *Bourdeaux*, and other points of Sovereign affront) there did succeed the action of *Rheez*, wherein the Duke was personally imployed on either Element, both as Admiral and General, with hope in that service to recover the publick good will, which he saw by his own example, might quickly be won and lost. This action, as I hear, hath been delivered by a Noble Gentleman of much Learning, and active spirits, himself the fitter to do it right, which in truth it greatly wanted, having found more honourable censure, even from some of the *French* Writers, than it had generally amongst our selves at home.

Now, because the said work is not yet flowing into the light, I will but sweep the way with a few notes; and these only touching the Duke's own deportment in that Island, the proper subject of my quill; for in the general survey of this action, there was matter of glory and grief so equally distributed on both sides, as if Fortune had meant we should quickly be Friends again. Wherein let their  
names



names that were bravely lost, he rather memorized in the full table of time ; for my part, I love no ambitious pains in an eloquent description of miseries. The Duke's carriage was surely Noble throughout : to the Gentlemen of fair respect, bountiful to the Souldier, according to any special value which he spied in any, tender and careful of those that were hurt , of unquestionable Courage in himself, and rather fearful of Fame, than Danger : In his countenance, which is the part that all eyes interpret, no open alteration, even after the success which he expected did fail him ; but the less he shewed without, the more it wrought intrinsically, according to the nature of suppressed passions. For certain it is, that to his often mentioned Secretary, Doctor *Mason*, whom he laid in Pallet near him, for natural Ventilation of his thoughts, he would, in the absence of all other ears and eyes, break out into bitter and passionate Eruptions, protesting, That never his Dispatches to divers Princes, nor the great business of a Fleet, of an Army, of a Siege, of a Treaty, of War, of Peace, both on foot together, and all of them in his head at a time, did not so much break his repose, as a conceit , That some at home, under his Majesty, of whom he had well deserved, were now content to forget him ; but whom he meant, I know not, and am loth to rove at conjectures.

Of their two Forts, he could not take the one, nor would he take the other ; but in the general Town he maintained a seizure and possession of the whole three full months, and eighteen days ; and at the first descent on shore, he was not immured with a wooden Vessel, but he did countenance the landing in his long Boat. Where succeeded



such a defeat of near two Hundred Horse (and these not) by his ghefs (mounted in Haste, but the most part Gentlemen of Family, and great resolution) seconded with two thousand Foot, as all circumstances well balanced on either side, may surely endure a comparison with any of the bravest Impressions in ancient time. In the issue of the whole business, he seems charged in opinion with a kind of improvident conscience, having brought of that with him to Camp, perchance, too much from a Court, where Fortune had never deceived him: Besides, we must consider him yet but rude in the profession of Arms, though greedy of Honour, and zealous in the Cause.

At his return to *Plimouth*, a strange accident befell him, perchance not so worthy of memory for it self, as for that it seemeth to have been a kind of prelude to his final period.

The now Lord *Goring*, a Gentlemen of true honour, and of vigilant affections for his Friend, tends to the Duke, in all expedition, an express Messenger, with advisement to assure his own Person, by declining the ordinary Road to *London*, for that he had credible Intelligence of a plot against his life, to be put in execution upon him in his said journey towards the Court. The Duke meeting the Messenger on the way, read the Letter, and smothering it in his pocket, without the least imaginable apprehension, rides forwards; His company being about that time not above seven or eight in number, and those no otherwise provided for their defence, than with ordinary swords. After this, the Duke had advanced three miles before he met with an old Woman, near a Town in the Road, who demanded, Whether the Duke were in the  
com-



company? and bewraying some especial occasion to be brought to him, was lead to his Horse-side; where he told him, that in the very next Town where he was to pass, she had heard some desperate men vow his death: and thereupon would have directed him about by a surer way. This old Womans casual access, joyn'd with that deliberate advertisement which he had before from his Noble Friend, moved him to participate both the tenour of the said Letter, and all the circumstances, with his Company; who were joyntly upon consent, that the Woman had advised him well. Notwithstanding all which importunity, he resolved not to wave his way upon this reason, perhaps more generous than provident, that if, as he said, he should but once, by such a diversion, make his enemy Believe he were afraid of danger, he should never live without. Hereupon his young Nephew, Lord Viscount *Fielding*, being then in his Company, out of a Noble spirit, besought him, that he would at least honour him with his Coat, and blew Ribbon thorow the Town pleading that his Uncle's life, whereon lay the property of his whole Family, was of all things under Heaven the most precious unto him; and undertaking so to gesture and muffle up himself in his hood, as the Duke's manner was to ride in cold weather, that none should discern him from him; and so he should be at the more liberty for his own defence. At which sweet Proposition, the Duke caught him in his arms, and kissed him; yet would not, as he said, accept of such an offer in that case from a Nephew, whose life he tendred as much as himself; and so liberally rewarded the poor Creature for her good will. After some short directions to his Company, how they



they should carry themselves, he rode on without perturbation of his mind. He was no sooner entered into the Town, but a scrambling Souldier clapt hold of his bridle, which he thought was in a begging, or (perchance somewhat worse) in a drunken fashion; yet a Gentleman of his train that rode a pretty distance behind him, conceiving by the premises it might be a beginning of some mischievous intent, spurred up his Horse, and with a violent rush severed him from the Duke, who with the rest went on quickly through the Town: neither, for ought I can hear, was there any further enquiry into that practice, the Duke, peradventure thinking it wisdom not to resent discontentments too deep.

At his return to the Court he found no change in Faces, but smothered murmurings for the loss of so many Gallant Gentlemen; against which his friends did oppose in their discourses the chance of War, together with a gentle expectation for want of supply in time.

After the complaints in Parliament, and the unfortunate issue at *Rheez*, the Duke's fame did still remain more and more in obloquy among the mass of people, whose judgments are only reconciled with good successes: so as he saw plainly that he must abroad again to rectifie by his best endeavour under the publick Service, his own reputation. Whereupon new preparatives were in hand, and partly reparatives of the former beaten at Sea. And in the mean while, he was not unmindful in his civil course, to cast an eye upon the ways, to win unto him such as have been of principal credit in the Lower House of Parliament, applying lenitives, or subducting from that part where he knew  
the



the humours were sharpest : amidst which thoughts, he was surprized with a fatal stroke, written in the black Book of necessity.

There was a younger Brother of mean fortunes, born in the County of *Suffolk*, by name *John Felton*, by nature of a deep melancholy, silent and gloomy constitution, but bred in the active way of a Souldier : and thereby raised to the place of Lieutenant, to a Foot-Company, in the Regiment of Sir *James Ramsey*. This was the man that closely within himself had conceived the Duke's death. But what may have been the immediate or greatest motive of that felonious conception, is even yet in the Clouds.

It was said at first, that he had been stung with a denial of his Captains place, who died in *England* ; whereof thus much indeed is true, that the Duke, before he would invest him in the said place, advising first (as his manner was) with his Colonel ; he found him to enterpose for one *Powel*, his own Lieutenant, a Gentleman of extraordinary valour, and according to Military custom, the place was good, that the Lieutenant of the Colonels Company might well pretend to the next vacant Captainship, under the same Regiment. Which *Felton* acknowledged to be in it self very usual and equitable, besides the special merit of the person. So as the aforesaid conceit of some rancour harboured upon this denial had no true ground. There was another imagination, that between a Knight of the same County (whom the Duke had lately taken into some good degree of favour) and the said *Felton*, there had been ancient quarrels not yet well healed, which might perhaps lie festering in his brest, and by a certain inflammation produce this effect.



effect. But that carries small probability, that *Felton* would so deface his own act, as to make the Duke no more than an oblique sacrifice to the fumes of his private revenge upon a third person.

Therefore the truth is, that either to honest a deed after it was done, or to slumber his conscience in the doing he studied other incentives, alledging, not three hours before his execution, to Sir *Richard Gresham*, two only inducements thereof. The first, as he made it in order, was a certain, libellous Book written by one *Egglestone* a *Scottish* Physician, which made the Duke one of the foulest Monsters upon the earth; and indeed, unworthy not only of life in a Christian Court, and under so vertuous a King; but of any Room within the bounds of all humanity, if his prodigious predictions had the least semblance of truth. The second, was, the remonstrance it self of the lower House of Parliament, against him, which perchance he thought the fairest cover, so he put in the second place. Whatsoever were the true motive, which I think none can determine but the Prince of darkness it self; he did thus prosecute the effect.

In a by-Cutlers Shop on *Tower-hill*, he bought a ten penny Knife (so cheap was the instrument of this great attempt) and the sheath thereof he sewed to the lining of his Pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the Blade alone with one hand, for he had maimed the other. This done, he made shift, partly, as it is said, on Horse-back, and partly on foot, to get to *Portsmouth*; for he was indigent and low in money, which perhaps might have a little edged his desperation. At *Portsmouth*  
on



on Saturday, being the 23. of *August* of that current year, he pressed without any suspicion in such a time of so many pretenders to imployment, into an inward Chamber, where the Duke was at breakfast (the last of his repasts in this world) accompanied with men of quality and action, with *Monsieur de Soubes*, and *Sir Thomas Fryer*. And there a little before the Dukes rising from the Table, he went and stood expecting till he should pass through a kind of Lobby between that Room and the next, where were divers attending him. Towards which passage, as I conceive, somewhat darker than the Chamber which he voided, while the Duke came with *Sir Thomas Fryer* close at his ear, in the very moment as the said Knight withdrew himself from the Duke, this Assassinate gave him with a back blow a deep wound into his left side, leaving the Knife in his body. Which the Duke himself pulling out, on a sudden effusion of spirits, he sunk down under the Table in the next Room, and immediately expired.

Certain it is, that some good while before, *Sir Clement Throgmorton*, a Gentleman then living, of grave judgment, had in a private conference advised him to wear a Privy-Coat, whose Counsel the Duke received very kindly; but gave him this answer, That against any popular fury, a Shirt of Mayl would be but a silly defence; and as for any single mans assault, he took himself to be in no danger. So dark is Destiny.

One thing in this enormous accident, is, I must confess, to me beyond all wonder, as I received it from a Gentleman of judicious and diligent observation, and one whom the Duke well favoured: That within the space of not many minutes after  
the



fall of the body, and removal thereof into the first Room, there was not a living creature in either of the Chambers, no more than if it had lien in the Sands of *Aethiopia*; whereas commonly, in such cases, you shall note every where a great and sudden conflux of people unto the place, to hearken, and to see. But it should seem the very horror of the fact had stupified all curiosity, and so dispersed the multitude, that it is thought even the murtherer himself might have escaped (for who gave the blow, none could affirm) if he had not lingred about the House below, not by any confused arrest of conscience, as hath been seen in like examples, but by very pride in his own deed, as if in effect there were little difference between being remembered by a vertuous fame, or an illustrious infamy.

Thus died this great Peer, in the 36 year of his age compleat, and three days over, in a time of great recourse unto him, and dependance upon him, the House, and Town full of Servants and Suiters, his Dutcheß in an upper Room, scarce yet out of her Bed; and the Court at that time not above six or nine miles from him, which had been the Stage of his Greatness.

I have spent some enquiry whether he had any ominous presagement before his end. Wherein though both ancient and modern Stories have been infected with much vanity; yet oftentimes things fall out of that kind which may bear a sober construction, whereof I will glean two or three in the Duke's Case.

Being to take his leave of my Lords Grace of *Canterbury*, then Bishop of *London*, whom he knew well planted in the King's unchangeable affection by  
his



his own great abilities ; after courtesies of course had passed between them : My Lord, says the Duke, I know your Lordship hath very worthily good accesses unto the King our Sovereign, let me pray you to put his Majesty in mind to be good, as I no ways distrust, to my poor Wife and Children. At which words, or at his countenance in the delivery, or at both, my Lord Bishop being somewhat troubled, took the freedom to ask him whether he had never any secret abodement in his mind. No ( replied the Duke ) but I think some adventure may kill me as well as another man.

The very day before he was slain, feeling some indisposition of body, the King was pleased to give him the honour of a visit, and found him in his Bed ; where, and after much serious and private discourse, the Duke at his Majesties departing, embraced him in a very unusual and passionate manner, and in like sort his friend the Earl of *Holland*, as if his soul had divined he should see them no more : which infusions towards fatal ends, had been observed by some Authors of no light Authority.

On the very day of his death, the Countess of *Denbigh* received a Letter from him ; whereunto all the while she was writing her answer, she bedewed the Paper with her tears ; And after a most bitter passion (whereof she could yield no reason, but that her dearest Brother was to be gone) she fell down in a swoond. Her said Letter ended thus :

*I will pray for your happy return, which I look at with a great cloud over my head, too heavy for my poor heart to bear without torment ; but I hope the great God of heaven will bless you.*

The



The day following, the Bishop of *Ely*, her devoted friend, who was thought the fittest preparer of her mind to receive such a doleful accident, came to visit her; but hearing she was at rest, he attended till she should awake of her self, which she did with the affrightment of a dream, *Her brother seeming to pass thorow a field with her in her Coach; where hearing a sudden shout of the people, and asking the reason, it was answered to have been for joy that the Duke of Buckingham was sick.* Which natural impresson she scarce had related unto her Gentlewoman, before the Bishop was entred into her Bed-chamber for a chosen Messenger of the Duke's death.

This is all that I dare present of that nature to any of judgement, not unwillingly omitting certain prognostick Anagrams, and such strains of fancy.

He took to Wife, eight years and two months before his death, the Lady of *Katherine Manners*, Heir general to the Noble House of *Rutland*, who, besides a solid addition to his Estate, brought him three Sons and a Daughter, called the Lady *Mary*, his first born; his eldest Son died at Nurse, before his Journey at *Rheez*; and his third, the Lord *Francis*, was born after his Father's death; so as neither his first nor his last were participant of any sence of his misfortunes or felicities: His second Son, now Duke of *Buckingham*, was born to chear him after his return from that unlucky Voyage.

For these sweet pledges, and no less for the unquestionable vertues of her Person and Mind, he loved her dearly, and well expressed his love in an act and time of no simulation towards his end, be-  
queath-



queathing her all his Mansion-houses during her natural life, and a power to dispose of his whole personal Estate, together with a fourth part of his Lands in joynture: He left his elder Brother of the same womb a Viscount, and his younger an Earl; Sir *Edward Villiers*, his half Brother on the Fathers side, he either preferred or removed (call it how you will) from his step-mothers eye to the Presidentship; where he lived in singular estimation for his justice and hospitality; and died with as much grief of the whole Province, as ever any Governor did (before his religious Lady of sweet and Noble disposition) adding much to his honour. The eldest of the Brethren, and Heir of the Name, was made a Baronet, but abstained from Court, enjoying perhaps the greater Greatness of self-fruition.

He left his Mother a Countess by Patent in her own person, which was a new leading example, grown before somewhat rare, since the days of Queen *Mary*. His Sister of *Denbigh* (that right character of a good Lady) he most humbly recommended to the Queen; who after a discharge of some *French* in her Court that were to return, took her into three several places of honour and trust.

In short, not to insist upon every particular Branch of those private preferments, he left all his female kindred, of the entire or half blood, descending of the Name of *Villiers* or *Beaumont*, within any near degree, either matched with Peers of the Realm actually, or hopefully with Earls Sons and Heirs; or at least with Knights, or Doctors of Divinity, and of plentiful condition: He did not much strengthen his own subsistence in Court,



but stood there on his own feet, for the truth is, the most of his Allies rather leaned upon him, than shoared him up.

His familiar servants, either about his person in ordinary attendance, or about his affairs of State, as his Secretaries; or of office, as his Steward; or of Law, as that worthy Knight whom he long used to sollicite his Causes; He left all both in good Fortune, and, which is more, in good Fame.

Things very seldom consociated in the instruments of great Personages.

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THE  
GREAT ACTION  
BETWEEN  
POMPEY

AND  
CÆSAR

Extracted out of the *Roman* and  
*Grecian* Writers, by H. W. K<sup>c</sup>. for  
an *Historical Exercise*.

The *DEDICATION* to  
Sir EDMUND BACON  
*Knight and Baronet*.



WHEN Rome in the revolution of 702.  
years, was grown pregnant of an uni-  
versal *Monarchy*: After hard labour  
with foreign *Hostilities*, and worse  
with inward Rents and Divisions which  
mangled her own bowels. The State yet free (or



*Looseness* mistaken, as it is often, for *Liberty*) seemed now to stand most in danger of two eminent Gentlemen, *Caius Julius Caesar* and *Cneus Pompeius*: The one of all men living, the likeliest to stir up again the Cinders of the *Marian*, the other of the *Syllan* Party. These Gallants of the time had some years before, besides their near alliance by Marriage of *Pompey* to *Julius Caesar's* Daughter, (a Lady of imperious allurements) been likewise united together in a *Triumviral Knot* with *Marcus Crassus*, the wealthiest of the whole Nobility, which *Consortship* was in effect a kind of *Segregate*, or *Cabinet-Senate*; importing secretly no less, than that no act of *Moment* should pass without consent of all three: So as upon this foundation, by their own personal Pursuits, by the mutual Strength and Coherence of their several Dependants; and by all other insinuating and ambient Arts, (in a long corrupted *Common-wealth*, still forbidden, and still increasing) after they had run through the principal Dignities at home: *Crassus* on the Eastern side, with a puissant Army (as Money wants no Followers) went Governor of *Syria*: *Pompey* Southward, got *Libya* of new, and retained both *Spains* under former *Lieutenants*: As for *Caesar* who by an insolent *Consulship* had awaked much jealousy, they gave him at first only *Illyricum*, and the nearer *Gallia*, Provinces then of little doings, (as it were to impound his spirits :) yet least the People (whose good will had cost him deep) should bluster in his behalf, the *Senate* was afterwards (between Favour and Fear) content to extend his Commission to *Gallia Narbonensis*, beyond the *Alps*. Thus were the Three distributed at distance enough, as perchance was thought meet, upon more doubt hitherto of their too much agreement,



ment, and conference of Counsels and Plots together, than of any rupture, or disunion at hand: So Short-sighted is that which we call humane Providence, and so easily can the Supream Mover delude our Imaginations. For *Crassus* not long after, either greedy of Fame or Spoil, and too confident (as it should seem) in the weakest of Advantages, *Number*, being miserably overthrown, and slain by the *Parthians*. And *Julia* a little before dying of an *Abort* in Child-bed, together with the *Infant* she bare, it lay thenceforth open and clear in every Mans eye, that the *Triumvirate* dissolved and She gone, without any Slip remaining, who had been the fastest Cement to hold her Father and Husband together, there would soon ensue but a dry and sandy Friendship between them, being now left at large to the *Scope* and *Sway* of their voluntary *Appetites*.

Wherefore having undertaken for some entertainment of my private time, to compile out of the best of Ancient Memories, that mighty *Action* which anon under these two *Chiefs* involved almost the whole World, then known, I impute it not impertinent, to take first a short view how they stood beforehand in *Parallel* together.

They were both, in general, esteemed of Affections too strong for their own, or the common Quiet: That the one could not endure a Superior, nor the other an Equal; we are told both in Prose and in Verse, by ingenious Authors: But whether they agreed to leave us a draught of the greatness, or of the weakness of their Minds, I dare not affirm; some seeming Magnanimities being indeed (if you found them well) at the bottom, very Impotencies. Certainly, in sober conceit, howsoever they stood



towards other, they were impatient of all comparison or approach between themselves ; and of their former nearness, no fruit remaining but this, That the more inwardly they had then studied and understood each other, they now loved the less. For point of invading the Sovereignty, such narrow Humourists as could look through them , thought *Pompey* of the two, rather the closer, than the better. For *Cesar's* was not a smothered, but a flagrant Ambition, kindling first by Nature, and blown by Necessity ; in the course whereof one might observe a kind of Circular Motion : for as his vast Desires had exhausted him with unmeasurable gifts above private Condition ; so again, when he was grown (as he would often sport with himself in earnest ) a great deal worth less than nothing : He fell next to resolve (by an usual Coincidence of extremes) that he could not subsist, unless he were Master of all. In their practical ways *Pompey* had one very ignoble custom, to insert, or (as I may term it) to inoculate himself into other mens merits and praises: So he undermined *Lucullus* in *Asia*, and *Metellus* in *Spain* : the first a wise and magnificent, the other a good plain Souldier-like Gentleman. But on the other side, all that went for good or bad in *Cesar*, was clearly his own ; having so little need to borrow from any other vertues, or vices, that he left it a Doubt among the best Wits of his time, whether of which himself had most , in the two proper Dowries of that Age, *Eloquence* or *Arms*.



A  
CHARACTER

OF

*FERDINANDO di MEDICI,*  
Grand Duke of *Tuscany.*

DEDICATED

TO THE

K I N G.



Being desirous, albeit I dare promise little fruit, or pleasure, to others by any use of my Pen; yet at least to record unto my self some such Observations as I picked up abroad in the time of my former travels and imployments.

I stand obliged in grateful memory, to say somewhat of a Prince long since at rest; namely, *Ferdinando*, Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, which was the ancient *Hetruria*, whose Palace of *Piti* at *Florence*, when I came often to review, and still me thought with fresh admiration; being incomparably (as far



far as I can yet speak by experience, or report) for solid *Architecture*, the most magnificent and regular Pile within the Christian World. It pleased him, by means of the Cavalier *Vieta*, his principal Secretary of Estate, to take some notice of my Person, though no intruder by Nature, and (God knows) of little ability.

The said Duke *Ferdinando* was reputed a wise and wary Prince; and it was a Solid wisdom rather than a Formal. He had been long a Cardinal, and at two or three Conclaves (as they call them) or Elections of Popes: so as he came to the Dukedom well seasoned before with practice, and well broken to Affairs: and with such an impression of his first Tincture (as falleth out naturally in all things else) that he always maintained a great interest in the *Roman Court*; as indeed was necessary for a near and jealous Confiner. He was in his Civil Regiment of a fine composition, between Frugality and Magnificence: A great cherisher of Manual Arts, especially such as tended to splendour and ornament; as *Picture*, *Sculpture*, cutting of Chrystals, Ambers, and all of the softer Gems; inlaying of Marbles, limning of Birds, Beasts, and Vegetables; imbossing, and the like. In all which he drew to him from all parts the most exquisite Artificers with a settled Pension, and placed them in several compartments of his Palace, where he would come oftentimes to see them work for his own delight: and so he did furnish his Cabinets with Rareties at an easie rate, being, in truth, one of the greatest *Oeconomists* of his Age. And as he had much at first of the Deacon, and more of the Prince, so he did now and then not disdain to have a little of the Merchant; 'twas as well as fighting with his *Gal-*  
*lies.*



lies. After the death of the Duke *Francesco* his Brother, it was a while somewhat an Ambiguous Deliberative, whether he should divest the Cardinalship, or rule with a double Greatness, Ecclesiastical and Civil: But the hope of Posterity overbalanced the scale; and so he took to Wife the Daughter of *Loraign*, as it were to interest himself now in the Borders of *France*: whereas his Name before had spread it self in the Body. He was by nature more reserved than popular, and had vertues fitter to beget estimation than love; yet he would duly in his Coach take almost every day a review of the City, and receive Petitions willingly. Besides, I have been shewed a strange device of State, namely, an outward hole, like a Trunk, in a Wall of one of his Galleries, the bottom whereof was under lock and key, into which any one might let forth any secret intelligence, and convey it closely to the ears of the Prince: enough to disquiet all the days of his life. He was served by able Instruments of State, and diligently attended in Court; but rather by choice than number, and with more neatness than noise. He had a close and intrinsical Favourite, by Birth a Stranger, being born in *Piedmont*, but by his favour made Archbishop of *Pisa*, a notable Screen between him and his Subjects; upon whom the Duke would handsomly bestow all manner of complaint; and he as willingly bear it. He was unquestionably the powerfullest of all the *Italian* Dukes: and being centred in the very Navel of *Italy*, thereby the furthest from Invasion on all sides, and the most participant of the common Interest; which, I believe, among other causes, hath much preserved that State in busie times: yet surely, a little over-  
awed



awed, or over-looked by the King of *Spain*, who holdeth in actual possession *Pont Hercule, Telemene*, and *Piombino*, which we may perchance not improperly call the Fetters of *Hetruria*. Of stature he was somewhat above the mean, a gross body, not apt to motion, and as quiet a countenance. His Moneys were the purest and least corrupted within the *Italian* bounds : and his Markets the best ordered for prices of comestible Ware ; where, in all his Towns, a man might have sent out a Child for any flesh, or fish, at a rated price every Morning. To which temper more septentrional unlimber Nations have not yet bent themselves. On the other side, there was nothing brought into *Florence* from the Field, to the least sale, but by a long insensible servitude paid somewhat. This was the Civil and Natural habit of that Prince : and more might be said, if I were not pounded within an *Epistle*. This Duke, while I was a private Traveller in *Florence*, and went sometime by chance (sure I am, without any design) to his Court, was pleased, out of some gracious conceit which he took of my fidelity, (for nothing else could move it) to imploy me into *Scotland* with a Casket of *Antidotes*, or *Preservatives*, (wherein he did excel all the Princes of the World) and with a Dispatch of high and secret importance, which he had intercepted touching some practice upon the Suecession to this Crown ; so as I am much obliged to his Memory ( though it was a painful journey) for that honour, and other Favours and Beneficences ; and especially because I came thereby first into the notice of the King your Father, of ever blessed memory, when your Majesty was but a blooming Rose, which afterwards drew on my imployment to the Republick of *Venice*.



THE  
ELECTION  
OF THE  
DUKE  
OF  
VENICE:

With other Papers concerning  
that STATE prefixed.

A Letter to the KING,  
December 9. 1622.

*May it please your Sacred Majesty,*

**B**Y this right honest and learned Gentleman, by name *Adolphus Ryplingham*, (who hath spent some time abroad in the best observations) I send your Majesty more *Melon-seeds*, of all sorts, which have been diligently chosen, and will, I hope, take better than the former. In my Letter to Master Secretary *Calvert*, I have discharged other duties, among which some will come very seasonably unto  
your



your Majesty about *Christ-mass* time, to increase your recreation: For it is indeed a merry piece of service that I have sent your Majesty, a testimony of your conscience from *Rome*. Now, for this Letter, I have reserved a private and voluntary subject, which I have taken the freedom most humbly to present unto your Majesties benign censure. It is the preface to one of mine own poor labours, comprehending the argument thereof, and the motives. In which as yet unfinished lucubration (for so I may justly call it, having been for the most part born in the night) I have had occasion to fall upon some weighty considerations of Church and State; while I did search the progress of this Republick, among the clouds and confusions of the middle Age. Between which times it was a kind of refreshment, and yet withal but a miserable pleasure, to contemplate how the Empire grew lank, and the Popedom tumorous proportionably, till Superstition, like a wild and raging fire, could at length be contained *neque suis terminis, neque alienis*. These remarkable points I have now touched, to procure from your Majesty some pardon for a bold invocation therein of your Royal Name; being confident, that this high Theoreme of State, which I handle (though my self but a poor Student in meaner speculations) may prove not unworthy, in the subject it self, to receive some lustre from your gracious countenance. To conclude, the trouble that I have given your Majesty, instead of some present more valuable, to inaugurate the new approaching year. I do humbly submit the death or life of this work to your only doom, and though that ancient conceit was well commended when it was first born; *Malleme Augusti judicium, quam Antonii Beneficium*:



*scium* : yet I must crave leave to think it somewhat ignoble. And for my part, to assure your Majesty, that I shall more rejoyce in the approbation of your judgment, than in the fruition even of your own benefits. And so I most humbly commit your most dear and Royal Person to God's continual love; remaining

*Your Majesties Faithful Vassal,*

*and long devoted poor Servant,*

Octavio Baldi.

## [Præfatio in Historiam Venetam.]

**H**ENRICUS Wottonius *Anglo-Cantianus*, postquam quatuordecem ferè annorum spatium legationibus apud Venetos exhausseram; Anno unici Mediatoris supra Millesimum sexcentisimum vicesimo secundo, *Ætatis meæ quinquagesimo tertio* jam labente, de illorum Imperio scribere sum aggressus; ut si non satis vigilasse foris, pro publico munere, at saltem vixisse videar. Quippe levi profectò distant discrimine silentes à defunctis; nec multum interest, nos terminet fatalis dies, an præstinguat inertia. Igitur libido sæpius sopita, nunc ardentius rediit, revolvendi vetera, novaque; ut ex radicibus eliciam, quo Fati ductu, quæis maximè institutis, quibusque Artibus, tam Incluta Christiani Orbis Civitas tot sæcula superaverit, inter varias Mari Terraque tam cladum quam victoriarum vices, nec minora fortasse ipsius Otii, quam Belli mala. Hujus felicitatis progressus, & fulcimenta retrò querenti, duo præcipuè, si rectè æstimo Fontes recludent: *Historia temporum, & Imperii forma.* Qua quàm potero



potero brevissimè & quasi delibatum expediam. Ut hoc qualecunque conceptum Opus delectu magis rerum quam ubertate gestiat : simul etiam ne in aliena Reipublica arcanis longius hærendo, Hospitis verecundiam violarem.

Te verò sapientissime Jacobæ Rex & Domine, sub cujus indulgentis Judicii præsidio imbecillitas nostra civilibus ministeriis incubuit, quam quidem natura potius ad simpliciora studia damnaverat : Te, inquam, Clarissimum sæculi Lumen, in exordio præsentium curarum invocare liceat, ut tanti nominis, velut adflatu quodam alacrius inceptum peragam. Sed quia non levia meditamur, quod ante ingressum ingenui Authores solent, id quoque profiteor, ne sine obtreptione, sine blanditiis, sensus, quos per omnem laboris partem res ipsa suggerit, liberrimè prolaturum, ne argumenti dignitatem dehonestet servilis oratio.

Jam urbem Venetam, &c.

## [ A Letter concerning the Original of *Venice*. ]

Right honourable, and my very good Lord,

I Owe your Lordship, even by promise, some account of my foreign Travels : and the Observations which I have taken touching this City and Republick, are these ;

The general position of the City of *Venice*, I find much celebrated, even by the learnedest of the \* *Arabians*, as being seated in the \* *Averhoes*. very middle point between the Equinoctial and the Northern Pole, at 45. degrees precisely,



cisely, or next hand, of latitude : yet their Winters are for the most part sharper than ours, though about six degrees less of elevation ; perchance by vicinity to the chilly tops of the *Alps*, for Winds as well as Waters are tainted in their passage ; and the consequence which men make in common discourse, from the Degree of the place to the Temper is indeed very deceivable, without a due regard to other circumstances.

The Circuit thereof, through divers Creeks, is not well determinable ; but as Astronomers use to measure the Stars, we may account it a City of the first Magnitude ; as *London*, *Paris*, *Gawnt*, *Millain*, *Lisbon*, &c.

How they came to be founded in the midst of the Waters I could never meet with any clear Memorial. The best and most of their Authors ascribe their first beginnings rather to chance or necessity, than counsel ; which yet in my opinion will amount to no more than a pretty conjecture intenebrated by Antiquity : for thus they deliver it ; They say, that among the Tumults of the middle Age, when Nations went about swarming like Bees ; *Arylas*, that great Captain of the *Hunnes*, and scourge of the World (as he was styled) lying long with a numerous Army at the Siege of *Aquileia*, it struck a mighty affrightment and confusion into all the nearer parts ; whereupon, the best sort of the bordering People, out of divers Towns, agreed either suddenly, or by little and little (as fear will sometimes collect, as well as distract) to convey themselves and their substance into the uttermost bosom of the *Adriatick Gulf*, and there possessed certain desolate Isles, by Tradition, about seventy in number, which afterwards (necessity being the Mother



Mother of Art) were tacked together with Bridges, and so the City took a rude form, which grew civilized with time, and became a great example what the smallest things well fomented may prove.

They glory in this their beginning two ways: First, that surely their *Progenitors* were not of the meanest and basest quality; (for such having little to lose, had as little cause to remove.) Next, that they were timely instructed with Temperance and Penury (the Nurseries of Moderation.) And true it is, That all things favour of their first Principles, so doth the said *Republick* (as I shall afterwards shew) even at this day: for the Rule will hold as well in Civil as in Natural Causes.

*Cætera desunt.*



[ An Epistle Dedicatory of the following Discourse ]

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

**H**AVING here lately seen the Deaths of two, and the Elections of two other Dukes, within the compass of six Weeks, I have been bold to entertain your Lordship with a little Story of these changes and competitions, though with small presumption that you can take any pleasure in my simple Report thereof, unless it win some favour by the freshness or the freedom.

For the rest, the whole Town is here at the present in horror and confusion, upon the Discovering of a foul and fearful Conspiracy of the French against this State; whereof no less than thirty have already suffered very condign punishment, between men strangled in Prison, drowned in the silence of the night, and hanged in publick view; and yet the bottom is invisible.

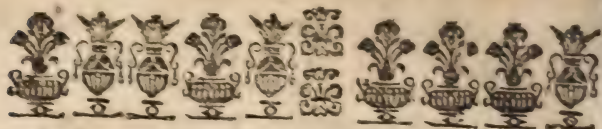
If God's Mercy had not prevented it, I think I might for mine own particular have spared my late Supplication to the King about my return home towards next Winter: For I cannot hope that in the common Massacre, publick Ministers would have been distinguished from other men; nay, rather we might perchance have had the honour to have our Houses thought worthiest the rifling, I shall give your Lordship a better account of this in my next; having now troubled you beyond excuse with my poor Papers. Our blessed God keep your Lordship in his love.

Your Lordships with  
all true devotion,

Venice this 25. of  
May, 1618.

HENRY WOTTON.  
T THE





THE  
ELECTION  
OF THE  
NEW DUKE  
OF  
VENICE,

After the Death of  
*GIOVANNI BEMBO.*

**O**N Friday, being the 16 of March, in this year 1618. about an hour before Sun-setting, *Giovanni Bembo* the 91 Duke of *Venice*, ended his days in the 75 year of his Age: His Disease was a Fever, occasioned by some obstruction in his Reins, that stopped the course of his Water: Whe-



Whether the Physicians did hasten his end, by taking from him more blood than his years could spare, is now too late a question. His name is one of the ancientest among them. His Father was a Gentleman, almost of the lowest Poverty, till he matched with a wealthy Citizens Daughter, who afterwards proved the Heir of her Father, leaving Issue Male this Duke *Giovanni* and *Philippo* his Brother: *Philippo* (who only was married, being not the Custom of *Venice* for more Brothers than one to take Wife) died some few Months before the Duke, in greater Reputation than Degrace: For their Laws do suppress the Brothers of their Dukes. The Duke himself did arise by Employments at Sea; His first Action of note was in the Battel of *Lepanto*; where, besides some Wounds that he received for his own share, the success of that great day, in such trepidation of the State, made every Man meritorious. He was lastly, (to omit his middle steps) while the Republick stood under Excommunication by this Pope, (the King of *Spain* likewise then Arming) made General of their Maritime Forces. This is the solemnest Title they can confer under the Princedom, being indeed a kind of Dictatorship: to which they have no Charge equivalent on the Land, having been content (as it seems, in Honour of their Situation, to give the Prerogative of Trust to that Element: To the Princedom he was chosen, being none of the Competitors then in voice. Who unable to make themselves, and unwilling to make their Concurrents, (as the fashion is,) agreed in a Third: He held the place two years, three Months, and twelve days, with general good liking: though indeed, his Praises were rather Moral than Intellectual.



all, as more consisting in goodness of Disposition, than any other eminent Ability. For he was neither eloquent, profound, nor learned, only notable in his splendour and oeconomicall magnificence, beyond ordinary example, and perchance in another nature beyond Permission: For these Popularities among them are somewhat hazardous. To Ambassadors he gave small satisfaction, save with his Eyes, which were very gracious and kind. In his Countenance otherwise, there was an invincible weakness, always blushing while he spake, and glad when he had done. Whereby his Answers were the more scant and meagre. But this did imitate Wisdom: For a Duke of *Venice* that opens himself much, will be chidden. To conclude, he was in his civil course a good Patriot, and in his natural, a good Man. They that are willing to censure him further, think his whole composition fitter for the quality of the State, than the times. Now being thus passed away, the first publick Care was to order his Funeral; till when, the Custom doth not suffer that a new can be chosen. This was done the *Thursday* following with all due solemnity; and in the mean time was made five Correctors and three Inquisitors. The Correctors are to consider what Laws are fit to be added or amended touching the future Election, or in the form of the Dukes Oath, which they gently call his \* *Promise*: The Inquisitors are, upon Complaint (and not otherwise) against the deceased Prince, especially in matter of Extortion, to enquire of the truth, and accordingly to punish his Heirs. Which Office doth continue in Authority the term of a year. The Correctors at this time presented four new Laws.

\* *La Promissione Ducale.*

1. *That*



1. That the Brothers and Children of the Prince shall take place in publick Processions, after the principal Magistrates; namely, next to the Censors.
2. That immediately after the choice of any new Duke, in the next Grand Council, shall be openly rehearsed all former Decrees against Defrauders of the Publick Chests. This they call in their Dialect Intaccamento di Casse, as unpardonable here as Treason.

The other two merit no Memory, being only about little encrease of Provision for the Dukes Attendants, and some enlargement of time for the Correctors Office, which heretofore did determine as soon as the Election began.

These new Orders thus made, and approved by the Grand Council (from whence all Authority floweth) they proceeded on Fryday morning to the Election.

About which time were discovered four Competitors, *Antonio Priuli, Gieconimo Giustiniano, Augustino Nani*, and *Niccolo Donato*. The three first all *Procuratori di St. Marco*; Who are in number Nine, in degree the second Personages of the State, and commonly the Seminary of their Princes; though not of necessity, as well appeareth by the fourth Concurrent, who was yet no more than a Senator of the *Wide Sleeve*; a Vesture of eminent Gravity and Place in their Councils. Of these *Priuli* and *Giustiniano* having before been chosen Commissioners in the Business of the *Uscocchi*, were by a new Warning and Penalty in the Senate on Fryday before (the Prince then languishing) commanded to be gone. But this did not prejudice their Hopes. For I have noted one singular property in the Composition of this State, That no mans fortunes



tunes, without other Demerits, are hindred by their absence.

Now it shall be fit to set down, with what Foundations, and with what Oppositions, they entred the List.

*Priuli* had passed through all the principal Charges of the State in the Civil way; and had lastly in the Military been *Generalissimo* (till sickness sent him home) in the *Austrian* Action. His own Family numerous; His Alliance strong; Himself a man of moderate nature, of pleasant and popular Conversation, rather free than lowre and reserved; of good extemporal judgment and discourse, for the satisfying of publick Ministers, which is the Dukes proper part. Lastly, Threescore and ten years old (for that must not be forgotten among his helps.) But he suffered two Objections, though both rather within his Fortune, than his Nature. The one, that he was the Father of a Cardinal, which might distract his affections between the State and the Church. The other, that he was Poor and somewhat behind hand. Of which Objection on the other side, his Favourers made up part of his Merit, as having indebted himself in the publick Service.

*Giustiniano* was a Gentleman, that had likewise passed through the best places at home, of excellent Gravity and Judgment, and of most unquestionable Integrity; not violent, not avaritious, singularly beloved of the people; to whose satisfaction in a time of this nature, it was perhaps meet to yield somewhat. He was besides, one year elder than *Priuli*; but his old age did not help him so much as he was hindred by the Antiquity of his Name. For the Princedom having been for the



two last Successions in the old Families, it was likely, the new would now strive to bring it back again among their own Blood.

*Nani* had carried himself meritoriously in Foreign Employments, particularly against the Pope, in the time of the Interdict ; which held up his Credit among the good Patriots. And having been near the Supream place at the last Election, he re-entred now with the more hope. Besides, being by nature stiff and sensitive, his cunning friends did mould that to his advantage ; the time seeming to need such a Man. But two wild rumors did much oppress him, The one with the better sort, that he had purchased by close Gifts certain of the poor Gentlemens Favours : The other with the People, that he had of late been Author of some hard Decrees ; his Age besides was but 63 years , and his complexion durable.

*Donato* (surnamed *Testolina*, for the littleness of his Head) had been long time conversant in the gravest Consultations, was reputed one of the wealthiest Gentlemen of the whole City, of good natural Capacity, and above the rest adorned with Erudition. Besides, he had the commendation of fourscore years, and of a weak Body. But it was thought somewhat presumptuous, that he should contend with persons of higher Rank : whereupon some conceived his end, only to gain a Friend by his voices, and to make himself Procurator in the room of him that should be Prince.

With these hopes, and with these objections, they entred the Field, after they had laboured their Friends one whole Week, namely, from the *Friday* night of the Dukes Death, to the *Friday* morning following , and perhaps a good while before :



within which time, at the place of their *Broglio* (as they term it) where the Concurrents sue for Voices, *Nani* the youngest of the four, was noted by some vacant searching Wits, to tread softly, to walk stoopingly, and to raise himself from Benches where he sat, with laborious and painful gesture, as Arguments of no lasting man. Such a counterfeiting thing sometimes is Ambition. To come now to the Election.

The Election of the Duke of *Venice* is one of the most intricate and curious Forms in the World; consisting of ten several precedent *Ballotations*. Whereupon occurreth a pretty Question, what need there was of such a deal of solicitude in choosing a Prince of such limited Authority? And it is the stranger, for having been long in use, the ancient Forms being commonly the most simple. To which doubt, this Answer may serve the turn, That it was (as the tradition runneth) a Monk's Invention of the *Benedictine* Order. And in truth, the whole mysterious frame therein, doth much savour of the *Cloyster*. For first a Boy must be snatched up below, and this Child must draw the *Balls*, and not themselves, as in all other Elections: then is it strangely intermingled, half with Chance, and half with Choice. So as Fortune, as well as Judgment or Affection hath her part in it, and perhaps the greater. One point (as now and then hapneth, even in the most curious Webs of this nature) seemeth somewhat unequal. Namely, that the 41 (who are the last immediate Electors of the Duke) must be all of several Families, and of them twenty five at least concur to his Nomination. For hereby the old names (which are but twenty four) cannot make a Duke without help



help from some one of the new. And that is not easily gotten, through emulation between them, as strong perhaps as any publick respect. So as the two last Dukes, *Memo* and *Bembo*, both of the ancient Blood, may upon the whole matter be accounted Irregularitives of Fortune, who hath likewise her *Anomola*.

Now to set down the variations of Chance in every step of these Scrutinies, were tedious. Sure it is, that at the enclosing of the 41 (for those must be shut up like our Jurors of Inquest, but that they are better fed) *Donato* had fifteen sure *Balls*, *Nani* twelve, *Giustiniano* ten, and *Priuli* but four. So as no one of them had voices enough to exclude the other three from making a Duke: for to this Privative Power, are required seventeen *Balls* at least. Nor any two of them, except *Donato* and *Nani* had reciprocally an inclusive Power to advance each other by joyning: for though *Donato* might have made *Giustiniano*, yet he could not be made by him, because their united strength was but precisely twenty five, which number indeed would have served the turn, but that one of them on *Donato's* part (himself being of the number) must be abated. For contrary to the form of Election in the Empire, no man here can bestow his *Ball* upon his own person. So as upon the matter doth arise a kind of Riddle, that *Donato* was the weaker by his presence.

Thus they stood in their several Strengths when they were shut up with a Guard about the Palace: where during this Election, all inferior Tribunals cease: only the College of the Preconsultors (as they term it) is daily open for the hearing of Ambassadors; the Senate likewise, and the High Coun-



Council of Ten in their ordinary vigour. They remained close twelve full days: In which time divers false voices were vented. But none of the Competitors arriving to a sufficient number of *Balls*, they fell (as the fashion is) to ballote some others that did not concur. Among whom, nothing was so memorable as the Ballotation of *Lorenzo Viniero*; who having in the late Fight at Sea, with the *Neopolitan Fleet* preserved his honour, when the rest were nearer, shame, had now eighteen *Balls* for the supream place of his Country, though otherwise as yet, of but small rank himself. At last these 41 Electors tired with tryals, *Nani* unable to make himself, not inclining to *Giustiniano*, as being of an old House, with *Priuli* privately distasted, and generally wishing him best, that was unlikeliest to live long: On *Thursday* morning, being the fifth of *April*, declared unto his Friends, that he would joyn with *Donato*: which the rest understanding, they owed (though not to him, yet) to themselves more good will, than not to favour that which they could not hinder. And so *Niccolo Donato* was made Duke, with thirty nine *Balls*, his own exempted (as I have said) by Law, and some one of the rest shrinking, I know not how, *per Capriccio* perhaps, rather than despight. This is the sixth man under the Degree of a Procurator, that hath been made Duke since the foundation of the City; which makes *Nani* the more odious among his other *Colleagues*, for advancing an inferior Order; which perchance hereafter upon the example may grow more familiar. He was published with slight Applause, and with more approbation (as it seems) of the Stars, than of Men. For it is vulgarly reported from his own mouth, and here strongly



strongly believed, That an Astrologer some years since in *Padoua*, having cast his Nativity, told him he should die in *Carcere nobili*, which they now apply to so restrained a Princedom, helping it with Concept ; as commonly those kind of Predictions do need.

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## *The Election of the following Duke after the death of Nic- colo Donato.*

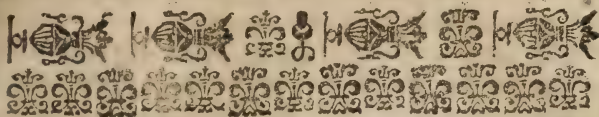
ON Tuesday the eighth of May, *Niccolo Donato* died, about two hours of the night, as near as the moment could be known, which his Nephews and Servants did conceal, and is never hastily published by the State. His Disease was an *Apoplexy*, wherewith being surprized after a gentle fit or two of an Ague, he had no leifure, or no mind to alter a former Will, made while he was but a Senator, so miserably, as if he had meant to be frugal even after his Death : For therein he left but twenty five Ducats to all his Servants, and only twenty to the Nuns of *Sta. Chiara* at *Murano*, where he disposed his Body to be laid. The short time of his Princedom (having been but a Month and two days) did yield little matter of observation. One thing was notable, that entring with small applause of the common men, he suddenly got their favours upon a false conceit. For a De-  
cree



cree having passed in his Predecessors time about the reformation of Bakers (who made scant Loaves) and being conceived to be his deed, the *Plebeyity* (whose supream Object is Bread) cryed in all corners, *Viva Donato*. In his Nature there was a strange Conjunction of two things rarely seen together, *Love of Learning*, and *Love of Money*. And this is all that can be said of him.

Now being gone, the following Election was likely to be short, the same Concurrence appearing as before, and the affections having been so newly founded and prepared. Therefore (not to extend discourse) the Dukes Funeral Rites being performed the *Monday* after his death, the *Thursday* morning following, *Antonio Priuli* was made Duke, with all *Balls*. For *Giustiniano* having but eight voices among the last One and forty Electors, and *Nani* (by strange and almost prodigious fortune) none, the foresaid eight friends of *Giustiniano*, unprofitable for him whom they loved best, did immediately concur with *Priuli's* thirty three voices. And so a solemn Ambassage is preparing out of the body of the Senate to determine his Commission in *Friuli*, and to recal him to the supream honour of his Country. When at the very same time, or little difference, one of the two *Austrian* Commissioners on the other side, is dead in the midst of the Treaty. So various are humane Fortunes and Conditions.





A  
M E D I T A T I O N

Upon the Twenty Second  
Chapter of *GENESIS*.

By *H. W.*

**I**N *this Wonderful Piece of Sacred Story, behold the Father of the Believers, at extream Age, surprized (as it should seem by the Circumstances of the Text) in his Bed by a Commandment from GOD, to Sacrifice his only Son: In which case, all the powers of his mind being suddenly shaken with an infinite combat between Faith and Nature, we may upon the whole matter conceive Him to have broken forth into some such discourse with himself, as followeth.*

**W**HAT! Could this possibly be the voice of *GOD* which I heard? or have not rather some strange Impressions of the Night deluded my Fancy? Yea, Thy Voice it was (my *GOD*) it was thy Voice: How can thy humble Servant deny it?  
with



with whom seven times before descending from the Throne of thy Glory, thou hast vouchsafed even to commune in this Vale of Tears.

When thou didst first call me out of the darkness of my Fathers House, into thy saving Light ; when thou didst often cherish and encourage me in the steps of my Pilgrimage ; when thou didst furnish me with Plenty, and Crown me with Victory in a strange Land ; when, lastly, thou didst even overlade my feeble age with joy, in a rightful Heir of mine own Body ; was I forward at all these times to acknowledge thee the G O D of my support and comfort ? and shall I now question thy Voice, when thou demandest but a part of thine own Benefits ? No, (my dear *Isaac*) although the Heavens know how much I love thee; yet if thou wert, or couldest be Millions of times more precious in the Eyes of thy trembling Father, I would summon together all the strength of mine aged Limbs, to render thee unto that Gracious God from whom I had thee. Alas (poor Boy) how sweetly thou slumberest, and in thy harmless Bed dost little think what change is towards thee ! but I must disturb thy rest. *Isaac*, arise, and call up my Servants ; bid them prepare for a Journey which we are to make unto the Mount *Moriah* : and let some Wood be carried for the burning of a Sacrifice. Mean while I will walk out a little by my self to contemplate the declining Stars, and the approach of the Morning.

O ye Ornaments of the Sky, who when all the World is silent, obey your Maker in the determinate Order of your Motions ! Can Man behold his own duty in a fairer Volume ? why then stand I gazing here, and do not rather go my self to hasten my Servants, that I may execute his Will ? But stay :



stay : His Will ? Why ? Is his Will contrary to the example of his own Justice ? did he not heavily punish *Cain*, even at the beginning of the first World, for killing but a Brother ? and can I slay my Child , and imbrue my Hands in mine own Bowels, without offence of his Immortal Majesty ? Yes ; why not ? The Act of *Cain*, was the Act of his own sinful malice ; but I have received an immediate Command from God himself. A Command ? Why ? Is his Command against his Law ? shall the Fountain of all Truth be served with Contradictions ? Did not the same God, streight after the universal Deluge, (as our Fathers have told us) denounce this Judgment ; That *whoso sheddeth mans blood, his blood shall be shed* ? How then can I herein obey my God, but I must withal disobey Him ?

O my weak Soul, what poor Arguments doest thou search to cover thine own rebellious affections ! Is there any Warrant higher than his Will ? or any better Interpreter of his Will than himself ? If the Princes of the Earth ( who are but mortal Types of his invisible Glory ) can alter their Edicts at pleasure ; shall not the Lord of the whole (whom Angels and Men adore) have leave to dispense with his own Prohibitions ? yes surely : But then how shall the Blessing that my good God hath determined upon my Seed , and even upon this very Child, be accomplished , if I destroy the Root ? O Lord, was not thy Divine goodness pleased, in the depth of thy Mercy, to accept my Belief for Righteousness ? and shall I now frustrate thy promises with my Obedience ? But what ! am I fallen again into a new Reluctation ? Have I before contested with thy Justice, and shall I now dispute thy Power ? Didst thou not create the Light before the Sun ?



Sun? and the effect before the cause? and shall I bind thee to the Passions of a natural Agent? Didst thou not make this All of Nothing, even by thy Word (which was thy Wisdom,) and foment all that thou hast made by thy Spirit (which is thy Love?) and shall I doubt but thou canst raise innumerable Nations, out of the very Ashes of my poor *Isaac*? Nay, did I not even at the first receive him in a manner from a dead Womb? and art not thou still the same Almighty and ever living God, Merciful Father, full of all tenderness and compassion, that seest from Heaven whereof we are made? Pardon my Discourses, and forget my Delays; I am now going to perform thy good Pleasure. And yet there is remaining one humble Suit; which refuse not (O my God) though it proceed from the weakness of thine unworthy Creature: Take my Child, and all that is mine; I have resigned him with my whole Heart unto thy Will. He is already thine, and mine no longer; and I Glory that he shall die upon thy holy Altar. But yet I fear withal, that these my shaking hands, and fainting Limbs, will be seized with horror; be not therefore (Dear Lord) displeased, if I use my Servants in the Execution. How now, my Soul! doest thou shrink, in the last act of thy Loyalty? can I yet walk up and down about vile and ordinary Functions, and when my God is to be served, do my Joynts and Members fail me? have I humbled my desires to his Will, and shall I deny him the choice of his own Instrument? Or if his indulgent Mercy would permit it, shall I suffer another to anticipate the cheerfulness of my Obedience? O thou great God of Life and Death! who mightest have made me an insensible Plant, a dead Stone, or a poysonous Serpent,



pent, and yet even in that likewise, I should have conduced to the variety of thy glorious Wisdom; but hast vouchsafed to endue us with the form of Man, and to breath into our first Parent that spark of thy Divine Light which we call Reason, to comprehend and acknowledge therewith thy high and indisputable Sovereignty over all Nature; Thou then (Eternal maker and Mover, whose Will is the first of Causes, and whose Glory is the last of Ends) direct my Feet to the place which thou hast appointed; strengthen there these poor Hands to accomplish thy Pleasure, and let Heaven and Earth obey thee.

A

# MEDITATION

UPON

## CHRISTMAS-DAY:

Of the Birth and Pilgrimage of our Saviour  
CHRIST on Earth.

**O** Glorious Morning, wherein was born the Expectation of Nations; and wherein the long Suspired Redeemer of the World, did (as his Prophets had cryed) rent the *Heavens*, and come down in the *Vesture of Humanity*! Thou, that by the

V

Virtue



Virtue of the *Highest*, wert conceived in the *Womb* of an inviolate *Virgin*, of all *Women* the most blessed; and yet more blessed by being thy *Daughter*, and thy *Servant*, than thy *Mother*. *Thou*, at *whose Birth* the *Quire of Heaven* did sing *Hallelujahs* and *Angels* made haste to acquaint even *Shepherds* with the *news*! Stay, my *Soul*, before I go further, and crave leave of thy *Lord* to ask some *Questions*. Why wouldest thou be first made known to the meanest condition of *Men*? why were they sent to see their *Saviour*, not in some gorgeous *Palace*, but in the vilest *Room* of a common *Inn*, and (instead of a *Cradle* decked with Rich *Imbroideries*) lying in a *Despicable Manger*? Why didst *Thou* not choose for the *Place* of thy blessed *Mothers* Delivery, either *Athens* the Learned, or *Rome* the Imperial, or *Jerusalem* the Holy City? Or since poor *Bethlehem*, by thy *Prophets* prediction, must receive that Honour, Why didst *Thou* not send Millions of *Cherubims* and *Seraphims* before *Thee* for thy *Harbingers*? No, my God, it was *Thy Will*, it was *Thy Will* (which is the highest of *Reasons*) by thy low beginning in the flesh, to confound all *Pride*, and to teach the *Glories* of the *Earth* to blush. Yet, thus born, and thus homely received; behold, a new *Star* descending to illustrate thy obscurity, and to conduct the *Wise Men* of the *East* (now *Wise* indeed) with their choicest *Presents* to adore *Thee*. O strange *Phænomenon*! Did ever *Hipparchus*, or the great *Trismegist*, or the greater *Moses*, or all the *Egyptian* Gazers contemplate before such a *Planet*? So irregular, so excentrical, as if the *Celestial Lights* had forsaken their proper *Motions* and *Position*, to welcome the *Lord* of all *Nature* into the *World*!

And now, in the Course of *Thy* precious *Life*,  
What



What shall I first, What shall I most admire? All is depth, all is wonder and amazement. Shall I first Celebrate *Thy* ever-blessed Name, for convincing the great *Doctors* of the Law, at twelve years of *Thine* Age, when *Thy Divine Essence* began to blaze, which had lain before, as it were, slumbring in the Vail of *Thy* Manhood? Or shall I pass from this Miracle of Knowledge to *Thy* Miracles of *Charity*, in healing the Blind, the Lame, the Deaf, the Dumb? Or shall I more insist upon the Acts of *Thy Powers*; in checking the *Winds*, in walking on the *Waves*, in raising the *Dead*, in ejecting the impure *Spirits*? Or shall I remain stupified (as all the Learnedest part of the World was, which lay grovelling in the Contemplation of Inferiour Causes) that at *Thy* Coming, all their false *Oracles* and *Delusions* were stricken mute, and nothing to be heard at *Delphos*, or *Hammion*? Or shall I contemplate, that at *Thy* Passion all Nature did suffer, the *Earth* did shake, and the *Heavens* were darkened? Or lastly, after *Thou* hadst triumphed over *Death* and *Hell* (whose Keys are in thine hand) shall I glorifie *Thy Assumption* into the Highest *Heavens*?

Yes, *Lord*, all this, and much more there is than the whole World can contain, if it were written: Yet one thing remains, even after *Thy glorious Departure*, for the comfort of our *Souls*, above all the *Miracles* of *Thy Goodness*, and of *Thy Power*, That *Thou* hast dispensed *Thy saving Doctrine* unto curious Men, not only by Eloquent *Sophists*, and Subtil *School-men*, (such as have since distracted and torn thy Church in pieces;) but by the simplest and silliest *Instruments*: so as it must needs be *Thy Divine Truth*, since it was impressed by no *Humane Means*. For, give me leave again, my dear *Lord*, to demand, in



the ecstasie and Admiration of one of *Thy* blessed *Vessels*; Where is the *Wise*? Where is the *Scribe*? Where is the *Disputer* of this *World*? How should we have known, how should we have apprehended *Thy* Eternal Generation, if *Thou* hadst not been pleased to vouchsafe a silly *Fisherman* to lean on *Thy* *Breast*, and to inspire him to tell us from his *Boat*, that, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God?*

Therefore to *Thee*, *Thou* Incarnate *Word*, and *Wisdom* of the *Father*; *Thou* only true *Messias*, in whom all *Prophecies* are accomplished, and in whom the *Will* of *God*, and the *Desires* of *Men* are fulfilled, look down upon us *Thy* unworthy *Creatures*, from where *Thou* sittest in thy *Glory*: Teach us *Thy* *Love*; but such a *Love* as doth fear to offend *Thee*: Teach us *Thy* *Fear*; but such a *Fear* as first doth love *Thee*. And indue us with *Thy* *Grace*, whilest by *Thy* *Permission* we walk on this *Globe*, which *Thy* blessed *Feet* have troden, to solemnize this *Day* of *Thy* *Nativity*, not with wanton *Jollities*, but with *Hymns* of *Joy*, and *Meditations* of like *Comfort*.



LETTERS

TO

SEVERAL

PERSONS.



LETTERS

TO

SEVEN

PERSONS





# LETTERS

TO

SEVERAL PERSONS.

*To Sir Arthur Throckmorton.*

SIR,

I Have been desirous of some fit opportunity, to render you humble thanks for a very kind Letter, which I received from you ; and I cannot have a fitter, than by the return of this Gentleman, who beareth much devotion to your Name : I will therefore by his honest hand, present you the service of a poor Scholar, for that is the highest of my own Titles, and in truth, the farthest end of my Ambition : This other Honour (wherewith it hath pleased his Majesty to cloath my unworthiness) belonging improperly unto me ; who, I hope, am both born, and formed in my Education, fitter to be an Instrument of Truth



than of Art. In the mean while, till His Majesty shall resolve me again into my own plain and simple Elements, I have abroad done my poor endeavour, according to these occasions, which God hath opened.

This Gentleman leaveth *Italy* in present tranquility, though not without a little fear of some alteration on the side of *Savoy*: Which Prince seemeth to have great and unquiet thoughts, and, I think, they will lack no fomentation from abroad. Therefore after the remembrance of my most affectionate poor service to your self, and to my Honourable Ladies, your Wife and Daughters, and your whole House, (with which we are now so particularly conjoyned) I commit You and Them to our merciful God.

*Your willing Servant,*

HENRY WOTTON.

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## To Sir Arthur Throckmorton.

SIR,

**I** Am sorry that having so good opportunity to write unto you, joyned with so much Obligation, I have withal so little matter at the present: yet I will entertain you with a few Rapsodies.

My Lord my Brother is returned a day sooner than he thought, out of *Kent*, for that the King  
(who



( who is now at *Hampton-Court* ) hath appointed all his Counsellors, and all the Judges, to meet Him here to morrow about matters of the Mint, as it is voiced, perhaps to cover some greater Subject, and yet Money is a great one.

On Saturday the King goeth to *Windsor*, there to honour with his presence both his Sons and his Favourites at their Instalments.

On Sunday last the new *Venetian* Ambassador had his first Audience at *Greenwich* : at which time the old took his leave, and received from the King three Honours, An addition of the *English* Lion to his Coat Armour, Knight hood, and the Sword with the Furniture from the Kings side, wherewith he had Knighted him : which last, being more than was done to any of his Predecessors, and done to him who had deserved less than any, is enough to prove, that wise Kings know how to do graces, and hide affections : so mystical things are Courts.

Now, to lead you a little abroad ; for I have no more to say within our own visible Horizon : We have advice out of *Germany*, that they have extorted from the Emperour his consent to make *Matthias* King of the *Romans* : so as having first spoiled him of obedience and reverence ; next, of his Estates and Titles ; they have now reduced him to so low a case, that he is no longer Patron of his own voice. Howsoever, this violent cure is likely to settle the Motions of *Germany* ; out of which Countrey, when thy are quiet at home, they may perhaps send us some suiters hither. This is all (Sir) that I can write at the present ; which is your advantage ; for if there had been more, you had been further troubled : And so with many hearty



heartly thanks for your kind Letters, and with many hearty wishes for the prosperity of your whole House, I humbly rest

May 8.  
1611.

Your most affectionate  
poor Friend to serve you,  
HENRY WOTTON.

Feb. 1613.

SIR,

ONE Reason of my writing now unto you, is because it seemeth a great while unto me since I did so. Another, to give you many thanks (which upon the casting up of my reckonings, I find I have not yet done) for that Gelding wherewith you so much honoured me: which, in truth, either for goodnes or beauty runneth for one of the very best about this place; and I have had a great deal of love made unto me for him by no small ones. After this, I must plainly tell you, that I mean to perswade you, I am sorry I cannot say, to invite you, (for my Mind would bear that word better than my Fortune) to bestow your self, and your whole Family upon us this *Shrovetide*, if it be but for three dayes at the conjunction of the *Thames* and the *Rhene*, as our ravished Spirits begin to call it. The occasion is rare, the expence of time but little, of money inconsiderable: You shall see divers Princes, a great confluence of Strangers, sundry entertainments to shorten your patience, and to reward your travel: Finally, nothing spared, even in a necessitous time. I will add unto these

Ar-



Arguments, that out of your own Store at home, you may much increase the beauty of this Assembly; and your Daughters shall not need to provide any great splendour of Cloathing, because they can supply that with a better contribution, as hath been well authenticated even by the Kings own testimony of them. For though I am no longer an Ambassador, yet am I not so bank-rupt of Intelligence, but that I have heard of those rural passages.

Now let me therefore, with this hobling Pen, again and again pray you to resolve upon your coming, if not with all the fair Train, yet your self and my Lady, and my Nephew and his Wife, or at the least of leasts, the Masculine.

We begin to leave off our mourning habits, and the Court will shortly, I think, be as merry as if it were not sick. The King will be here to morrow: The *Friday* following he goeth to *Windsor*, with the *Count Palatine*, about the Ceremony of his Instalment. In the mean time, there is expected the Count *Henry* of *Nassau*, to be at the said Solemnity, as the Representant of his Brother. Yesternight, the *Count Palatine* invited all the Council to a solemn Supper, which was well ordered: He is a Gentleman of very sweet hope, and hath rather gained upon us, than lost any thing after the first Impression. And so, *Sir*, having ended my Paper, I will end my Letter with my hearty prayers for the prosperity of your self, and yours, ever resting

Your faithful poor  
Friend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON.  
To



# To the King. 1615.

*May it please Your Sacred Majesty,*

**I** Beseech your Majesty to pardon me a little short repetition, how I have spent my time since my departure from your Royal sight, because I glory in your goodness.

I have been employed by your favour in four several Treaties, differing in the Matter, in the Instruments, and in the Affections.

The first was for the sequestration of *Fuliers*, wherein I was joyned with the *French*.

The second for the provisional possession of the two Pretendents: wherein (contrary to the complaint of the Gospel) the Labourers were more than the Harvest.

The third was for a defensive League between the United Provinces and the United Princes: Who though they be separate Bodies of State, do now by your only Mediation, make one Body of Strength.

The fourth was for the composing of some differences between your own and this People, in matter of Commerce; which hath exceeded the other Three, both in Length and in Difficulty, for two Reasons as I conceive it:

First, Through the sensibleness of the Subject, which is private Utility: next, because it had a secret commixture of publick respects, and those of no light consequence: For surely, it importeth more to let the King of *Spain* dispense alone the Commodities of the East, than for either of us to want them.

Now



Now of the three former Treaties, I have given your Majesty an accompt in divers Dispatches, according to my poor apprehensions. As for this last, that they have eased my weakness in the conduct thereof (I mean my good Associates, by whose light and leadings I have walked) will ease me likewise, by your gracious leave, in the Relation. By them it may please your Majesty to understand in what fair terms we have left it; somewhat resembling to my fancy those Women of *Nombre de Dios*, who (they say) are never brought to bed in the place where they conceive, but bring forth their children in a better Air: And so I hope that our travels and unformed conceptions will take life in your own Kingdom, which will be more honour to their Birth. For our parts, I dare affirm of these your Commissioners, that now return unto the comfort of your gracious Aspect, That they have discharged their Duties and their Consciences, with all faithful care of your Majesties Commandments. I am confident likewise that they will give me their honest Testimony: And we are bound joyntly to profess unto your Majesty (from whom we receive our estimation) the respects and kindneses that have been here done us, as your Vassals.

And so with my continual prayers to God for your blessed Being, I here remain, till your Majesty shall vouchsafe me again the grace of your eyes.

*Your Majesties long  
devoted poor Servant,*

HENRY WOTTON.

To



# To the Marquess of Buckingham,

January 25. 1619.

*My most Noble Lord,*

I Will be bold, by this opportunity, to give His Majesty, through your Lordships hands, an account of a Command which I had from him at *Theobalds*, about founding how the *Venetian* Ambassador stood satisfied with the late determination touching his predecessor *Donato*.

I did visit the said Ambassador immediately at my return from the King, and saluted him, as by express Commandment; interjecting some words of mine own gladness, that he had received contentment in this tender point, which would signalize his beginnings. This I said, because in truth I had found him always before the more passionate in it, by some reflection upon himself. His answer (after due thanks for His Majesties gracious remembrance of him from abroad) was, that for his own part, he was *Contentissimo*, and had represented things home in the best manner. He hoped likewise it would be well tasted there also, though with some doubt, because the State, out of their own devotion towards His Majesty, might form a confidence of expecting more.

I replied, that the King upon the matter (if we consider disgrace) had done more than themselves: for he was but once banished at *Venice*, and twice here; viz. once from the verge of the Court; and secondly from *London*; which was as much as could be done with preservation of rational immunities,  
and



and more than would have been done at the fuit of of any other Ambaffador here refident; or perhaps of any of their own hereafter, if the like Cafe fhall occur. For (as I told him) it was the Kings exprefs will, that his particular refpect to the Republick, and to him in this bufinefs, fhould not be drawn into Examples. With this point he was not a little pleafed, for his own glory; and faid, that indeed Mafter Secretary *Nanton* had told him fo. This was the fum of what paffed between us, omitting impertinencies. Let me end, (my dear Lord) as I am bound, in all the ufe either of my pen, or of my voice, with an humble and hearty acknowledgement of my great obligations towards your Lordship, which will make me refolve, and in good faith unhappy, till I can fome way fhew my felf

*Your Lordships moft thankful,  
and faithful Servant,*

H. W.

## To the King.

From *Augufta* the  $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} 8 \\ 18 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$  of *Auguft*, 1620.

*May it please Your moft Sacred Majesty,*

**F**ROM this place I determined to make my firft Difpatch unto Your Majesty, hoping in fuch Cities and Courts whereunto I had addrefs on the way, to take up fomewhat that fhould be

con-



considerable, and till then unwilling to entertain Your solicitous Mind with immaterial things.

I have hitherto been with five several Princes and Communities, the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Arch-Duke, *Leopoldus*, the Town of *Strasburg*, the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and the Town of *Ulme*, in the same order as I have set them down; among whom I spent in all twelve days, and the rest of the time in incessant journeys, whereof I shall now render Your Majesty a full account in the substance, retrenching impertinencies.

Unto the Duke of *Lorraine*, I had no credential address from Your Royal hand; and yet to pass silently (like a stream through his Land) by a Prince of so near conjunction in Blood with You, and interested in the scope of my errand, as a member of the Empire, had been some incongruity. Therefore excusing (as I might justly) the want of Letters, with my purpose to have taken another way, till I heard that the *French* King had cleared the confines of *Lorraine*, by drawing such Forces as lay hovering there, with some hazard of Passengers, over the River of *Marne* towards *Normandy*: I say after this excuse, I told him, I knew Your Majesty would be singularly pleased to understand by me of his health; and that I had, *in transitu*, conferred with him Your Christian ends, wherein you could not but expect at his hands a concurrence both of Counsel and Affection. This I said, to draw civilly from him as much as I could, being a Prince cumbered (as I found him) with the *German* troubles on the one side, and the *French* on the other; and therefore bound to study the passages of both: especially having a State, which perhaps is harder for him to keep neutral than himself. In the rest of



my discourse, I possessed him with two main heads of mine Instructions: First, with Your Majesties Innocency in the *Bohemian* business at the beginning; next, with Your impartiality therein, even to this hour: both which did render You in this cause, the fittest Mediator of the World. And so I shut up all with this, That God had given Your Majesty two Eminent Blessings; the one, Peace at home, the other (which was surely the greater, and the rarer) a Soul desirous of the like abroad; which You found Your self tied in the Conscience of a Christian King to prosecute by all possible means: and therefore, though You had before in the beginning of the *Bohemian* Motions, sent Your good meaning by a solemn Ambassage to the Emperor, in the Person of a dear and zealous Servant of great Quality, even before any other King had entred into it, which, through the crudity of the matter, as then, took not the wished effect: yet now hoping that time it self, and the experience of vexation, had mollified the affections, and better digested the difficulties, You had not refused by several Ambassages to both sides, and to all the intervenient Princes and States, to attempt again this high and Christian Work. Thus much, though in effect extracted from your Majesties own directions, I have here once rehearsed, to save the repetition thereof in my following Audiences at other places.

The Dukes answer was more tender, than free, lamenting much the present condition of things, commending as much Your Majesties good mind, proclaiming his own, remitting the whole to those Great and Wise Kings that had it in hand, and concluding (with a voice, me thought, lower than before, as if he had doubted to be over-heard, though



in his private Chamber) that the Princes of the Union would tell me what his affections were in the Cause: For which I gave him thanks, commending in all events to his continual memory, that Your Majesties Daughter, my gracious Lady, and her Descendents were of the Blood of *Lorraine*: Yea, said he, and the *Elect* likewise. This was all that passed from him of any moment. After which, he brought me to *Monsieur de Vaudemont*, whose principal business (as I hear) at the present, is to work the Dukes assent, and the Popes dispensation, for a Marriage between his own Son and his Brothers Daughter; a thing much affected by that People, and no doubt fomented by *France*, to keep so important a Province from Strangers. In the mean while *de Vaudemont's* Son, for improvement of his merit and fame, is bestowed in the Command of those Troops, which were suffered to pass the Rheine at *Brylsack* on *Whitsun-Monday* last. Before I leave *Lorraine*, I cannot but advertise Your Majesty that at *Faltsbourg*, a Town in the confines of that Province towards *Elsatia* (inhabited and built by many good men of the Religion) the Ministers came unto me, bewailing the case of the Inhabitants, who for some thirty years had possessed that place quietly, till of late by instigation of the Jesuits at *Nancy*, the Duke had given them warning to be gone within the term of two years, whereof some good part was expired. Their request unto me was, that by Your Majesties gracious Mediation, they might be received into a place within the *Palatine* Jurisdiction, near their present seat, which they offered to enlarge, and fortifie at their own charge, upon the grant of reasonable immunities: Which I have assumed to treat



treat by Letter with Your Majesties Son-in-law, needing no other commission from Your Majesty in things of this nature, than Your own goodness.

The Arch-Duke *Leopold*, I was forced to seek three days journey from his ordinary seat; where, being at his private sports of the field, and no fit things about him, he desired me to turn back half a days journey to *Mulzbam*, the notorious nest of *Jesuits*: commanding the Governors of his Towns, in the mean time, to use me with all due respects; among whom he made choice of an *Italian*, by name *Ascanio Albertine*, (a man of singular confidence with him, and surely of very fair conditions) to find me, though in a merry fashion, and half laughing, (as there was good cause) how I would taste it, if he should receive me in the *Jesuits* College: for at *Mulzbam* those were his Hosts, being destitute of other habitation. I answered him, as merry as it was propounded, that I knew the *Jesuits* had every where the best rooms, more splendid than true, fitter to lodge Princes than Monks; and that their habitations were always better than themselves. Moreover, that for mine own part, though I was not much afraid of their infection; and that *Saint Paul* did not refuse to be carried in a Ship, which was consecrated to false Gods; yet because on our side they were generally, and (no doubt) justly reputed the true causes of all the troubles of the Christian World, I doubted it would be a scandalous Reception; and that besides, those Artificers would go near to make appear on my part, a kind of silent approbation of their Order and course. This was my answer, which being faithfully transported by the *Italian*, the Arch-Duke made choice of another mean house in the



Town, where he received me truly in a noble sweet fashion: to whom having presented Your Majesties Letters, and Love, he disposed himself with sharp attention to hear me. To him, besides that which I had said to the Duke of *Lorraine*, I added two things:

The first, that not only Your Majesty was clear of all fore-knowledge, or counsel, in the business of *Bohemia*; but likewise Your Son-in-law himself of any precedent practice therein, till it was laid upon him, as You knew by his own high affirmations, and most infallible testimonies.

The second, that though Your Majesty to this hour did continue as equal betwixt both parties, as the *Equinoctial* between the *Poles*, yet about the time of my departure You were much moved, and the whole Land likewise, with a voice, I know not how spread abroad, that there were great preparations to invade the Nether *Palatinate*; which if it did fall out, Your Majesty should have just reason to think Your Moderation unthankfully requited; the said *Palatinate* being the Patrimonial Lands of Your own Descendents, and no way connexed with the *Bohemian* Business. Whereupon I perswaded him fairly, in Your Majesties Name, being a Personage of such Authority in the present Actions, to keep them from any such precipitious and impertinent rupture as might preclude all Mediation of Accord: and because Your Majesty had now, which was a second Argument of Your equity, sent several Ambassadors to the Fountains, for Your better Information in the merit of the Cause, by Your own Instruments, I besought him to illuminate me, who was the weakest of Your Creatures, as far as he should think fit, and to assist me with his best advice

vice



vice towards this good end, whereunto, besides the dear Commandment of the King, my Master, I would confer mine own plain and honest zeal.

His answer, to all the points, which he had very orderly laid up, was this: Of Your Majesties own clearness he professed much assurance; of Your Son-in-law as much doubt, charging him both with close practice with the *Bohemians* at the time of the Emperours Election at *Frankfort*, and more foully with a new Practice, either by himself or by others, to introduce the *Turk* into *Hungary*. Of any design upon the Lower *Palatinate*, he utterly disavowed all knowledge on his part; yet would not deny, but the Marquess *Spinola* might perchance have some such aim; and if things went on, as they do, men would no doubt assail their Enemies wheresoever they should find them. In such Ambiguous clouds as these, he wrapped this point. Of the Emperours inclination to an agreement, he bade me be very assured; but never without Restitution of the Usurped Kingdom, which was not a loss of easie concoction, especially being taken from him by the Count *Palatine* his Subject, as he often called him; and once added, that he thought he would not deny it himself. Of the merit of the cause, he said he had sent divers Records and Papers to the Emperor, where I should find them.

Lastly, he acknowledged himself much bound unto Your Majesty for the Honor You had done him, to take such knowledge of his Person, and was contented to bestow some thanks upon me for mine honest inclination, which he would present, before my arrival, at *Vienna*. I had almost omitted a point touched by him, that he had knowledge of some *English* Levies coming toward the *Palati-*



nate : About which I cleared him, with confessing that Your Majesties People, and some of Your principal Nobility, had taken Alarm upon a voice of an Invasion there, and meant voluntarily to sacrifice themselves in that action ; but without any concurrence of Your Majesty thereunto, either by money or command. To which he replied, that in truth so he had heard, and made no question of Your Royal Integrity. In the afternoon of this day, he took me abroad with him in his Coach, to shew me some of his nearer Towns and Fortifications ; and there descended into many familiarities, and amongst other, to shew us how to make Frogs leap at their own skins : a strange purchase, me thought, at a time when Kingdoms are in question : But it may be it was an Art to cover his weightier Meditations.

Amongst other discourse, there was some mention of Your Majesties Treaty with *Spain*, in point of Alliance ; which I told him, was a concluded business : for that warrant I had from Your own Royal mouth in Your Gallery at *Theobalds*, having let fall none of Your syllables. Whereupon he said, That he did not despair upon so good an occasion, to salute Your Majesty in Your own Court. The morning following, he sent unto me *Seignior Ascanio*, with express desire, that since Your Majesties intentions were so clear, I would as frankly acquaint him, whether in mine Instruments I had any particular form of accord to project unto the Emperor : Which himself likewise at my second Audience did somewhat importunately press, excusing his curiosity with a good meaning, to prepare the Emperor, in as good manner as he could, to accept it. My answer was, that Your Majesty thought it first



necessary on both sides to dispose the affections, and then by reciprocal Intelligence between Your Servants from *Vienna* and *Prague*, to collect some measure of Agreement; for otherwise, if we should find both Parties fixed in extreme resolutions, it were a folly to spend any further the Honour of our Master. Here again he told me, that I should find the Emperor perswasible enough, if his Reputation may be saved: and for his own part, he thought that the Count *Palatine*, being the Inferior, might yield without prejudice of his. To terms of this height he revolved, and of the same complexion are his Letters to Your Majesty, that I send herewith, of which I must needs say, that in some part, *Olent Patrem Henricum*, so they call a *Jesuit* of inward credit with him. Always true it is, that they were couched in the College, for his Secretaries were absent, as the *Italian* told me, at his ordinary place of residence. At my leave taking, he spake with much reverence of Your Majesty with much praise of your Christian mind, and with much thankfulness of the Honour You had done him. He is a Prince of good stature, of fair complexion, inclining to fulness: His face, the very best, as they tell me, of the House of *Austria*; and better indeed than his fashion. No curiosity in his cloathing, no affectation in his discourse; extream affable, both to strangers, and among his own: Patient of labour, and delighting in motion. In sum, little of a Bishop, save the Bishoprick and a long Coat; with which short character of his Person, I have taken the boldness to end, being (as I conceive it) the duty of Servants to represent unto their Masters the Images of those with whom they treat; and as well their natural as artificial Impressions.



Of *Strasburg* and *Ulm*, I may speak conjunctively, being of one Nature; both free, and both jealous of their freedom, which makes them fortifie apace. Towards me likewise they joyned in one point of good respect, namely, in not suffering me to come to their Senate-house, but in treating with me where I was lodged by the deputed Persons, out of the reverence (as they professed) due to Your Majesty, who had done them so much honour with Your Letters, and with Communication of Your ends by Your humble Servant. They both commended Your Majesties Christian intensions, and professed themselves hitherto in the same Neutrality; but because it were uncivil for them to contribute their Counsels, where such Kings did employ their Wisdom and Authority, they would only contribute their Prayers, with the like temperate conceits as these, appearing, likewise in their Letters, which I send by this Bearer.

Into the Duke of *Wirtemberg's* Court I was received very nobly and kindly feasted at his Table, with the Princes, and other great Ladies, and most part of the day lead by himself, to view his Gardens, Buildings, and other Delights.

The material points collected here, I must divide partly into my discourse with himself, and partly into such knowledge as he commanded *Monsieur Burwinckhausen* to give me, which cometh in a Paper apart, being very material.

In his own Speech, he made great profession towards Your Majesty, wherein no Prince of the Empire should exceed him; and as much toward the King of *Bohemia*, as he ever called Your Son in-law: of whose cleanness from all precedent practice, when I fell to speak, he told me, that in that  
point



point he would ease me; for himself visiting the Elector, a little after he was chosen, he found him extremely perplexed, even to Effusion of Tears, between these two Considerations, That if he accepted the offer, the World would falsely conceive it to have sprung from his Ambition; if he refused it, that People was likely to fall into desperate Counsels, with danger of calling more than Christian help. In the rest of his Discourse, I was glad to hear him often vow, that he would defend the *Palatinate* with all his Power, being tied thereunto not only by the Bond of Confederacy, but likewise by Reason of State, not to suffer a Stranger to Neighbor him.

I have now ended for the present Your Majesties trouble. There remain of my Commission, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Emperor. The Duke of *Bavaria* I shall find actually in Arms about *Lintz*, in the upper *Austria*, and the Emperor at *Vicenna*: from both places I will make several Dispatches unto Your Majesty, and afterwards weekly, or more frequently, as the Occasion shall Rise. Let this in the mean time end in my humble thanks to Almighty God for the repose of Your own Estates, and in my hearty Prayers for the Preservation of you dear and sacred Person.

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Octob. 1620.

Right Honorable,

OF my purpose to depart from *Vienna*, and to leave the Emperor to the Counsels of his own Fortune, I gave His Majesty knowledg by my servant, *James Vary*.



I will now make you a summary accompt of what hath happened here, which is to be done both out of Duty to your Place, and out of Obligation to your Friendship.

The Count *Tampier* had some twelve days since taken from the *Hungarians*, by surprisal in the Field, thirteen Cornets of Horse, and one Ensign of Foot, which here with much ostentation were carried up and down, and laid on Sunday was seven night under the Emperors feet, as he came from the Chapel.

Some note, that the vanity of this triumph was greater than the merit; for the *Hungarians* by their ordinary discipline, abound in Cornets, bearing one almost for every twenty Horse, so as Flags are good cheap amongst them, and but slightly guarded: Howsoever the matter be made more or less, according to the Wits on both sides, this was *breve gaudium*, and it self indeed some cause of the following disaster; for the Count *Tampier*, being by nature an enterprizing man, was now also inflamed by accident, which made him immediately conceive the surprisal of *Presburg*, while the Prince of *Transylvania* was retired to the siege of *Guns*, some six or seven Leagues distant. A project in truth, if it had prospered, of Notorious utility.

First by the very reputation of the Place, being the Capital Town of *Hungaria*.

Next, the access to *Comar* and *Rab* (which places only the Emperour retaineth, in that Kingdom of any considerable value) had been freed by Water, which now in a manner are blocked up.

Thirdly, the incursions into these Provinces, and ignominious depredations had been cut off.

And



And lastly, the Crown of *Hungaria* had been recovered, which the Emperour *Matthias* did transport to the Castle of *Presburg*, after the deposition of *Rodolph*, his Brother, who always kept it in the Castle of *Prague*; which men account one of the subtil things of that retired Emperour, as I hear by discourse. So as upon these considerations, the enterprize was more commendable in the design, than it will appear in the execution; being thus carried.

From hence to *Presburg* is in this month of *October* an easie nights journey by Water. Thither on *Thursday* night of the last week, *Tampier* himself, accompanied with some four or five Colonels, and other remarkable men of this Court, resolves to bring down in 25 Boats, about 2000 Foot, or such a matter; having given order, and space enough before, for certain Horse, partly *Dutch*, and partly *Polonians*, to be there, and to attend his coming about two hours before *Friday* morning. And to shadow this purpose, himself on *Thursday* in the afternoon, with affected noise goes up the River the contrary way, though no reasonable imaginations could conceive whither; for the lower *Austria* was then all reduced. By which Artificial delay, and by some natural stops in the shallows of the Water, when they fell silently down again, it was three or four hours of clear day before he arrived at *Presburg* the next morning: Where his meaning was, first to destroy the Bridge built upon Boats, and thereby to keep *Bethlehem Gabor*, (as then on the *Austrian* side) not only from succouring the Town, but from all possibility of repassing the *Danube* nearer than *Buda*. Next, to apply the *Petard* to one of the Gates of  
the



the *Cittadell*. Some wise say, he had like inward intelligence, that at his approach, the Wicket of the Castle should be opened unto him by one *Palfy*, an *Hungarian* Gentleman ; which conceit, though perchance raised at first to animate the Souldier, yet hath gotten much credit, by seeing the enterprise against all discourse continued by day-light. Be that point how it will, his fatal hour was come : for approaching a Skonce that lyes by the Castle gate, and turning about to cry for his men to come on, he was shot in the lowest part of his Skull nearest his Neck, after which he spake no syllable, as *Don Carolo d' Austria* (second base Son to *Rodolph* the Emperour, and himself at that time saved by the goodness of his Armour) doth testify. After which, some two or three Souldiers attempting to bring away his Body, and those being shot, the rest gave it over, and the whole Troops transported themselves to the other side, leaving the Boats behind them, as if they had meant to contribute new Provision for the mending of the bridge, whereof they had only broken one little piece.

This was the end of the Count *Tampier* ; By his Fathers side a *Norman*, by his Mothers a *Champaigne*, a Servant twenty two years to the House of *Austria*. Himself Captain of a thousand Horse : but Commander divers times in chief, especially before the coming of the Count *Bucquoy*, from whom he was severed to these nearer Services, being of incompatible natures : a valiant, and plotting Souldier ; In Encounters more fortunate than Sieges ; Gracious to his own, and terrible to the *Hungarians* ; To the present Emperour most dear, though perchance, as much for Civil, as

Mili-



Military Merit: for this was the very Man that first seized upon the Cardinal *Clesel*, when he was put into a Coach, and transported hence to *Tirol*: So as now we may expect some Pamphlet the next Mart from *Ingolstat*, or *Colen*; That no Man can end well, who hath laid violent hands upon any of those *Roman Purpurati*.

To this point, I must add two remarkable Circumstances; The first, that *Tampier*, among other Papers found in his Pockets, is said to have had a Memorial of certain Conditions, whereon it should be fit to insist in his Parley with the Town, as having already swallowed the Castle. The other, that his Head having been cut off by a Souldier, and sold for five Dollars to another, who meant to have the merit of presenting it to the Prince, the Presenter was rewarded with a stroke of a Sable, for insulting over the dead Carcass of a Gentleman of Honor.

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## Lord Bacon to Sir Henry Wotton.

*My very good Cosin.*

**Y**OUR Letter which I received from your Lordship upon your going to Sea, was more than a Compensation for any former Omission; and I shall be very glad to entertain a Correspondence with you in both kinds, which you writ of: for the latter whereof I am now ready for you, having sent you some Ure of that Mine. I thank you for your Favours to Mr. *Mewtus*, and



I pray continue the same. So wishing you out of that honourable Exile, and placed in a better Orb, I ever rest,

*York-house*  
Octob. 20.  
1620.

*Your Lordship's*

*affectionate Kinsman,*

*and assured Friend,*

*Fr. Verulam Canc.*

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*Sir Henry Wotton to Lord Bacon.*

*Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,*

**I** Have your Lordship's Letters dated the 20th. of October, and I have withal by the care of my Cousin, Mr. Thomas Mearntis, and by your own special favour, three Copies of that Work, wherewith your Lordship hath done a great and ever-living benefit to all the Children of Nature; and to Nature her self, in her uttermost extent and latitude: Who never before had so noble nor so true an Interpreter, or (as I am readier to style your Lordship) never so inward a Secretary of her Cabinet: But of your said Work (which came but this Week to my hands) I shall find occasion to speak more hereafter; having yet read only the first Book thereof, and a few Aphorisms of the second. For it is not a Banquet, that men may superficially taste, and put up the rest in their Pockets;



ets; but in truth, a solid feast, which requireth due mastication. Therefore when I have once myself perused the whole, I determine to have it read piece by piece at certain hours in my domestick College, as an ancient Author: For I have learned thus much by it already, that we are extreemly mistaken in the computation of Antiquity, by searching it backwards, because indeed the first times were the youngest; especially in points of natural discovery and experience. For though I grant, that *Adam* knew the natures of all Beasts, and *Solomon* of all Plants, not only more than any, but more than all since their time; Yet that was by divine infusion, and therefore they did not need any such *Organum* as your Lordship hath now delivered to the world; nor we neither, if they had left us the memories of their Wisdom.

But I am gone further than I meant in speaking of this excellent Labour, while the delight yet I feel, and even the pride that I take in a certain Congeniality (as I may term it) with your Lordships studies, will scant let me cease: And indeed I owe your Lordship even by promise (which you are pleased to remember, thereby doubly binding me) some trouble this way; I mean, by the commerce of *Philosophical* Experiments, which surely, of all other, is the most ingenuous Traffick: Therefore, for a beginning, let me tell your Lordship a pretty thing which I saw coming down the *Danube*, though more remarkable for the Application, than for the Theory. I lay a night at *Lintz*, the Metropolis of the higher *Austria*, but then in very low estate, having been newly taken by the Duke of *Bavaria*; who, *blandiente fortunâ*, was gone on to the late effects: There I found *Keplar*,  
a man



a Man Famous in the Sciences, as your Lordship knows, to whom I purpose to convey from hence one of your Books, that he may see we have some of our own that can Honor our King, as well as he hath done with his *Harmanica*. In this Mans study I was much taken with the draught of a Land-skip on a piece of Paper, methoughts Masterly done: whereof inquiring the Author, he bewrayed with a smile, it was himself; adding, he had done it, *Non tanquam Pictor, sed tanquam Mathematicus*. This set me on Fire: At last he told me how. He hath a little black Tent, (of what stuff is not much importing) which he can suddenly set up where he will in a Field, and it is convertible (like a Wind-mill) to all Quarters at Pleasure, capable of not much more than one Man, as I conceive, and perhaps at no great ease; exactly close and dark, save at one hole, about an Inch and a half in the *Diameter*, to which he applies a long perspective Tunk, with a Convex glass fitted to the said hole, and the concave taken out at the other end, which extendeth to about the middle of this erected Tent, through which the visible Radiations of all the Objects without, are intromitted, falling upon a Paper, which is accommodated to receive them, and so he traceth them with his Pen in their natural Appearance, turning his little Tent round by Degrees, till he hath designed the whole Aspect of the Field. This I have described to your Lordship, because I think there might be good use made of it for Chorography: for otherwise, to make Land-skips by it were illiberal; though surely no Painter can do them so precisely. Now from these Artificial and Natural Curiosities, let me a little direct your Lordship to the Contemplation of *Fortune*.

Here,



Here, by a sleight Battel full of Miserable Errors, ( if I had leisure to set them down ) all is reduced, or near the point. In the Province there is nothing but of Fluctuation and Submission, the ordinary Consequences of Victory; wherein the Triumphs of the Field do not so much Vex my Soul, as the Triumphs of the Pulpit : For what noise will now the Jesuite disseminate more in every corner, than *vixtrix Causa Deo placuit* ; which yet was but the Gospel of a Poet : No, my Lord, when I revolve what great things Zisca did in the first Troubles of his Countrey, that were grounded upon Conscience, I am tempted to believe the All distinguishing Eye hath been more displeased with some Human Affections in this Business, than with the Business it self.

I am now preparing my departing toward my other Imployment, for in my first Instructions I had a power to go hence, when this Controversie should be decided, either by treaty, or by Fortune; whereof now the worser means have perverted the better.

Here I leave the *French* Ambassadors upon the Stage, as I found them ; being willing ( *quod solum superest* ) to deal between the Emperor and *Berthelem Gabor*, with whom I have nothing to do as he is now singled.

Betwixt this and *Italy* I purpose to collect the memorablest Observations that I have taken of this great Affair, and to present a Copy thereof unto your Lordships Indulgence, not to your severe judgement.

The present I cannot end ( though I have too much usurped upon your precious time ) without the return of my humble thanks unto your Lordship,



ship, for the kind remembrance of my Cousin, Mr. *John Mearns*, in your Letter to me, and of your Recommendation of him before; being a Gentleman, in truth of sweet Conditions and strong Abilities: I shall now transport him over the Alpes, where we will both serve your Lordship, and love one another. And so beseeching God to bless your Lordship with long Life and Honor, I humbly rest,

*Your Lordship's.*

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*Right Honourable,*

**O**F my appearing to this State, and of my Reception here, I gave your Lordship notice by my former Letters.

The Counsels of this State I find to be calm; for the new Pope hath assured them, He will keep storms out of *Italy*.

True it is, that he hath bravely denyed already passage to the *Neapolitan Cavalry* and *Infantry*, through the Ecclesiastical State, though instantly pressed by the *Spanish* Ambassador; in which Humor, if he shall persevere without warping, we shall think him here a well-seasoned piece of Timber.

We here of an Ambassador from *Savoy* on his way to you; C. C. a plain Instrument from a subtile Prince, and therefore the more proper to deceive us, and to be first deceived himself. The Business I shall need not to tell you, nor indeed can I say much of the hope of it.

How



How we stand here, will appear by the two enclosed Copies.

—But for those things I shall give his Majesty continual Advertisement, as time shall change the prospect of this Theater, whereon I am placed.

So with all my duties remembred, as well those of Thankfulness, as those of Affection, I will subscribe my self, as truly I am,

*Your Lordship's, &c.*

### POSTSCRIPT.

This very Morning, which is the *Nuncio's* Ordinary day of Audience, He hath surprized the Duke and Senators with presentation of a Jubile unto them from his Master. Some discourse, that it is to gain Fame and Favour by an indulgent Beginning.

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To the Marquess of *Buckingham*.

*Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,*

I Know your Lordship cannot want Presents of the best kind from all Countreys, if you would be but pleased to bewray your Desire: For your Favour is worthy to be studied, both because



you are powerful, and because in the common Judgment (of which we hear the sound, that are far off) you imploy your power nobly.

For my part, though I am not able to reach unto any thing proportionable to your Dignity, nor even to mine own mind; yet I must not suffer *Venice* (where I have served the King so long) to be wholly disgraced. And therefore I have taken the boldness in a Ship newly departed from this Harbour, to send your Lordship two Boxes of poor things: which because they need a little explication, not so much for their value, as their use, I have desired Mr. *Nicholas Pey*, one of the Clerks of his Majesties Kitchen, who is my friend of trust at home in all my occasions, to acquaint your Lordship with a note of them, Wherein my end is plain, only to excite your Lordship with this little taste, to command me further in whatsoever may better please you. And so I most humbly commit you to Gods Blessed Love.

Venice this  
16th. of May,

Your Lordship's,  
with all Devotion,  
to serve you,  
H. W.

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To the Lord Keeper *Williams*  
(*ut videtur*) 162<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>.

*Right Reverend, and Right Honorable, my very good Lord,*

**H**AVING not yet passed with your good Lordship so much as the common duty of Congratulation, (to whom I am so obliged,  
both



both for your Love to my Dearest Nephew, and for your Gracious Remembrances of mine own poor Name ) I thought it even a particular Duty to my self, to acquaint your Lordship's Secretary, my Antient and Worthy Friend, with the Story of mine own Evils, that your Lordship may know my silence to have been, as I may well term it, a Symptom of my Infirmary.

I am now strong again to serve your Lordship, and I know that I have a Friend of Trust at home ( it is Honest *Nicholas Pey* that I mean ) who hath often leave, by your Favour to wait upon you. Therefore I could wish, if this place ( where I am grown almost a free Denison ) may yield any thing for your use or delight, that you would be pleased either to acquaint me by my said Friend plainly ( which shall be a new obligation ) with your Commands, or at least to let him mark your Desires. Now in the mean time, because I know that I can do your Lordship no greater Service, than to give you occasion of exercising your own goodness, I will take the Freedom most humbly and heartily to recommend unto your Charitable and Honourable Affections, a very worthy Person, whose Fortune is no better at the present, than to be my Chaplain ; though we are, or at least ought all to be the better by his vertuous example, and our time the better spent by his Learned conversation. I shall, I think, not need to Name him to your Lordship, and as little to insist either upon his Moral or intellectual Merit. Therefore I will so leave it, and commit him to your gracious Memory, upon some good occasion that God may lay before you. And now I would end, but that I conceive it a duty to tell your Lordship first, how



we stand here at this date. For Abassadors (in our old *Kentish* Language) are but Spies of the time.

We are studying how we may safely and cheaply countenance the new Motions of the *Garrisons*, with an Army on our own Borders pointing that way ; which even Reason of State requireth, when our Neighbours are stirring. And therefore yet the King of *Spain* can take no scandal at a common wisdom. If the Successes shall go forward according to the beginnings, Prosperity, peradventure, may invite us, further to the Feast. For my part, if they would have tasted my Counsels, they had been long since engaged, both within and without *Italy*. But I dig in a Rock of Diamonds. And so concluding with my hearty Congratulations for your Lordships Promotions, both Spiritual and Civil, and with my prayers for your long enjoyment of them, I will unfeignedly subscribe my self,

*Your good Lordship's*

*devote to serve you,*

H. W.

SIR,

**H**AVING not long written unto you, whose Friendship towards me hath given you a great interest in me ; I send you a Report of a late Transaction, even for a little entertainment.



ment, least you should think me to live without observation.

For that the Case of the late Cavalier *Antonio Foscarini* hath been diversly misreported, and perhaps not the least, even by those that were his Judges, to cover their own disgrace, I have thought a little curiosity not ill spent in research of the whole Proceeding, that his Majesty (to whom he was so well known) may have a more due information of this rare and unfortunate example. There is among the partitions of this Government a very awful Magistracy under Title of *Inquisitori di Stato*; to which are commonly deputed three Gentlemen of the gravest and severest natures, who receive all secret Delations in matter of practice against the Republick, and then refer the same, as they shall judge the consequence thereof, to the Decemviral Council, being the supreamest Tribunal in Criminal Enquires; of which Body they are usually themselves.

To these Inquisitors, about the beginning of *April* last, came two Fellows of mean condition, Born about the *Lago di Garda*, but Inhabitants in *Venice*, by name *Girolamo* and *Domenico Vani*; as some say, Uncle and Nephew; certainly near of kindred, which in this report is a weighty circumstance; for thereby they were the likelier to conspire, and consequently their united Testimonies of the less validity. These Persons capitulate with the inquisitors of that time (whose names may be civilly spared) about a reward (which is usual) for the discovery of some Gentlemen, which at undue times, and disguised Forms, did haunt the Houses of Foreign Ministers, and in particular, of the *Spanish* Agent: who being the most obnoxious to



Publick jealousie, these Accusers were likeliest upon that Subject to gain a favourable hearing. In the head of their secret List, they nominate *Antonio Foscarini*, then an actual Senator, and thereby upon pain of Death restrained from all conference in this ombragious State with publick Instruments, unless by special permission. To verifie their discovery, besides their own Testimonies, they alledge one *Giovan Battista*, who served the foresaid Spanish Agent, and had, as they said, acquainted them with the Accesses of such and such Gentlemen unto him. But first they wished; or so the Inquisitors thought fit, to proceed against *Foscarini*, upon this double attestation, without examining the foresaid *Giovan Battista*; because that would stir some noise, and then perhaps those other, whom they meant to delate, might take fear and escape: Hereupon *Foscarini*, coming from the next Senate at night down the Palace, was by order of the Inquisitors suddenly muffled, and so put in close Prison, and after usual Examinations, his own single denial being not receivable against two agreeing Informers, he was by Sentence at the Council of *Ten*, some fifteen days after his retention, strangled in Prison, and on the 21. of the foresaid *April*, was hanged by one Leg on a Gallows in the publick *Piazza*, from break of day till Sun-set, with all imaginable circumstances of Infamy: his very face having been bruised by dragging on the Ground, though some did conster that for a kind of favour, that he might be the less known.

After this the same Artificers pursue their occupation, now animated with success; and next they name *Marco Miani*. But one of the Inquisitors, either by Nature more advised than the rest;



or intenerated with that which was already done, would by no means proceed any farther, without a pre-examination of the foresaid *Giovan Battista*: Which now might the more conveniently, and the more silently be taken, because he had left the house of the *Spanish* Agent, and was married in the Town to a Gold-Smiths Daughter. To make short, they draw this man to a secret account; where he doth not only disavow the having ever seen any Gentleman in the *Spanish* Agents House, but likewise all such Interest as the Accusers did pretend to have in his acquaintance, having never spoken with any of them, but only three words by chance with the elder, namely *Girolamo*, upon the *Piazza di St. Stephano*. Hereupon the Inquisitors confronted him with the Accusers; they confess without any Torture their malicious Plot, and had Sentence to be hanged, as was afterwards done. But now the voice running of this detection, the Nephews of the Executed *Cavalier*, namely *Nicolo* and *Girolamo Foscarini*, make haste to present a Petition (in all opinion most equitable) to the Decemviral Tribunal, That the false Accusers of the abovesaid *Marco Micani*, might be re-examined likewise about their Uncle. The Counsel of *Ten*, upon this Petition, did assemble early in the morning, which had not been done in long time before; and there they put to voices, Whether the Nephews should be satisfied?

In the first *Ballotation*, the *Balls* were equal: in the second, there was one *Ball* more (as they say) in the negative *Box*: Either because the false Witnesses, being now Condemned men, were disabled by course of Law to give any farther Testimony, or for that the Counsel of *Ten* thought it Wisdom to smother an irre-



irrevocable error. The Petition being denied, no possible way remained for the Nephews to clear the defamation of their Uncle (which in the rigour of this Government, had been likewise a stop to their own Fortunes) but by means of Confessor, to whom the *Delinquents* should disburthen their souls before their death; and by him, at opportunity of the said Nephews, the matter was revealed: Whereupon did ensue a solemn Declaration of the Council of *Ten*, touching the Innocency of the foresaid *Anthony Foscari*, eight months and twenty five days after his death. Whether in this case there were any mixture of private passion, or that perhaps some light humours, to which the Party was subject, together with the taint of his former Imprisonment, might precipitate the credulity of the Judges, I dare not dispute: But surely in 312. years that the Decemviral Tribunal hath stood, there was never cast upon it a greater blemish; which being so high a Piece, and on the reputation of whose grave and indubitable proceedings the regiment of manners hath most depended, is likely to breed no good consequence upon the whole. Since the foresaid Declaration, the Nephews have removed the body of their Uncle from a place where condemned Persons are of custom interred, to the Monument of their *Ancestors* in another Temple, and would have given it a solemn Burial: But having been kept (though rather by dissuasion then prohibition) from increasing thereby the publick Scandal, they now determine to repair his fame with an Epitaph, the last of miserable remedies. It is said, that at the removing of his Body, his Heart was found whole: which kind of conceits are easily entertained in this Country, and  
scant



scant any notable case without some superstitious adjunct. It is said likewise, that by Testament he did appoint a great sum for him that should discover his Innocency: which receiving from credible Authors, I was willing not to omit; because it argueth, that notwithstanding some outward lightness, he was composed of generous Elements. Certain it is, that he left divers Legacies to the best Patriots, as now appeareth not artificially. But here I may breed a question, with which I will end this report: How a man in his case could dispose of his Fortune? I must answer, That in the composition of this State Confiscations are rare, be the Crime never so high, unless in case of interverting the publick Money; which the Delinquent is commonly Condemned to repair, not so much in the quality of a Traytor, as of a Debtor. Whereof searching the Reason, I find this to be the most immediate; That if in a Dominion meerly managed by their own Gentry, they should punish them as much in their means, as in their persons, it would in conclusion prove a punishment, not of particulars, but of the general: For it is a rule here, that the poorest Families are the loosest.

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## To the DUKE.

*My most honoured Lord and Patron,*

**T**Hese poor lines will be presented unto your Lordship by my Nephew (one of your obliged Servants) and withal some description, as I have prayed him, of my long infirmities, which have cast me behind in many private, and often inter-



interrupted even my publick Duties ; with which yet I do rather seek to excuse some other Defects of Service, than my silence towards your Lordship. For to importune your Lordship seldom with my Pen is a choice in me, and not a Disease, having resolved to live, at what distance soever from your sight, like one who had well studied before I came hither, how secure they are whom you once vouchsafe any part of your love.

And indeed, I am well confirmed therein by your own gracious Lines ; for thereby I see that your Lordship had me in your Meditation, when I scant remembered my self. In Answer of which Letter, after some respite from mine own Evils, I have deputed my said Nephew to re-deliver my Fortune into your Noble hands, and to assure your Lordship, that as it should be chearfully spent at your Command, if it were Present and Actual, (from whose Meditation I have derived it) so much more am I bound to yield up unto your Lordship an absolute Disposition of my Hopes : But if it shall please you therein to grant me any parr of mine own Humor, then I would rather with some other Satisfaction than Exchange of Office ; yet even in this point likewise I shall depend on your will, which your Lordship may indeed Challenge from me, not only by an humble Gratitude, and Reverence due to your most worthy Person ; but even by that natural Charity and Discretion which I owe my self : for what do I more therein, than only remit to your own Arbitrement the Valuation of your own goodness ? I have likewise committed to my foresaid Nephew some Memorials touching your Lordships Familiar Service (as I may term it) in matter of Art and Delight. But though I have laid these  
Offices



Offices upon another, yet I joy with mine own Pen to give your Lordship an account of a Gentleman, worthier of your Love, than I was of the Honor to receive him from you. We are now, after his well-spent Travels in the Towns of purer Language, married again till a Second Divorce; for which I shall be sorry, whensoever it shall happen. For in truth ( my good Lord ) his Conversation is both Delightful and Fruitful; and I dare pronounce, that he will return to his Friends as well fraught with the best Observations, as any that hath ever sifted this Country; which indeed doth need sifting, for there is both Flower and Bran in it. He hath divided his abode between *Siena* and *Rome*: the rest of his time was for the most part spent in Motion. I think his purpose be to take the *French* Tongue in his way homewards, but I am persuading with him to make *Bruxels* his Seat, both because the *French* and *Spanish* Languages are familiar there; whereof the one will be after *Italian* a sport unto him, so as he may make the other a Labor: And for that the said Town is now the Scene of an important Treaty, which I fear will last till he come thither; but far be from me all Ominous Conceit. I will end with chearful Thoughts and Wishes; beseeching the Almighty God to preserve your Lordship in Health, and to cure the Publick Diseases. And so I ever remain

Venice,  
July 29.  
1622.

Your Lordship's most devoted,  
and obliged Servant,

H. WOTTON.

To



## To the DUKE.

*My most honoured and dear Lord,*

**T**O give your Lordship occasion to exercise your noble Nature, is withal one of the best exercises of mine own duty; and therefore I am confident to pass a very Charitable motion through your Lordships hands and mediation to his Majesty.

There hath long lain in the Prison of Inquisition, a constant Worthy Gentleman, *viz.* Master *Mole*: in whom his Majesty hath not only a right as his Subject, but likewise a particular interest in the Cause of his first Imprisonment: For having communicated his Majesties immortal work, touching the Allegiance due unto Sovereign Princes, with a *Florentine* of his familiar acquaintance, this man took such impresson at some passages, as troubling his Conscience, he took occasion at the next shrift, to confer certain doubts with his Confessor; who out of malicious curiosity, enquiring all circumstances, gave afterwards notice thereof to *Rome*, whither the said *Mole* was gone with my Lord *Ross*; who in this story is not without blame: but I will not disquiet his Grave.

Now having lately heard that his Majesty, at the suit of I know not what Ambassadors, (but the *Florentine* amongst them is voiced for one) was pleased to yield some releasment to certain restrained Persons of the *Roman* Faith; I have taken a conceit upon it, that in exchange of his Clemency therein, the great Duke would be easily moved, by the Kings gracious request, to interceed with the Pope for Master *Mole's* delivery: To which purpose,



purpose, if it shall please His Majesty to grant His Royal Letters, I will see the Business duely pursued. And so needing no Arguments to commend this Proposition to His Majesties goodness, but his goodness it self, I leave it (as I began) in your Noble Hand. Now touching your Lordships familiar Service, (as I may term it) I have sent the Complement of your Bargain, upon the best provided, and best manned Ship that hath been here in long time, called the *Phoenix*. And indeed the cause of their long stay, hath been for some such Vessel as I might trust. About which, since I wrote last to your Lordship, I resolved to fall back to my first choice: so as now the one Piece is the Work of *Titian*, wherein the least Figure (*viz.* the Child in the Virgins lap playing with a Bird) is alone worth the price of your Expence for all four, being so round, that I know not whether I shall call it a Piece of *Sculpture*, or *Picture*: and so lively, that a Man would be tempted to doubt, whether Nature or Art had made it. The other is of *Palma*, and this I call the *speaking Piece*, as your Lordship will say it may well be termed; for except the Damsel brought to *David*, whom a silent Modesty did best become, all the other Figures are in Discourse and Action. They come both distended in their Frames: for I durst not hazard them in Rowls, the youngest being 25 years old, and therefore no longer supple and plyant. With them I have been bold to send a Dish of Grapes to your Noble Sister, the Countess of *Denbigh*, presenting them first to your Lordships view, that you may be pleased to pass your censure, whether *Italians* can make Fruits as well as *Flemings*, which is the common glory of their Pensils. By this Gentleman, I have sent the choicest



choicest *Melon* seeds of all kinds, which His Majesty doth expect, as I had Order both from my Lord of *Holderness*, and from Mr. *Secretary Calvert*. And although in my Letter to His Majesty (which I hope by your Lordships favor, himself shall have the Honor to deliver, together with the said Seeds) I have done him Right in his due Attributes; yet let me say of him farther, as *Architects* use to speak of a well chosen Foundation, that your Lordship may boldly build what Fortune you please upon him, for surely, he will bear it virtuously. I have committed to him for the last place, a private Memorial touching my self, wherein I shall humbly beg your Lordships Intercession upon a necessary Motive. And so with my heartiest Prayers to Heaven for your continual Health and Happiness, I most humbly rest,

Venice,

Dec.  $\frac{2}{12}$ .

1622.

Your Lordship's ever

obliged, devoted Servant,

H. W.

### POSTSCRIPT.

My Noble Lord, It is one of my Duties to tell your Lordship, that I have sent a Servant of mine (by Profession a Painter) to make a search in the best Towns through *Italy*, for some principal Pieces, which I hope may produce somewhat for your Lordships Contentment and Service.

To



To the Earl of *Holderness*, 162 $\frac{2}{3}$ .

*Right Honorable, and my very good Lord,*

**I**N a late Letter from your Lordship by my Servant, I have, besides your own Favours, the Honour of Imployment from the King, in a piece of his Delight : which doth so consort with the opportunity of my Charge here, that it hath given me acquaintance with some excellent *Florists*, (as they are styled ; ) and likewise with mine own disposition, who have ever thought the greatest pleasure to consist in the simplest Ornaments and Elegances of Nature ; as nothing could fall upon me more happily. Therefore your Lordship shall see how I will endeavour to satisfy this Command. I had before Order by Mr. Secretary *Calvert*, to send his Majesty some of the best *Melon* seeds of all kinds ; which I have done some Weeks since, by other occasion of an express Messenger ; and sent withal a very particular Instruction in the Culture of that Plant. By the present Bearer I do direct unto your Lordship, through the hands either of my Nephew, or Mr. *Nicholas Pey* ( as either of them shall be readiest at *London* ) for some beginning in this kind of Service, the Stem of a double Yellow Rose, of no Ordinary Nature ; For it flowereth every Month ( unless change of the Clime do change the property ) from *May*, till almost *Christmas*. There hath gone such care in the manner of the Conveyance, as if at the receiving, it be presently put into the Earth, I hope it will prosper.



ſper. By the next commodity I ſhall ſend his Ma-  
jeſty ſome of the rareſt Seeds.

Now for mine own Obligations unto your Lordſhip, (whereof I have from ſome Friends at home very abundant knowledge) What ſhall I ſay? It was in truth ( my Lord ) an argument of your noble Nature, to take my fortune into your Care, who never yet made it any great part of mine own buſineſs. I am a poor Student in *Philophy*, which hath redeemed me not only from the envying of others, but even from much ſolicitude about my ſelf. It is true, that my moſt Gracious Maſter hath put me into civil practice, and now after long Service, I grow into a little danger of wiſhing I were worth ſomewhat: But in this likewiſe I do quiet my thoughts: For I ſee by your Lordſhips ſo free, and ſo undeſerved eſtimation of me, that like the Cripple, who had lain long at the Pool of *Bethſda*, I ſhall find ſome body that will throw me into the Water when 'it moveth. I will end with my Humble and Hearty thanks for your Favour, and Love.

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## To the PRINCE.

*May it pleaſe Your Highneſs,*

**B**Eſide that which I have now represented unto your Highneſs, by my Letter to your worthy Secretary. I muſt humbly crave leave herein to be delivered of a boldneſs wherewith my Pen is in travel. I have



I have observed in your Highness, among other noble endowments of your Mind, a quick and delightful apprehension of the fundamedtal Causes of all Secrets, both Natural and Artificial, that have been brought to your View; which surely is the highest pleasure of a discursive Soul. Now of this part of your Highness's delectation, I am serious to take hold. For having been a long Lover of *Philosophy*, and from the contemplative Part, being slid into the practical; I shall hope for pardon, if I take so much Freedom from the ingenuity of mine own Nature, and Studies, as to entertain your Highness now and then, with some Experiments, especially such as do not end in wonder, but reach to publick Use: For meer Speculations have ever seemed to my conceit, as if Reason were given us like an half Moon in a Coat of Arms, only for a Logical Difference from inferiour Creatures, and not for any active power in it self. To begin therefore, by your Gracious Leave, this kind of Intelligence with your Highness; I have charged this Gentleman with the humble Presentation of a Secret unto you, not long since imparted to this State, and rewarded with a Pension to the Inventer, and to his Posterity; the scope being indeed of singular use, and at the first hearing, of as much admiration: namely, a way how to save Gunpowder from all mischance of Fire in their Magazines, to whom thy have been very obnoxious by a kind of fatality. The thing it self in a small Bulk, with the description thereof, according to mine own Trial and Observations, will be consigned to your Highness apart from this Letter.

And so having laid a beginning to these poor



Philosophical Services, with hope of encouragement therein by Your favourable acceptance, I will conclude with my humblest Prayers to the Sovereign Lord of all Nature, and Fountain of all Knowledge, to continue his Sweet and Dear Blessings upon Your Highness. To whom I remain, &c.

## To the DUKE.

*May it please your Grace,*

**H**AVING some days by sickness been deprived of the comfort of your sight, who did me so much Honor at my last access, I am bold to make these poor lines happier than my self: and withal, to represent unto your Grace (whose noble Patronage is my refuge, when I find any occasion to bewail mine own Fortune) a thing which seemed strange unto me. I am told (I know not how truly) that his Majesty hath already disposed the *Venetian* Ambassage to Sir *Isaac Weake*; from whose sufficiency if I should detract, it would be but an Argument of my own weakness.

But that which herein doth touch me, I am loth to say in point of Reputation, surely much in my livelihood (as Lawyers speak) is, that thereby, after seventeen years of Foreign and continual employment, either ordinary, or extraordinary, I am left utterly destitute of all possibility to subsist at home; much like those Seal-fishes, which sometimes (as they say) oversleeping themselves in an Ebbing-water, feel nothing about them but a dry shoar



shoar when they awake. Which comparifon I am fain to feek among thofe Creatures, not knowing among men, that have fo long ferved fo gracious a Mafter, any one to whom I may refemble my unfortunate barenefs. Good my Lord, as your Grace hath vouchsafed me fome part of your Love, fo make me worthy in this, of fome part of your compaffion, So I humbly reft,

*Your Graces, &c.*

H. WOTTON.

1626.

*My dear Nic. Pey.*

**T**His is the account of me fince you faw me laft.

My going to *Oxford* was not meerly for fhift of Air, otherwife I fhould approve your Counfel to prefer *Boughton* before any other part whatsoever; that Air beft agreeing with me, and being a kind of refolving me into my own beginnings; for there was I Born.

But I have a little Ambitious vanity ftirring in me, to Print a thing of my Composition there: which would elfe in *London* run through too much Noife before hand, by Reason of the Licences that muft be gotten, and an Eternal trick in thofe *City-Stationers*, to rumour what they have under Pref.



From Oxford I was wrapt by my Nephew, Sir *Edmund Bacon*, to *Redgrave*, and by himself, and by my sweet Niece detained ever since : (so I say,) for believe me, there is in their Conversations, and in the freedom of their Entertainment, a kind of delightful violence.

In our way hither we blanced *Pauls Perry*, though within three Miles of it, which we are not tender to confess, (being indeed our Manifest excuse;) for thereby it appears, the pains of the way did not keep us thence.

In truth, we thought it (coming immediately from an infected place) an hazardous incivility to put our selves upon them; for if any Sinister accident had fallen out about the same time (for Coincidents are not always Causes) we should have rued it for ever.

Here, when I had been almost a Fortnight in the midst of much Contentment, I received knowledge of Sir *Albertus Morton's* departure out of this World, who was dearer unto me than mine own being in it. What a wound it is to my Heart, you will easily believe: But his undisputable Will must be done, and unrepiningly received by his own Creatures, who is the Lord of all Nature, and of all Fortune, when he taketh now one, and then another, till the expected day wherein it shall please him to Dissolve the whole, and to wrap up even the Heaven it self as a Scroul of Parchment.

This is the last Philosophy that we must study upon the Earth; let us now, that yet remain, while our Glasses shall run by the dropping away of Friends, re-inforce our Love to one another; which of all Vertues, both Spiritual and Moral, hath the highest privilege, because Death it self shall  
not



not end it. And good *Nic.* exercise that love towards me, in letting me know, &c.

*Your ever poor Friend,*

H. WOTTON.

## To the KING, 1627.

*May it please Your Majesty,*

**T**HE Gracious Aspect which I have ever observed in Your Majesty towards me, doth bind me (though there were no other reason) next under God, to approve all my Actions to Your Judgement: Let me therefore most humbly make known unto Your Majesty, that it hath pleased the Fountain of all good thoughts to dispose my mind, by his secret Providence, to enter into the sacred Orders of his Church: having confirmed in me (for which his high Name be ever blessed) the Reverence and Love of his Truth, by a large Experience of the abuses thereof, in the very seat and sink of all corruption, *Rome* it self: to which my wandring curiosity carried me no less than for times in my younger years; where I fixed my Studies most upon the Historical Part, in the politick management of Religion, which I found plainly converted from a Rule of Conscience, to an Instrument of State; and from the Miltreis of



all Sciences, into a very hand-maid of Ambition. Neither do I repent me of bending my observation that way. For though the Truth perhaps may more compendiously appear *in ordine doctrinae*; yet never more fully, than when we search the Original veins thereof, the increase, the depravations, and decays, *in ordine temporum*.

This is the Point wherein I have travelled most, and wherein I will spend the remainder of my days; hoping that the All-sufficient God, will in the strength of his mercy enable my weakness, either by my Voice or Pen, to celebrate his Glory. Now though I was thus far confident in my self, (with all humility be it spoken) that neither my Life, nor my poor erudition, would yield much Scandal to others, and likewise might well have presumed, that this resolution could no ways offend Your Majesties Religious Heart; but might rather be secure in Your Favour and Encouragement; yet having been employed so many years abroad in Civil use, I thought it undutiful to change my calling, without the foreknowledge and approbation of my Dear Sovereign. This is the Humble Message of these few lines unto Your Majesty.

The Almighty, who hath indued Your Majesty with excellent Vertues, and so early taught You the rare Confort between Greatness and Goodness, long protect Your Royal Person and Estates under his singular Love.

*Your Majesties most faithful*

*and devoted Vassal,*

H. Wotton.

To



To my Dear *Dynely*.S. P. *ὦς ἡδύτα.**Pauca meo Gallo, sed quæ legat ipsa Licoris.*

**I**T were an injury to use a Cipher by a Friend so warmly and so justly commended hither by you: nay almost, to write a Letter; but that I am tender to trouble him and laid him with our privacies.

Of Himself first let me say thus much, that I think surely he is the fittest stranger that could have been chosen to overcome, among our Academicks, the envy of a stranger. For he hath a fair carriage, and very discreet temper, and by the prompt use of our Language is almost naturalized already: And I cast no doubt of the inward furniture, *per quel gusto saperito*, that we have taken in a short conversation with him: wherein, you that procured us the benefit of his Company, must answer for the poorness of his Entertainment.

Now, for my self, I have not yet entred into the first Order of the Church, by a strange accident: upon which their lies likewise some Civil note. The Bishop of *Lincolne* (sometimes Lord Keeper) is the Prelate from whom I resolved to take it: not for any personal respect; but because he is our Diocesan, and Visiter at this College, and to whom I acknowledge a kind of homage for the place I hold, which fell into his disposing formally by Lapse. This Bishop (you must know) on this very day seven-night came to *London* about  
ten



ten of the Clock in the Morning, to perform an Election of the Scholars at *Westminster* (whereof he is Dean) usual at this time of the year, as with us, In the Evening of that day, Sir *John Cooke*, Secretary, visits him, with Command from His Majesty to be presently gone. What Questions there upon passed between them upon such a surprise, I omit. *Basta.* He went away the next Morning at Eight of the Clock; and so I am put upon another means, which before my next unto you, will be done: For I abound in choice, but I am a little curious; and I will tell you hereafter the Reasons of my curiosity. You will note (as I touched before) upon this; That the Dukes power is great even in his absence, and that he hath in Court very vigilant Instruments both Spiritual and Temporal. I want time to explain my self; but it shall follow.

Of the present Voyage let me venture to say a little. I am afraid we shall unite all *France*, if it be thither; yet the provisions are fair, and the Duke resolved, and he is departed, with the Soldier, and from the Coast, as beloved a man, and with as many acclamations there, as imprecations within the Land: Such a floating thing is the *Vulgar*. Of this more at leisure.

From the College,  
this 10th. of *July*,  
1627.

*Tuus*

H. Wotton.

To



## To the KING.

*My Most Dear and Dread Sovereign,*

**A**S I gave Your Majesty foreknowledge of my intention to enter into the Church, and had Your Gracious Approvèment therein, so I hold it a second duty to Your Majesty, and satisfaction to my self, to inform you likewise by mine own hand, both how far I have proceeded, and upon what Motives; that in may appear unto your Majesty (as I hope it will) an Act of Conscience, and of Reason; and not of greediness and ambition. Your Majesty will be therefore pleased to know, that I have lately taken the degree of Deacon; and so far am I from aiming at any high flight, out of my former Sphere, that there I intend to rest. Perhaps I want not some perswaders, that measuring me by their affections, or by Your Majesties goodness, and not by mine own defects or ends, would make me think, that yet before I die, I might become a great Prelate. And I need no perswasion to tell me, that if I would undertake the Pastoral Function, I could peradventure by casualty, out of the Patronages belonging to Your Royal College, without further troubling of Your Majesty, cast some good Benefice upon my self, whereof we have one, if it were vacant, that is worth more than my Provostship. But as they were stricken with horror, who beheld the Majesty of the Lord descending upon the Mount *Sinai*; so, God knows, the nearer I

ap-



approach to contemplate his greatness, the more I tremble to assume any Cure of Souls even in the lowest degree, that were bought at so high a price : *Premant torcular qui vindemiarunt* : Let them press the Grapes, and fill the Vessels, and taste the Wine, that have gathered the Vintage. But shall I sit and do nothing in the Porch of Gods House, whereinto I am entred? God himself forbid, who was the Supream Mover. What Service then do I propound to the Church? Or what contentment to mine own mind? First, for the point of Conscience, I can now hold my place Canonically, which I held before but dispensatively, and withal I can exercise an Archidiaconal Authority annexed thereunto, though of small extent, and no benefit, yet sometimes of pious and necessary use. I comfort my self also with this Christian hope, That Gentlemen and Knights Sons, who are trained up with us in a Seminary of Church-men, (which was the will of the Holy Founder) will by my example, (without vanity be it spoken) not be ashamed, after the sight of Courtly Weeds, to put on a Surplice. Lasty, I consider, that this resolution which I have taken, is not unsuitable even to my civil Employments abroad, of which for the most part Religion was the Subject; nor to my observations, which have been spent that way in discovery of the *Roman* Arts and Practices, whereof I hope to yield the World some account, though rather by my Pen, than by my Voice. For though I must Humbly confess, that both my Conceptions and Expressions be weak, yet I do more trust my deliberation than my Memory: or if Your Majesty will give me leave to paint my self in higher Terms, I think, I shall be bolder against the Judgements,

than



than against the faces of men. This I conceive to be a piece of mine own Character; so as my private Study must be my Theater rather than a Pulpit; and my Books my Auditors, as they are all my Treasure. Howsoever, if I can produce nothing else for the use of Church and State, yet it shall be comfort enough to the little remnant of my life, to compose some Hymns unto his endless glory, who hath called me, (for which his Name be ever blessed) though late, to his Service, yet early to the knowledge of his truth, and sense of his mercy. To which ever commending Your Majesty, and Your Royal Actions, with most hearty and humble prayers, I rest,

*Your Majesties*

*most devoted*

*poor Servant.*

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To the KING, 1627.

*May it please Your most Gracious Majesty,*

**H**AVING been informed that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop of *Armagh*, been directed hither with a most humble Petition unto Your Majesty, that You will be pleased to make Mr. *William Bedel* (now



(now Resident upon a small Benefice in *Suffolk*) Governour of Your College at *Dublin*, for the good of that Society; And my self being required to render unto Your Majesty some testimony of the said *William Bedel*, (who was long my Chaplain at *Venice* in the time of my first Imployment) I am bound in all Conscience and Truth, (as far as Your Majesty will Vouchsafe to accept my poor Judgement) to affirm of him, that I think hardly a fitter Man for that Charge could have been propounded unto Your Majesty in Your whole Kingdom, for singular Erudition and Piety, Conformity to the Rites of Your Church, and zeal to advance the Cause of God, wherein his travels abroad were not obscure in the time of the Excommunication of the *Venetians*. For it may please Your Majesty to know, that this is the Man whom *Padre Paul* took, I may say, into his very Soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart, from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, both Scholastical and Positive, than from any that he had ever practised in his days; of which all the passages were well known unto the King Your Father of most blessed Memory. And so, with Your Majesties good Favour, I will end this needless Office: For the general fame both of his Learning, and Life, and Christian Temper, and those Religious Labours which Himself hath dedicated unto Your Majesty do better describe him.

Your Majesties  
most humble,  
and faithful Vassal,

H. Wotton.

To



## To the DUKE.

*My most Noble Lord,*

**W**Hen like that impotent Man in the Gospel, I had lain long by the Pools side, while many were healed, and none would throw me in; it pleased your Lordship first of all to pity my infirmities, and to put me into some hope of subsisting hereafter. Therefore I must humbly and justly acknowledge all my ability, and reputation from your Favour. You have given me encouragement, you have valued my poor endeavours with the King, you have redeemed me from ridiculousness, who had served so long without any mark of Favour. By which Arguments, being already and ever bound to be yours, till either Life or Honesty shall leave me, I am the bolder to beseech your Lordship to perfect your own work, and to draw his Majesty to some settling of those things that depend between Sir *Julius Cæsar* and me, in that reasonable form which I humbly present unto your Lordship by this my Nephew, likewise your obliged Servant, being my self, by a late indisposition, confined to my Chamber, but in all Estates such as I am,

*Your Lordship's,*

H. WOTTON

SIR,



SIR,

**I** Send you by this Bearer (to keep you in mirth) a piping Shepherd, done by Cavalier *Bassaw*, and so well as may merit some place in your Chamber, which I hear is the Center of good Musick; to which, out of my pieces at home, I have commanded *James* to add a *Messara*, playing upon a Timbrel, done by *Allessandro Padovano*, a rising *Titian* as we esteemed him.

Good Sir, let us know some true passages of the plight of the Court. I have laid about for some constant Intelligence from Foreign parts, being strangely relapsed into that humour in my old age. Shall I tell you why? In good faith, for no other use that I mean to make of news, but only that when God shall call me to a better, I may know in what state I leave this World.

*Your affectionate Friend to serve you,*

H. WOTTON.

---

To Mr. Nicholas Arnauld.

SIR,

**T**His young Gentleman, my very near Kinsman, having gotten enough of *Venetian Italian* to seek better; and being for that end directed by me to *Siena*, I will take the boldness to commend him to your disposing there, assuring my



my self, that you have gained much Friendship and power wheresoever you are, by that Impression which you have left in us here. And so, with those thanks which were long since due, for your kind Remembrance of me by a Letter from *Florence*, I commit you to Gods dear Blessings and Love, and I ever rest,

*Your very Affectionate*

From *Venice*.

*poor Friend to serve you,*

H. WOTTON.

## To the Lord Treasurer *Weston*.

*My most honoured good Lord,*

**I** Most humbly present (though by some infirmities a little too late) a strange *New-years-Gift* unto your Lordship, which I will presume to term the cheapest of all that you have received, and yet of the richest Materials. In short, it is only an Image of your Self, drawn by Memory from such Discourse as I have taken up here and there of your Lordship, among the most intelligent and unmalignant Men; which to pourtract before you I thought no servile Office, but ingenuous and real: and I could wish that it had come at the Day, that so your Lordship might have begun the *New Year*, somewhat like *Plato's* Definition of *Felicity*, with the Contemplation of your own *Idea*.

A a

They



They say, That in your Foreign *Employments* under King *James*, your Lordship won the Opinion of a very able and searching Judgement, having been the first discoverer of the Intentions against the *Palatinate*, which were then in Brewing, and masked with much Art. And that Sir *Edward Conway* got the start of you both in Title and Employment at home, because the late Duke of *Buckingham* wanted then for his own Ends a Martial Secretary. They say, That under our present Sovereign, you were chosen to the highest charge at the lowest of the State, when some instrument was requisite of undubitable integrity and provident moderation; which *Attributes* I have heard none deny you. They discourse thus of your Actions since, that though great *Exhaustions* cannot be cured with sudden Remedies, no more in a Kingdom then in a Natural Body, yet your Lordship hath well allayd those blustering clamors wherewith at your beginnings your House was in a manner dayly besieged. They note, that there have been many *Changes*, but that none hath brought to the *Place* a Judgement so cultivated and Illuminated with various *Erudition* as your Lordship, since the Lord *Burghly* under Queen *Elizabeth*, whom they make your Parallel in the Ornament of Knowledge.

They observe in your Lordship divers remarkable combination of *Vertues* and *Abilities*, rarely sociable. In the *Character* of your *Aspect*, a mixture of *Authority* and *Modesty*. In the Faculties of your *Mind*, quick *Apprehension* and *Solidity* together. In the style of your *Port* and *Train*, as much *Dignity*, and as great *Dependency* as was ever in any of your *Place*, and with little noise or outward fume. That your *Table* is very abundant, free and noble, with-



out Luxury. That you are by Nature no *Flatterer*, and yet of greatest power in *Court*. That you love *Magnificence* and *Frugality* both together. That you entertain your *Guests* and *Visitors* with Noble Courtesie, but void of Complement. Lastly, that you maintain a due regard to your *Person* and *Place*, and yet are an *Enemy* to frothy *Formalities*.

Now, in the Discharge of your *Function*, they speak of two things that have done you much Honour: namely, That you have had always a special care to the supply of the *Navy*: And likewise a more worthy and tender Respect towards the *King's* only *Sister*, for her continual support from hence, than she hath found before. They observe your greatness as firmly established as ever was any in the Love (and which is more) in the Estimation of a *King*, who hath so signaliz'd his own Constancy: Besides your Addition of *Strength* (or at least of *Lustre*) by the Noblest *Alliances* of the Land.

Among these Notes, it is no wonder if some observe, That between a good Willingness in your Affections to satisfy all, and an impossibility in the matter, and yet an importunity in the Persons, there doth now and then, I know not how, arise a little Impatience, which must needs fall upon your Lordship, unless you had been cut out of a Rock of *Diamonds*, especially having been before so Conversant with Liberal Studies, and with the Freedom of your own Mind.

Now after this short *Collection* touching your most Honoured Person, I beseech you give me leave to add likewise a little what Men say of the Writer. They say, I want not your gracious good Will towards me according to the Degree of my poor Talent and Travels, but that I am wanting to my



self: And in good faith (my Lord) in saying so, they say truly; for I am condemned, I know not how, by Nature, to a kind of unfortunate bashfulness in mine own Business, and it is now too late to put me in a new Furnace. Therefore it must be your Lordships proper Work, and not only your Noble, but even your Charitable goodness that must in some blessed hour remember me. God give your Lordship many healthful and joyful years, and the blessing of that Text; *Beatus qui attendit ad attenuatum.* And so I remain with an humble and willing Heart, &c.

## To the Queen of Bohemia.

July, 1636.

*Most resplendent Queen, even in the Darkness of Fortune.*

**T**Hat was wont to be my Style unto Your Majesty, which you see I have not forgotten. For though I have a great while forbore to trouble You with any of my poor Lines; yet the Memory of Your sweet and Royal Vertues, is the last thing that will die in me. In these Months of my silence, I have been busie (if any work of my Brains may be termed a Business) about certain Compositions of mine own, partly imposed, and partly voluntary: whereof some would fain be struggling into the Light; but I do check their forwardness, because I am afraid they will be born before their time: In the mean while, I have gotten a Subject worthy to exercise my Pen unto Your Majesty



Majesty, which is the *choice* of the New Lord Treasurer; upon which *Mar. 6. 1635.* place Your Majesty hath always some dependance in your Domestick Affairs. I believe your Majesty hath never personally seen him, therefore I will take the boldness to paint him before You; though I must speak, as yet, more out of the universal Opinion, than from my own Experience; for your Majesty knows my Nature, I am always one of the last Intruders. Now the best and the shortest draught that I can make of him, will be this; There is in him no Tumour, no sowness, no Distraction of Thoughts, but a quiet Mind, a patient Care, free Access, Mild and Moderate Answers.

To this I must add a solid Judgment, a sober Plainness, and a most indubitable Character of Fidelity in his very Face: so as there needs not much Study to think him both a good Man, and a wise Man. And accordingly is his Family composed; more Order than Noise, and his nearest Instruments carefully chosen, for he wanted no Offers: But above all, there is a blessed note upon him, that his Majesty hath committed his Moneys where he may trust his Conscience. Upon the whole matter, it is no Marvel that the Charge lay a full year under Commission:

For the King himself (as we hear) did openly profess, that he had spent the most of that time, not in deliberateing whom he might choose, but in wooing of him whom he had chosen, to undertake it: For 'tis a hard matter indeed (if so good a King had not been the Orator) to draw a man out of the settled repose of a learned Life, into such an Ocean of publick Solitude, able to swallow an ordinary



Spirit. But God, who hath raised him to it, hath made him fit for it.

This is all that I was in Travel to Advertise Your Majesty upon the present Occasion ; my next will be touching the two sweet Princes, Your Sons whose Fame I have only hitherto enjoyed in the common Voice ; having by some Weakness in my Legs, and other Symptoms of Age, and by mine own retired Studies, been confined to privacy : But I hope to make known unto Them, how much I Reverence my Royal Mistress, their Mother, and the Images of her Goodness, at the solemn Meeting the next Month in Oxford : For an Academy will be the best Court for my Humor. And so I humbly rest,

*Your Majesty's ever faithful,*

*ever devoted poor Servant,*

H. W.

## To the Lord Treasurer Juxon.

*May it please your good Lordship,*

**I** Was in hope long since to have waited on your Lordship with an account, I dare not say of any Fruit, yet at least of some use of my private time : But through certain fastidious Fumes from my Spleen ( though of late I thank God well  
allay-



allayed) I have been kept in such Jealousie of mine own Conceptions, that some things under my Pen have been born very slowly. In the mean while, remembring an Old Pamphlet of mine, of the *Elements of Architecture*, which I cannot in any Modesty suppose that your Lordship had ever seen, though it hath found some Vulgar Favour among those whom they call gentle Readers, I have gotten such a Copy as did remain to present unto your Lordship: And because my Fortunes were never able to erect any thing answerable to my Speculations in that Art, I have newly made, at least an essay of my Invention, at least in the Structure of a little poor Standish, of so Contemptible Value, as I dare offer it to your Lordship without Offence of your Integrity. If I could have built some Rural Retreat worthy of your Reception, according to the six Precepts of my Master *Vitruvius*, I would have invited and entertained your Lordship therein, how homely soever, yet as heartily as you were ever welcomed to any place in this World; and I would then have gloried to have under my Roof as worthy a Counsellor and Treasurer as ever served the best of Kings: But as I am, I can say no more for your Lordships gracious Respects and Goodness towards me, than that I live in a Tormenting desire, some way to celebrate the Honour of your Name, and to be known

*Your most humble, professed,*

*and obliged Servant,*

H. WOTTON.



## To the KING, 1637.

*May it please my most Gracious Sovereign,*

**I**F I were not more afraid to break the Laws of that humble Modesty, which becometh the meanness of my desert, than I am to exceed the bounds of Your Majesties Royal Goodness: I should be a poor Suppliant unto Your Majesty to confer upon me the Mastership of the *Savoy*, in case *Dr. Belcanquel* (my good Friend) shall (as the voice goeth) be removed to the Deanry of *Durham*; wherein the Remove and the Substitution are but one stroke of your Benignity.

God knows, and the value of the thing it self may speak as much, that I do not aim therein at any utility: Only, it may be some ease of Expence, and Commodity of Lodging, when I shall come (as I am afraid shortly) to oversee certain poor things of mine own at *Pres*; wherewith yet I hope Your Majesty, whose Honour only I Study will not be displeased. I have further considered with my self, that the said place is not incompatible with that which I now hold by your Majesties Intercession with Your ever blessed Father, as it may please you to remember, though you forget nothing so easily as your own Bounties; which place here never before subsisting in the Memory of Man, without some Addition, I have now near fourteen years sustained in that Integrity as I found it, and with as good Scholars sent annually to Your Royal College at *Cambridge*, of my particular



lar Choice, as have gone thither since the Foundation; whereof I could shew your Majesty a published Testimony out of that University, in Dr. Winterton's Dedication of *Dionysius de situ orbis*, unto me; if it were not a miserable thing for me to make up so slight a merit even with a Vanity. Besides this, I most humbly confess, that though my Fortunes are poor, and my Studies private, yet I cannot deny certain Sparkles of Honest Ambition, remaining in me, whereby I desire the World should know, that my most Vertuous, and most Dear and Royal Master hath not utterly forgotten me. And so I most humbly rest,

*Your Majesties most humble,*

*faithful, hearty Subject*

*and Servant,*

H. W.

## To the ArchBishop,

*May it please your Grace,*

**E**Mboldened by your Favor, I humbly present herewith to your Grace, and through your only hands (which in our lower Sphere, is *via lactea*) my Letter to his Majesty and the Copy thereof. If it shall pass the file of  
your



your Judgment, my poor Lines will have Honour enough; but if they take Effect by the Virtue of your Meditation, I shall be sorry that I cannot be more,

*Your Grace's than I am,*

*and will ever be,*

H. W.

## To Mr. MILTON.

SIR,

**I**T was a special Favour, when you lately bestowed upon me here the first taste of your acquaintance, though no longer than to make me know that I wanted more time to value it, and to enjoy it rightly; and in truth, if I could then have imagined your farther stay in these parts, which I understood afterward by Mr. H. I would have been bold, in our Vulgar Phrase, to mend my draught, (for you left me with an extream Thirst,) and to have begged your Conversation again joyntly with your said Learned Friend, at a poor meal or two, that we might have banded together some good Authors of the Ancient time: Among which I observed you to have been familiar.

Since your going, you have charged me with new Obligations, both for a very kind Letter from you, dated the Sixth of this Month, and for a dainty piece of Entertainment that came therewith.

Where-



Wherein I should much commend the Tragical part, if the Lyrical did not Ravish me with a certain *Dorrique* Delicacy in your Songs and Odes; whereunto I must plainly confess to have seen yet nothing parallel in our Language, *Ipsa Mollities*. But I must not omit to tell you, that I now only owe you thanks for intimating unto me (how modestly soever) the true Artificer. For the Work it self I had viewed some good while before with singular Delight, having received it from our common Friend Mr. R. in the very close of the late R's *Poems* Printed at *Oxford*; whereunto is added (as I now suppose) that the Accessary might help out the Principal, according to the Art of Stationers, and to leave the Reader *Con la bocca dolce*.

Now Sir, concerning your Travels, wherein I may Challenge a little more Privilege of Discourse with you. I suppose you will not blanch *Paris* in your way; therefore I have been bold to Trouble you with a few Lines to Mr. M. B. whom you shall easily find attending the Young Lord S. as his Governor, and you may surely receive from him good Directions for the shaping of your farther Journey into *Italy*, where he did reside by my choice some time for the King, after mine own Recess from *Venice*.

I should think that your best Line will be thorough the whole length of *France* to *Marseilles*, and thence by Sea to *Genoa*, whence the Passage into *Tuscany* is as Diurnal as a *Gravesend* Barge. I hasten, as you do to *Florence*, or *Sienna*, the rather to, tell you a short Story from the Interest you have given me in your Safety.

At *Sienna* I was tabled in the House of one *Alberto Scipioni*, an Old Roman Courtier in dangerous times,



times, having been Steward to the *Duca di Pagliano*, who with all his Family were strangled, save this only Man that escaped by fore sight of the Tempest; with him I had often much chat of those Affairs; into which he took Pleasure to look back from his Native Harbour, and at my departure toward *Rome* (which had been the Center of his Experience) I had won Confidence enough to beg his advice, how I might carry my self securely there, without Offence of others, or of mine own Conscience. *Signor Arrigo mio* (says he) *I Pensieri stretti, & il viso sciolto*: That is, *Your thoughts close, and your Countenance loose*, will go safely over the whole World. Of which *Delphian Oracle* (for so I have found it) your judgment doth need no Commentary; and therefore, Sir, I will commit you with it to the best of all securities, Gods dear love, remaining

*Your Friend as much at Command,  
as any of longer date,*

H. Wotton.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Sir, I have expressly sent this my Foot-Boy to prevent your Departure, without some acknowledgment from me of the receipt of your obliging Letter, having my self through some Business, I know not how, neglected the ordinary Conveyance. In any part where I shall understand you fixed, I shall be glad, and diligent to entertain you with Home Novelties; even for some Fomentation of our Friendship, too soon interrupted in the Cradle.

*Right*



*Right Honorable,*

**M**After *Nicholas Pey* (through whose hands all my businesses did pass both in my former employments here and now) hath betray'd your Honor unto me in some things that you would desire out of this Country, which if he had not done, he had betray'd me: For I have long wished nothing more than some occasion to serve you; and though this be a kind of intrusion, to insert my self in this manner into your desires; yet I hope it will please you to excuse it, because I do it not only with willingness, but in truth with pleasure: for it falleth out, that I have a little skill, or at least an interest of Affection in the things that you wish from hence, and therefore even mine own Nature doth lead me to serve you, besides my duty. I have begun with a very poor Present of Strings for your Musick, whereof I will provide hereafter better store, and if it be possible, of better quality: by the first Ship your Honor shall receive some Lutes of *Sconvels* and *Mango*, and withal a Chest of Glasse of mine own chusing at *Murano*, wherein I do somewhat pretend; and those Artificers are well acquainted with me. Thus much in private: For the Publick, I have made by this Bearer a Dispatch unto the whole Body of His Majesties most Honorable Council, wherein your worthy Person is comprehended; and therefore, I hope, that writing twice to your Honor now at once, it may serve (by your favour) for some Redemption of my former silence. The Subject of my Dispatch is as high as ever besel any Foreign Minister; wherein, though mine own Conscience



( I thank God ) doth set me at rest, yet I shall be glad of your Honorable Approbation, if it will please you to afford it me: And so I humbly commit your Honor to Gods blessed Love, remaining,

*At your Commandment.*

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*Much Honoured Sir,*

**S**INCE I had the Favour and the Delight of any Letters from you, you have had the Trouble of two or three from me, besides the present, which I hope will find you, according to my continual Wishes, in perfect Health, though you live in a *Theater* of Tragical Actions this year. I am here newly delivered of one of the most fastidious pieces of my life, as I account, for my part, the Week of our Annual Election of Scholars, both into this Seminary, and out of it for *Kings College* in *Cambridge*; whereunto hath been a Marvellous Concourse, and much Distraction in our Votes through Letters from Court. Pardon me, Sir, a Question by the way, Have you no Child of your own, or at least of some of your Friends, whom you could wish trained in this Course? I would fain beg some Employment from you, which makes me offer you this, or any other of those poor Services which lie within my Circumference, as this Bearer hath particular Charge from me. This is that *Nicholas Oudart*, for whom you did a great Favour in procuring the Cardinal *Infanta's* Letters to *Mechelen* in his behalf: which took so good Effect, as he is now personally flown over to consummate that Business, having Information from his Cor-  
re-



respondents there, that it is ripened for him. He hath served me from a little Page, and of late years hath managed the chief part of my Domestick Affairs; so as if it were not for his own urgent Occasion, I could hardly miss him that short time within which I expect his return. You will find him, I hope, worthy of your Love, I am sure of your Trust. His Profession is *Physick*, towards which he is very well grounded in the learned Languages: But his Scope now his Business, not Knowledge. If there shall by chance remain any thing to be added unto your former Honorable Courtesie, for the Expedition of his Cause and Return, you have given us both good Cause to be Confident both in your Power and Friendship: And so, Sir, leaving him in your loving Arms, I rest for ever,

*Your obliged and faithful* ]

*Friend to serve you,*

H. WOTTON

To the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury

July 30 1637.

*May it please your Grace,*

**W**E very humbly acknowledge, that your Grace hath made us Confident in your Favour, both by your former Letters, (which are the true Images of your Mind) and by that report which Mr. *Weaver*, and Mr. *Harrison*, brought us from your most Reverenced Person: yet,



yet, till after the Term, when we might suppose your Grace somewhat freer than before (though ever environed with more Honor then Ease) we were tender to trouble you with any prosecution, on our parts, of your good Intents towards this Collegiate Body, about the yet unperfected, though well imprinted Business of *New-Winfor*. But now, after due Remembrance of our humble Devotions, I am bold to signifie unto your Grace in mine own, and in the name of the rest, that having (according to the fair Liberty which you were pleased to yield us) consulted with our Council at Law, about some convenient form for the settling of that which his Majesty hath already granted by your Grace's Intercession, we find the King can no way be bound but by his own goodness, neither can we wish his Majesty in better or in safer Bonds: therefore we hope to propound an Expedient, which to my understanding, will (as *Astronomers* use to say) save all appearances, Namely, &c.

Master *Cleavers* Election shall be the more Honoured, by being a single example; in whose Person we are sorry for nothing, but that he needs not thank us for his choice. And so doubting as little of your Grace's Favour, as we do of your Power, in the consummating of our Humble, and as we hope they will appear, of our moderate desires, I ever with most hearty zeal remain

From the  
College  
this 30.  
of July,  
1637.

*At all your Grace's Commmands,*

H. WOTTON.

*Right*



*Right Honourable and our very good Lord, the Lord  
Keeper,*

**I**T is so open and so general for any that flie unto your Lordships Tribunal, to receive there a fair and equitable Measure, as it hath ( we know not how ) wrought in us a kind of unnatural effect : For, thereby we have been made the slower to render your Lordship our most humble thanks in our own proper Case, because we knew not how to single it from the common Benefit which all find in your goodness: But we can now forbear no longer to joyn among our selves, and with the universal voice, in a blessing upon your Name.

And as we bring a true and humble acknowledgment in our particular, that this *College* is bound to celebrate your Honor for that Charitable Injunction wherewith you have sustained a great and important Portion of the livelihood of so many young Plants of good Literature, till a further Discussion of your Right: so likewise we most humbly beseech your good Lordship in the Sincerity of our own desires of quietness, and in the confidence of our cause, that you will be pleased to entertain with favor a Petition which our Councel will present unto your Lordship, for some Day of hearing that shall best sort with your great Affairs. And so with all our joyned and hearty Prayers, both of Young and Old, for your long Preservation, We rest,

*Your most humble and devoted Servants.*



*My most Honored Lady,*

**Y**Our young Kinsman shall be welcome hither at your pleasure, and there shall want no respects on my part to make the place both fruitful and chearful unto him.

Touching the other part of your last; wherein I am so much obliged by your confidence, which in truth, is the greatest of Obligations, let me assure your Ladyship, by all the protestations of a Christian man, that I never heard before the least whispering of that whereof you write concerning my Niece: Neither, in good faith, did I know so much as that there was a Lord T. Your Ladyship sees in what darkness, or with what incuriosity I live.

I shall, ere it be long, be my self in *Kent* among my Friends; but I will write more speedily, according to your command.

In the mean while (if I may be pardoned so much boldness) I could wish your Ladyship would take some hold of one well known in Court on both sides, namely Master *Nicholas Pey*: He is a right honest and discreet Man in himself, and of great trust with my Lady T. the Grand-mother, under whom my Niece was bred, and likewise with her Father and Mother; and I am not tender that your Ladyship should tell him, you have understood so much from me, if it please you to send for him. And so I most humbly rest

*Your Ladyship's with all Devotion to serve you,*

H. WOTTON.

To



## To Sir Richard Baker Knight.

SIR,

**I** Conceive that you have been pleased, out of our Ancient Friendship, (which was first, and is ever best elemented in an *Academy*) and not out of any valuation of my poor Judgement, to communicate with me your Divine Meditations on the Lords Prayer, in some several sheets, which have given me a true taste of the whole; wherein I must needs observe, and much admire the very Character of your Style, which seemeth unto me to have not a little of the *African Idea* of Saint *Augustine's* Age, full of sweet Raptures, and of researching Conceits; nothing borrowed, nothing vulgar, and yet all flowing from you (I know not how) with a certain equal facility: So as I see your Worldly Troubles have been but Pressing-Irons to your Heavenly cogitations.

Good Sir, let not any modesty of your Nature, let not any obscurity of your Fortune smother such an excellent employment of your Erudition and Zeal: for it is a work of Light, and not of Darkness. And thus wishing you long health, that can use it so well, I remain

*Your poor Friend*

*to love and serve you,*

H. WOTTON.



## To His Sacred Majesty.

**I** Do humbly resume the ancient manner, which was *adire Cæsarem per Libellum*: with Confidence in the Cause, and in Your Majesties Gracious Equity, though not in mine own Merit.

During my late Imployment, Sir *E. P.* then Master of the Rolls died. By his death Sir *Julius Cæsar* claimed not only the Succession of that place, but the Gift of all the Clerkships of the Chancery, that should fall void in his own time.

Of these Clerkships Your Majesty had formerly granted two Reversions: The one to the late Lord *Bruce*; for which Mr. *Bond*, Secretary to my Lord Chancellor, had contracted with him. The Second to me. The said *Bond* got his Grant through the Favor of his Master to be confirmed by Sir *Julius Cæsar* before his entrance into the Rolls: but through my Absence in Your Majesties Service, and want of pressing it in the due Season, my Grant remained unconfirmed, though Your Majesty was pleased to write Your Gracious Letter in my behalf. Which maketh me much bewail mine own Case, that my Deserts were so poor, as Your Royal Meditation was of less value for me, than my Lord Chancellors for his Servant. The Premisses considered, my humble Sute unto your Majesty is this: That Sir *Julius Cæsar* may be drawn by Your Supream Authority, to confirm unto me my Reversion of the Second Clerkship, whereof I have a Patent under your great Seal. Wherein I have  
just



just confidence in Your Majesties Grace, - since  
Your very Laws do restore them that have been any  
ways prejudiced *in Servizio Regis.*

*Your Majesties*

*long devoted*

*poor Servant,*

H. WOTTON.

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SIR,

**B**Efides the Address of my publick Duties unto  
your hands, I have long owed you these  
private lines, full of thanks from my heart  
for your favour and affection in all my occasions at  
home, and particularly in the Point of my Privy-  
Seal, about my *German* Accounts: wherein (as I  
am abundantly informed, both by my Nephew, and  
by Mr. *Nicholas Pey*, whom I repute my best Ora-  
cles in the Information of mine own Obligations)  
it pleased you to stand by me, not only *Da vero*  
*Amico*, but indeed, *Da vero Carvagliere*: From  
which, though the benefit which did remain in my  
purse, after the casting up, of what was lost, was  
(as God knows) so little, that I may justly build  
some hope of your further Charity in the Authori-  
sing of such Demands as I now send: yet on the  
other side, I must confess, that without your for-



mer so friendly, and so noble compassion, I had received a most irrecoverable ruine and shame, beyond all example, and my case would have been very strange; for I should have been undone by the Kings goodnes, upon assurance whereof (though almost forgotten) I had increased my Train. Now Sir, this acknowledgement of your singular Love, I was never more fit to pay you than at the present, being intenerated in all my inward feelings and affections by new sickness, which with loss of much Blood, even no less than twenty ounces within these fourteen days, hath brought me low. In which time (if God had called me from the Travels of this Earth) I had left you, out of my narrow fortune, some poor remembrance of my thankfulness: which I have now (finding my self by Gods pleasure in a good way of recovery) transmitted to my above-said Friend Mr. *Pey*. Before I end, I must not forget to ease your Honor of such thanks as in your Letters you have been pleased to bestow on me, in respect of your Kinsman Mr. *B.* because his being with me, I do very rightly reckon among my bands to your self: for in good faith, his integrity and discretion doth sustain my House; besides his fellowship in certain Studies, wherein we aim at no small things, even perchance at a new *Systeme* of the World: at least, since we cannot in the Practical and Moral, I would we could mend it in the Speculative Part. But lest these private Contemplations (on which I am fallen) transport me too far, I will conclude as I began, with humble thanks for all your Favours; and with commending your Honored Person to the Author of all Blessing; remaining ever, &c.

Most



*Most Dear Lord,*

**W**HILE I had your Lordship ( as I am always bound ) in my Meditation , and somewhat under my Pen, ( wherewith I hope in due time to expresse how much I Honor your Noble Vertues ) I am ( as if I had not been overladen before ) surprized with a new Favor ( for that is the true Title of your Commands ) touching a fine Boy of this College, whom I perceive by your Letters of the Thirtieth of the last Month to pertain to your Care. *Quid multa ?* It shall be done : Only in one thing I must crave Pardon, to pass a little gentle Expostulation with your Lordship. You are pleased in your Letter to except my Inconveniencies, as if in the Nobleness of your Nature ( notwithstanding your desire ) you would yet allow me here a liberty of mine own Judgment, or Affection. No, my Good Lord, That Privilege comes too late, even for your self to give me, when I once understand your mind. For let me assure your Lordship, that I have such a Conscience, and real feeling of my deep Obligations towards your Noble Person, as no value nor respect under Heaven can purchase my voice from him, on whom you have bestowed it. It is true, that the King himself, and no longer than three or four days before the date of your Letters ( so nimble are the times ) did write for another ; but we shall satisfy his Majesty with a pre-election, and yours shall have my first Nomination ; which, howsoever, will fall timely enough for him within the year. For there belongs ( after they are chosen ) a little soaking, as well as a



baking before, into our Boys. And so not to insist any longer upon such a poor obedience, I humbly lay my self, and whatsoever is, or shall be within my power, at your Lordships feet, remaining,

*Your Lordship's in the truest,  
and heartiest Devotions.*

Worthy Sir,

**A**LL health to your self, and to yours both at home and abroad. Sorry I was not to be at Eton when Mr. B. your Nephew, and my Friend came thither to visit me, being then in procinct of his Travels: But I had some good while before, at another kind visitation, together with your Sons and Mr. S. giving him a Catholick Rule which was given me long since by an old Roman Courtier, with whom I tabled in Siena, and whose Counsels I begged for the Government of my self at my departure from him towards the foresaid Court, where he had been so well versed. Signor Arrigo (says he) There is one short remembrance will carry you safe through the whole World. I was glad to hear such a preservative contracted into so little room, and so besought him to honor me with it. Nothing but this (saith he) Gli Pensiere stretti, & il viso sciolto: That is, as I use to translate it, Your Thoughts close, and your Countenance loose. This was that Moral Antidote which I imparted to Mr. B. and his Fellow-Travellers, when they were last with me, having a particular Interest in their well-doings, both as they are yours, and as they have had some training under my poor Regiment: To which ties of Friendship you have added a third, that they are now of the College of Travellers, wherein if  
the



*the Fruit of the time I have spent, were answerable to the length, I might run for a Deacon at least.*

*If I had not been absent when Mr. B. came last, I would have said much more in private between us ; which shall be supplied by Letter, if I may receive a safe form of address from you. I continue mainly in the same opinion which I touched unto them, That after their imprisoning in France, I could wish them to mount the Pirenies into Spain. In that Court (as I hear) you have an assured Friend ; And there they may consolidate the French vivacity with a certain Sosiego (as they call it) till they shall afterwards pass from Barcelona over to Italy, where lies the true mean between the other two humours. You see (Sir) by this discourse, that I am in mine own Country at leisure ; I pray pardon it, whatsoever it be, because it proceedeth from hearty good will : And so I rest,*

At your Commands,

H. W.

*Sir, My Servant the Bearer hath somewhat to say unto you about a piece of Painting, which I would fain send to your House in the Countrey, covered till it come thither, because it is soberly naked, and ready to be set up, being in a gilded Frame already.*

1633.

Right Honorable,

**I** Received such a Letter from you touching my poor Pamphlet of *Architecture*, which I yet preserve among my preciousst Papers, as I have made it a Resolution to put nothing forth under my Name, without sending one of the first Copies unto your indulgent hands.

There



There is born a small welcome to the King from *Scotland* (whom I have not yet seen since his Return) I know not how, out of a little indignation. They have sent us over from *Leiden*, from *France*, from *Po-lonia*, &c. a tempest of *Panegyricks*, and *Lauda-tives* of their Princes; whereupon I debated with my self; What? Have we not as good a *Theme* and *Theater* as they? Or do we want *Sence*, or *Zeal* to express our Happiness? This stirred my very Bowels, and within a while my Pen, such as it is. I confess the Subject is so high, as I fear may condemn my Obscurity to have undertaken it; but withal so true, as I hope will not mis-become mine ingenuity. Howsoever, I submit it to your Judgement: and if in Charity you shall be pleased to like any thing in it, I humbly beseech you that you would be pleased to take some occasion of speaking favourably of it to the King himself; for though I aim at nothing by it, save the very doing of it, yet I should be glad to have it impressed by better judgements than my own; And so I must humbly rest,

At, &c.

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## To Dr. CASTLE.

Worthy Sir,

**T**ill the receipt of your last, and the like from others of both Universities; and one from *Bruxels*, *Ejusdem Argumenti*; I thought,



thought, in good faith, that as I have lived ( I thank God) with little Ambition ; so I could have died with as much silence as any man in *England*. But now I see that the most unvaluable things may serve to make a noise.

And I have now no more to say, but that while the foresaid report shall be false ; the under-writer is

*Truly Yours,*

H. Wotton.

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*My dear Nic.*

**M**ORE than a voluntary motion doth now carry me towards *Suffolk*, especially that I may confer by the way with an excellent Physician at *B.* whom I brought my self from *Venice*, where ( as either I suppose or surmise) I first contracted my infirmity of the Spleen, to which the very Seat is generally inclined, and therefore their Physicians (who commonly study the inclinations of places) are the likeliest to understand the best Remedies.

I hope to be back by ————

It wrinkles my face to tell you, that my ————  
 ———— will cost me 500*l.* that done, my thoughts are at rest, and over my Study door you shall find written, *INVIDIÆ REMEDIUM*. Let me end in that word, and ever rest,

*Your heartiest poor Friend,*

H. WOTTON.

*Post-*



## P O S T S C R I P T.

**I** Forbear to write further, having a world of Discourse to unload unto you; like those that weed not a Garden till it be grown a Wood.

To I<sup>r</sup>. Wa.

*In answer of a Letter requesting him to perform his promise of Writing the Life of Dr. Donne.*

*My worthy Friend,*

**I** Am not able to yield any reason, no, not so much as may satisfy my self, why a most ingenuous Letter of yours hath lain so long by me (as it were in Lavender) without an Answer, save this only, The pleasure I have taken in your Style and Conceptions, together with a Meditation of the Subject you propound, may seem to have cast me into a gentle slumber. But being now awaked, I do herein return you most hearty thanks for the kind prosecution of your 1<sup>st</sup>. motion, touching a just Office, due to the memory of our ever memorable Friend: To whose good fame, though it be needless to add any thing, (and my age considered, almost hopeless from my Pen;) yet I will endeavour to perform my promise, if it were but even for this cause, that in saying somewhat of the Life of so deserving a man, I may perchance over-live mine own.

That which you add of Doctor King, (now made Dean of Rochester, and by that translated into my native soil) is a great spur unto me: with whom I hope shortly to confer about it in my passage towards Boughton Malherb, which was my genial Air) and invite him to a friendship with that Family  
where



where his Predecessor was familiarly acquainted. I shall write to you at large by the next Messenger, (being at present a little in Business) and then I shall set down certain general Heads, wherein I desire Information by your loving Diligence; hoping shortly to enjoy your own ever welcome Company in this approaching time of the *Fly* and the *Cork*. And so I rest

*Your very hearty poor Friend to serve you,*  
H. WOTTON.

## To the same.

*My Worthy Friend,*

**S**ince I last saw you, I have been confined to my Chamber by a *quotidian* Fever, I thank God, of more contumacy than malignity. It had once left me, as I thought; but it was only to fetch more company, returning with a surcrew of those splenetick Vapours that are called *Hypochondriacal*; of which most say, the Cure is good Company; and I desire no better Physician than your self. I have in one of those fits endeavoured to make it more easie by composing a short *Hymn*; and since I have apparelled my best Thoughts so lightly as in Verse, I hope I shall be pardoned, a second vanity, if I communicate it with such a Friend as your self: to whom I wish a chearful Spirit, and a thankful heart to value it, as one of the greatest Blessings of our good God; in whose dear love I leave you, remaining

*Your poor Friend to serve you,*  
H. WOTTON.



## *A Hymn to my God in a Night of my late Sickness.*

**O** *H thou great Power!* in whom I move,  
For whom I *Live*, to whom I *Die*,  
Behold me through thy beams of *Love*,  
Whilst on this *Couch* of *Tears* I lie;  
And cleanse my *fordid Soul* within,  
By thy *Christs Blood*, the *Bath* of Sin.

No hallowed Oyls, no grains I need,  
No Rags of Saints, no purging Fire,  
One Rosie drop from *David's Seed*,  
Was Worlds of Seas to quench thine Ire.  
O precious Ransome! which once paid,  
That *Consummatum est* was said.

And said by him, that said no more,  
But seal'd it with his Sacred Breath,  
Thou then that hast dispons'd my Score,  
And dying wast the Death of Death,  
Be to me now, on Thee I call,  
My Life, my Strength, my Joy, my All.

H. WOTTON.

## To Doctor C.

*Worthy Sir,*

**I** Cannot (according to the *Italian* phrase, at which I have been often ready to laugh, among a Nation otherwise of so civil Language) accuse



cuse the receipt of any Letter from you, since your remove from these parts, save of two by this Bearer, my Servant and yours, as all mine shall be. Neither can I satisfy my imagination (so far I am from quieting my desire) where a third (which you intimate in your last) may yet lie smothered in some Pocket, for which I should have made a great research, if that were not the diligentest way to miss it. The truth is, as I do highly estimate every line from your Pen, so on the other side, I am as jealous that any of them should stray: For when a Friend of mine, that was lately going towards your City, fell casually into some discourse with me, how he should cloath himself there; I made some sport to tell him, (for a little beguiling of my Melancholy Fumes) that in my opinion the cheapest stuff in *London* was Silence. But this concerneth neither of us both, for we know how to speak and write safely, that is, honestly: Always, if we touch any tender matter, let us remember his *Motto*, that wrote upon the Mantle of his Chimney, where he used to keep a good fire, *Optimus Secretariorum*.

I owe you abundant thanks for the Advertisements in your last, so clearly and judiciously delivered; you cannot do me a greater favour: for though I am a Cloystered Man in the Condition of my present Life, besides my Confinement by Infirmary, yet having spent so much of mine Age among Noise abroad, and seven Years thereof in the Court at home, there doth still hang upon me, I know not how, a certain Concupiscence of Novelties.

I am sorry I have nothing in that kind at the present to interchange with you.

In



In mine own Sickness I had of late, for one half Night, and a whole day following, a perfect Intermission like a Truce from all Symptoms: but some of them are returned again, and I am afraid it will be hard to throw out altogether this same Saturnine Enemy, being now lodged in me almost a full year.

In your way of applying the Leeches, I have found sensible Benefit.

If I could get a lodging near *Paul's Church*, I would fain pass a Week there yet before the great Festival.

Pardon me (good Sir) this Communication with you of my Domestick purposes; and pardon me likewise the use of another Mans hand in this Letter, for a little ease of mine own Head and Eyes. And so I rest,

*Your Hearty Friend and*

*Servant in all Occasions,*

H. WOTTON.

Sir, Your Subscription of *Aldrovandus* putteth me in mind of a mishap which befel me in the time of my private Travels; I had been in a long pursuit of a much commended Author, named *Johannes Britannicus de re Metallica*, and could never see him, but in the Library of the brave Monks of *Mont d' Oliveto* in the *Contado di Siena*, where while I had taken order to have him transcribed, *Aldrovando* passing that way, borrowed him from the *Monastery*: and I sending not long after unto him in *Bologna*, my Friend found him newly dead: And this was the period of my Fruitless Curiosity.

To



## To Doctor C.

*Worthy Sir,*

**I** See by your Letters, by your Discourses, and by your whole Conversation, that you are a Friend of great Learning, and (which are commonly confociated) of as great humanity; which shall make me study by any means, within the narrowness of my Fortune and Judgment, to deserve your love.

The rest I leave to this Bearer, my Servant,

*As I am yours,*  
H. WOTTON.

## To Doctor C.

*Worthy Sir,*

**H**enceforward no Complemental Forms between us. Let others repute them according to the Latin Denomination, Fine Civil filling of Speech and Letters. For my part, in good Faith *ex Diametro*, I ever thought they were meer Emptinesses; yet they may chance serve between some Natures to kindle good will; but I account our Friendship no longer *in fieri*.

You have so represented ——— unto me, as methinks I see him walking not like a *Funambulus* upon a Cord, but upon the Edge of a Razor. What shall I retribute to you from hence? Nothing but a pretty Accident in a sad Subject. There was, you know, inhabitant in ——— a young Widow of

C c

value:



value : Who lately dying at *London*, whither she went to solace with some of her Friends, left order by Will that her Body should be buried in her dwelling Parish, as it was this week, where——made the Funeral Sermon, who had been one of her professed Suitors : and so she did not want a passionate Elogist, as well as an excellent Preacher.

For the Estate of mine own Body, it is not so well as my Servant seems by your Letter to have laid it before you. It is true, that the *Symptomes* are well allayed, or otherwise peradventure Custom hath taught me to bear them better, being now familiarized and domesticated evils, *Jam mansueta mala* : Yet still the hot fumes continue in the night, and the salivation by day, but in somewhat a lesser measure ; besides a streightness of breathing, which I should be glad to know whether you observe in other Hypochondriacal Patients. And if you can advise me of a good *Erynum*, I have a strong fantasie, *ex Fernelio*, that it will discharge my head : but such juyces and expressions as he appointed, are not now to be had. Sir, pardon me this trouble : and God have you in his love,

Your affectionate Friend to  
serve you unceremoniously,  
H. WOTTON.

---

## To Doctor C.

*Worthy Sir,*

**I** Now return unto you your secret Papers again ; whereof, lest I should violate the Communications of such a Friend, I have not so much



much as reserved a Copy (though I might have done it, by your leave) but I have perused them so often, as I think, I can say them without Book. The Scene seemeth since then much changed to the worse; yet I hope all will resolve into nothing: And that when things appear most tempestuous, they will be nearest a calm; according to your great *Aphorism* in *Phylick*, *Nox ante Crisim est molestissima*.

I beseech you, Sir, not to conceive by the tardity of my Answer unto you, any faintness in the acknowledgement of your favours; but to prosecute your Friendly Intelligence upon occasion, even when I shall be on the other side of you, as perchance I shall be shortly in my genial soil: For I will teach the Foot-Posts of that place to find your Lodging. And so leaving you in Gods dear love, I rest,

*Your professed poor Friend and Servant,*

H. WOTTON.

## To Dr. CASTLE.

SIR,

**L**Et me pray you, that the subject of these lines may be only to recommend unto your Counsel and good Affection the Bearer of them, Mr. *John Gainsford*, the nearest Kinsman on my Mothers side that I have living, and yet my nearer Friend, so as I have more than a single interest in his health: He is much travelled with an exorbitant effusion of — which, though it be a natural preventive to some evils; yet surely, with-



out either stop or Moderation, must needs exhaust his Spirits. He hath had heretofore some taste of your Acquaintance at large, and you have left in him *illos aculeos*, which you do in all that (after the *Scotish Phrase*) get but a gripe of you : for you are indeed a wounding Man, as my Servant *Nicholas* saith, to whom I shewed your last Letter. This my dear Cousin, in one thing especially, is capable of good hope from your Advice, that he believes in it by my Discourse with him, who truly must confess that I have received much Benefit by yours, touching my splenetical Infirmary ; which differeth from his no more than the stopping or running of the same spout. Besides this, he is the fitter for you to work upon, because he hath yet tryed no remedy, not so much as the ordinary Diversion of opening another Vein. Sir, I commend him most heartily into your Hands ; and because you have two Capacities, (as our Lawyers speak) a *Political* and *Philosophical*, from both which I draw much good : Give me leave to entertain you with a Letter of some few Novelties from *Oxford*, received as I was thinking to shut up the Present, which shall end in ever professing my self,

*Your very hearty poor Friend,*  
H. WOTTON.

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To Doctor C.

*Worthy Sir,*

**Y**OU are the very man, who hath authenticated unto me that Sentence which we read in the life of *Atticus*, delivered by *Cornelius*



*lius Nepos*, That *Prudentia est quaedam divinatio*. So as truly hereafter, when I shall receive from the Intelligences of your Friends, and your own Judgement upon them, any Sinister Prognostick, it will make me open your next Letter with trembling fingers.

It is one among many wonders unto me, that the young Lord C. hath made a Transition to the contrary party : I thought he had been better elemated at *Eton*.

I send you herewith, for a little Exchange, the Copy of an Elegant Letter, which came unto me by the last Boat from a Friend, both of Studies and Affairs touching foreign Troubles; which it is not amiss to contemplate, if it be but for some Diversion from our own; Christendom was never, within our Age, so inflamed. I hope the ends of the World are come upon us.

I shall shortly remove into *Kent*; but while I am absent, there is one shall wait on you weekly in *London*, to receive and to convey any of your Commands to me; for that is the true name of all your Requests.

*To your professed plain Friend,*

H. WOTTON,

### POSTSCRIPT.

MY Lords Grace of *Canterbury* had this Week sent hither to Mr. *Hales*, very nobly, a Prebendaryship of *Windfor* unexpected, undesired, like one of the Favors (as they write) of *Henry* the Seventh's Time.



## To Doctor C.

*Worthy Sir,*

I Have received your last of the 24<sup>th</sup>. of *May*, through the hands of Mr. *Jones* of *Windſor*, immediately upon my return to mine ordinary Cell; whence I made a ſhort retirement during the late Solemnities, with intention, in truth, to have viſited the City of *Bath*, and to ſee whether among all kind of affected perſons confluent thither, I could pick out any counſel to allay that ſputative Symptom which yet remaineth upon me from my obſtructions of the Spleen. But that journey is laid aſleep.

Now, Sir, in answer to your ſaid Letter; it grieves me to tell you a truth, which this my Servant well knoweth, That I am for the future Election of this year, ſo ingaged already to four Privy-Councillors (and three of them of the high-eſt) and moreover to a Friend of great Intereſt in all the breath that I have to beſtow, that, in good faith, I know not how to ſtruggle for a voice for a Child of rare, and almoſt prodigious hopes, who is one of my poor Scholars, and much leſs for any other propounded ſo late as your Friends Son: For it is now more than a month ſince the day of our Election was proclaimed on our College and Church-gates; the World is nimble in the anticipating of Voices, and for my particular, according to my improvidence in all things elſe, I am in this likewiſe no reſerver of my good will till the laſt: I muſt therefore heartily beſeech you, as I have delivered my ſelf at your diſpoſal, ſo to diſpoſe



dispose of me when I am my self, which I am not now. And so I rest,

*Unquiet till I shall some way serve you,*  
H. WOTTON.

## To Doctor C.

*Worthy Sir,*

**I**T is one of the wonders of the World unto me, how your Letters come so slowly ; which if either themselves or their Bearers knew how welcom they are, would flie. I speak this both by some other before, and by your last of the 19. of *December*, which was almost nine days on the way : and I hope the Scene of *Scotland* much changed in the mean while to the better.

But to let go exotick matter, if that may be so termed, I must congratulate with you your actual possession of the Place of the----For although your own Merit was (before you had it) in their Judgements that understand you, a kind of present investure ; yet I learned long since of our old Master at *Oxford*, That *Actus* is better than *Potentia* : which yet, I hope, will not divert you from your Philosophical Profession, wherein I know no man of sweeter or sounder ability. And so, Sir, I rest,

*Very truly and affectionately*

*at your Command,*

H. WOTTON.



*Honorable Sir,*

**F**OR this time, I pray you, accept in good part from me a Bottle made of a Serpentine Stone, which hath the Quality to give any Wine or Water that shall be infused therein, for four and twenty Hours, the Taste and Operation of the *Spaw Water*, and is very Medicinable for the Cure of the Spleen and the Gravel, as I am informed ; But sure I am, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* put a value upon it, he having obtained it amongst the Spoils of the Governor of *St. Omy*, in his last Fatal Expedition, and by his Page understood the Virtues thereof, and that his Captain highly esteemed it. And surely, some good Cures it hath wrought since it came into my hands, for those two Infirmities, &c.

*Extracted from a Letter of the Earl of Cork, written to Sir Henry Wotton, Decemb. 22. 1636.*

S I R,

**F**IRST, I must thank you for the fruition of your L. at life here, though it was too short. Next, for your Pictures; whereof I return one by this first Boat, and retain the other longer by your Courtesy.

Thirdly, and most of all, for a promise which I receive from you by my Servant, or at least a hope, that you will send me some of your own rural Poësie : That will be a nearer Image of your inward self, especially when you were retired into your self. I do therefore expect it greedily by this ; for I well remember to have seen some lines that flowed  
from



from you with much strength and grace. When you have any great piece of News, I pray now and than *Candidus imperti* to

Your professed Servant,  
H. WOTTON.

SIR,

**A**Lthough I am now a retired and cloystered Man, yet there do still hang upon me, I know not how, some reliques of an harkning Humor.

The easiest way for you to quench this Appetite in your poor Friend, is to empty your self into my Servant, whom I send to salute you, and to know two things.

First, whether you be of the Parliament your self. Next, whither I should be sorry that I am not of it. You can by this time resolve me of both. We are here only fed with certain Airs of good Hope, *Camelion's* food.

More I will not say now, and you see by this little, how tender I am to Usurp upon your time: Yet before I end, let me ask a third Question; Have you no playing and breathing days? If you be of the House, might you not start hither for a Night or two? The interposing of a little Philosophical diet, may perchance lighten a Man's Spirits furcharged with publick Thoughts, and prevent a surfeit of State. Howsoever, hold me fast in your love; and Gods mercy be where you are.

Your poor Friend and Servant,  
Alla suiscerata,  
H. WOTTON.

To



To Dr. C. 1638.

Worthy Sir,

**I** Find in the Bowels of your last ( which I received yesternight, shall I say by your or by my *Nicholas* ) much harsh and stiff matter from *Scotland*, and I believe insusceptible of any farther Concoction, unless it be with much time, *quod concoquit omnia*. But let me lay all publick thoughts aside for the present, having now with you a bosom-Business, which may perhaps fall out to concern us more here. Our *Nicholas* ( for I account him at least halfed between us ) tells me that you have good means to know when —— will be in Town. About whom you may perhaps have heard of certain ( as I think for my part ) well conceived Wishes ( though but yet in the Air ) touching a vertuous Conjunction between him and ——; so dear unto me, both in my Affection and Judgment, and in all Respects, that if our nearness in Blood did not make me more tender to violate mine own Modesty, than I need to be with such a Friend as you are; I would boldly say, that there are few better Matches in this Kingdom, for the indowments of her Person and Fortune; nor in the whole World, for the sweetness and goodness of her Mind. And on the other side, albeit I have no Acquaintance with the Gentleman; yet I hear likewise so much good of him, as makes me wish I had more interest in his familiarity. I write this from whence I wrote my last unto you, being on my wings towards *Canterbury* whence I shall



(οὐν Θεῶ ἐπειν) return hither again within six or seven days. And this Bearer, my Domestick Friend, (a German Gentleman of value) will from *London* meet me at *Canterbury*, by whom I shall be glad to hear from you, about what time the foresaid—— is expected of return to the City, and any thing else that you shall think fit to be told me : But I pray let this privacy which I have passed with you, sleep between us,

*As I rest in your Love,*

H. WOTTON.

---

To Sir C. C.

SIR,

**L** Et me first thank you much for that Rural Communication with your own Thoughts, the best of all Companions. I was first taken with the Virginity (as I may say) of the Inscription in our Vulgar. Next with a Natural suavity in the Elocution; which, though it be Lyrical, yet it shews you can put on the Buskin when you list : And when you are tempted again to sollicit your own Spirits, I would fain have you venture upon some Tragical Subject, though you borrow it out of *Arabia*; For I am glad our *England* cannot yield it. I hear, for matter of Novelty, That Sir *Thomas Roe* (a well-chosen Instrument) is to take his leave on *Sunday* next at Court, being designed to be one of the great Synod of Protestant

Am-



Ambassadors, that are to meet at *Hamborough*; which to me sounds like an *Antiphone* to the other malign Conjunction at *Colen*. And so (Sir) committing you to Gods dear love, I rest,

*At your Commands,*

*H. W.*

Sir, I retain your *Poem* for a Pawn that I shall have the rest.

And I send you a few poor Lines, which my pains did beget: I pray keep them under your own favorable Judgment, and impart them tenderly to others; for I fear that even the best of our thoughts may be vainly clothed.

S I R,

**I** Had sooner given you an account of your two last kind Letters, even for mine own sake, upon whom otherwise you should have had just cause to bestow no more of your excellent intelligence, but that I have had this my Servant (and I can assure you as much yours) every day upon his wings towards you a pretty while.

To abbreviate Complement, which never aged with my Nature. In a few plain words both my self, and all about me are yours.

Sir, I was glad by your last, to see in the *Scottish* Ruptures a Thread of Hope yet left. It is like an Instrument wholly out of tune, but yet not all the strings broken or cut; especially if it be true, which is here voiced with us, that my Lord—

a po-

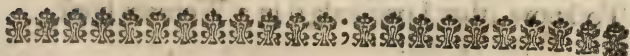


a popular Orator, is sent thither to smoothe the way towards a pacifical Treaty between certain of the Kings Deputation, and others of the Covenant.

This Bearer will tell you what we hear of certain Rumorous Surmises at N. and the Neighbouring Towns, God (who is himself the true Center of Rest) make us all quiet and have you in his Love.

*By your Affectionate, professed poor Friend,*

H. WOTTON.



# POEMS.

*A Poem Written by Sir HENRY WOTTON in his Youth.*

**O** Faithless World, and thy more faithless part,  
 a Womans Heart!  
 The true Shop of variety, where sits  
 nothing but Fits  
 And fevers of desire, and pangs of love,  
 which toys remove.  
 Why, was she born to please, or I to trust  
 Words writ in Dull?  
 Suffering her Eyes to govern my despair,  
 my pain for Air;  
 And for it of time rewarded with untruth,  
 the food of youth.

Untrue



Untrue she was : yet, I believ'd her eyes  
 (instructed spies)  
 Till I was taught, that Love was but a School  
 to breed a fool.  
 Or fought she more by triumphs of denial,  
 to make a trial  
 How far her smiles commanded my weakness?  
 yield and confess,  
 Excuse no more thy folly ; but for Cure,  
 blush and endure  
 As well thy shame, as passions that were vain:  
 and think, 'tis gain  
 To know, that Love lodg'd in a Womans brest,  
 Is but a guest.

H. W.

---

*Sir Henry Wotton, and Serjeant Hoskins  
 riding on the way.*

Ho. **N**Oble, lovely, vertuous Creature,  
 Purposely so fram'd by Nature  
 To enthral your servants wits.

Wo. Time must now unite our hearts:  
 Not for any my deserts,  
 But because (me thinks) it fits.

Ho. Dearest treasure of my thought,  
 And yet wert thou to be bought  
 With my life, thou wert not dear.

Wo. Secret comfort of my mind,  
 Doubt no longer to be kind,  
 But be so, and so appear.

Ho.



*Ho.* Give me love for love again,  
 Let our loves be clear and plain,  
 Heaven is fairest, when 'tis clearest.

*Wo.* Lest in clouds, and in differring,  
 We resemble Seamen erring,  
 Farthest off, when we are nearest.

*Ho.* Thus with numbers interchanged,  
*Wotton's* Muse and mine have ranged,  
 Verse and Journey both are spent.

*Wo.* And if *Hoskins* chance to say,  
 That we well have spent the day,  
 I, for my part, am content.

*H. W.*

---

*On his Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia.*

**Y**OU meaner *Beauties* of the Night,  
 That poorly fatisfie our Eyes,  
 More by your *number*, than your *light*,  
 You *Common people* of the Skies;  
 What are you when the *Sun* shall rise?

You curious *Chanters* of the Wood,  
 That warble forth *Dame Nature's* lays,  
 Thinking your *Voices* understood;  
 By your weak *accents*; what's your praise  
 When *Philomel* her voice shall raise?

You *Violets*, that first appear,  
 By your *pure purple mantles* known,  
 Like the proud *Virgins* of the year,



As if the *Spring* were all your own ;  
 What are you when the *Rose* is blown ?

So, when *my Mistress* shall be seen  
 In *Form* and *Beauty* of her *mind*,  
 By *Vertue* first, then *Choice* a *Queen*,  
 Tell me, if *she* were not design'd  
 Th' *Eclipse* and *Glory* of her kind ?

H. W.

*To a Noble Friend in his Sickness.*

**U**Ntimely Fever, rude insulting guest, (heat  
 How didst thou with such unharmonious  
 Dare to distune his well-composed rest,  
 Whose Heart so just and noble strokes did beat ?

What if his Youth and Spirits well may bear  
 More thick Assaults, and stronger Siege than this ?  
 We measure not his Courage, but our fear :  
 Not what our selves, but what the Times may miss.

Had not that Blood, which thrice his Veins did yield,  
 Been better treasur'd for some glorious day :  
 At farthest West to paint the liquid Field,  
 And with new Worlds his Masters love to pay ?

But let those Thoughts, sweet Lord, repose a while,  
 Tend only now, thy vigour to regain ;  
 And pardon these poor Rhimes, that would beguile  
 With mine own Grief, some portion of thy pain.

H. W.



*A short Hymn upon the Birth of Prince Charles.*

YOU that on *Stars* do look,  
 Arrest not there your sight,  
 Though *Nature's* fairest *Book*,  
 And signed with propitious light;  
 Our Blessing now is more Divine,  
 Than *Planets* that at Noon did shine.

To thee alone be praise,  
 From whom our *Foy* descends,  
 Thou *Chearer* of our *Days*,  
 Of Causes first, and last of Ends:  
 To thee this *May* we sing, by whom  
 Our *Roses* from the *Lilies* bloom.

Upon this Royal Flower,  
 Sprung from the chastest Bed,  
 Thy glorious sweetness shower,  
 And first let *Myrtles* Crown his Head;  
 Then *Palms* and *Lawrels* wreath'd between;  
 But let the *Cypress* late be seen.

And so succeeding Men,  
 When they the fulness see  
 Of this our *Foy*, shall then  
 In consort joyn as well as we,  
 To celebrate his *Praise* above,  
 That spreads our Land with *Fruits* of *Love*.

H. WOTTON.



# An Ode to the KING,

*At his returning from Scotland to the Queen,  
after his Coronation there.*

**R**ouse up thy self, my gentle *Muse*,  
Though now our green Conceits be gray,  
And yet once more do not refuse  
To take thy *Phrygian Harp*, and Play  
In Honor of this chearful *Day*.

Make first a *Song* of *Joy* and *Love*,  
Which chaste flame in *Royal Eyes* ;  
Then tune it to the *Spheres* above  
When the benignest *Stars* do rise,  
And sweet *Conjunctions* grace the *Skies*.

To this let all good *Hearts* resound,  
While *Diadems* invest his *Head* :  
Long may he live, whose *Life* doth bound  
More than his *Laws*, and better Lead  
By high Example, than by Dread.

Long may He round about Him see  
His *Roses* and His *Lilies* bloom :  
Long may His only Dear and He  
Joy in *Ideas* of their own,  
And *Kingdoms Hopes* so timely fown ;  
Long may they both contend to prove,  
That best of Crowns is such a Love.

Upon



*Upon the sudden Restraint of the Earl of Somerset, then falling from Favour.*

**D**Azled thus with height of place,  
 Whilst our Hopes our Wits Beguile,  
 No man marks the narrow space  
 Twixt a Prison and a Smile.

Then since Fortunes favours fade,  
 You that in her Arms do sleep,  
 Learn to swim and not to wade ;  
 For the Hearts of Kings are deep.

But if Greatness be so blind,  
 As to trust in Towers of Air,  
 Let it be with Goodness lin'd,  
 That at least the Fall be fair.

Then though darkned you shall say,  
 When Friends fail, and Princes frown,  
*Vertue* is the roughest way,  
 But proves at Night a *Bed of Down*.

H. W.

*The Character of a happy Life.*

**H**OW happy is he born and taught,  
 That serveth not anothers will ?  
 Whose *Armour* is his honest thought,  
 And *simple truth* his utmost Skill ?

Whose *Passions* not his *Masters* are,  
 Whose *Soul* is still prepar'd for *Death* ;  
 Unti'd unto the *World* by care  
 Of publick Fame, or private Breath,



Who *envies* none that *chance* doth raise,  
 Nor *Vice* hath ever understood ;  
 How deepest Wounds are given by *praise*,  
 Nor Rules of *State*, but Rules of *good*.

Who hath his *Life* from *Rumours* freed,  
 Whose *Conscience* is his strong retreat :  
 Whose *State* can neither *Flatterers* feed,  
 Nor *Ruine* make *Oppressors* great.

Who *God* doth late and early pray,  
 More of his *Grace* than *Gifts* to lend :  
 And entertains the harmless day  
 With a *Religious Book*, or Friend.

This man is freed from servile hands,  
 Of hope to rise, or *fear* to fall :  
 Lord of himself, though not of *Lands*,  
 And having *nothing*, yet hath *all*.

H. WOTTON.

---

*On a Bank as I sat a Fishing:*

*A Description of the Spring.*

AND now all *Nature* seem'd in *Love*,  
 The lusty *Sap* began to move ;  
 New *Juice* did stir th'embracing *Vines*,  
 And *Birds* had drawn their *Valentines* :  
 The *jealous Trout*, that low did lie,  
 Rose at a well-dissembled *Flie* :  
 There stood my Friend, with patient Skill  
 Attending of his trembling *Quill*.

Already



Already were the *Eves* posselt  
 With the swift *Pilgrims* daubed nest,  
 The *Groves* already did rejoyce  
 In *Philomel's* triumphing voice.

The *showres* were short, the *weather* mild,  
 The *Morning* fresh, the *Evening* smil'd.

*Jone* takes her neat-rub'd *Pale*, and now  
 She trips to milk the Sand-red *Cow* ;  
 Where for some sturdy foot-ball *Swain*,  
*Jone* strokes a *Sillabub* or twain.

The *Fields* and *Gardens* were beset  
 With *Tulip*, *Crocus*, *Violet* :

And now, though late, the *modest Rose*  
 Did more than half a blush disclose.

Thus all look'd *gay*, all full of *cheer*,  
 To welcom the New-livery'd year.

H. W.

---

*A Translation of the CIV. Psalm  
 to the Original Sense.*

**M**Y Soul exalt the Lord with *Hymns* of Praise :  
 O Lord my God, how boundless is *Thy* might ?  
 Whose *Throne* of State is cloath'd with Glorious *Rays*,  
 And round about hast robe'd *Thy* self with *Light*.  
 Who like a *Curtain* hast the *Heavens* display'd,  
 And in the watry *Roofs* thy *Chambers* laid.

Whose *Chariots* are the thickned *Clouds* above,  
 Who walk't upon the winged *winds* below,  
 At whose *Command* the Airy *Spirits* move,  
 And fiery *meteors* their obedience show.  
 Who on this *Base* the *Earth* didst firmly found,  
 And mad'st the *deep* to circumvest it round.



The Waves that rise would drown the highest *Hill*,  
 But at thy *Check* they flie, and when they hear  
 Thy *thundering Voice*, they post to do thy *Will*,  
 And bound their furies in their proper *Sphere* :  
 Where surging *Floods*, and valing *Ebbs* can tell,  
 That none beyond thy *Marks* must sink or swell.

Who hath dispos'd, but *thou*, the winding way  
 Where *Springs* down from the steepy crags do beat,  
 At which both foster'd Beasts their Thirsts allay,  
 And the wild *Asses* come to quench their heat ;  
 Where *Birds* resort, and in their kind, thy *praise*  
 Among the Branches chant in warbling *lays*.

The *Mounts* are watred from thy dwelling place,  
 The *Barns* and *Meads* are fill'd for *Man* and *Beast* ;  
*Wine* glads the Heart, and *Oyl* adorns the Face,  
 And *bread* the staff whereon our strength doth rest;  
 Nor *shrubs* alone feel thy sufficeing hand,  
 But even the *Cedars* that so proudly stand.

So have the *Fowls* their sundry *seats* to breed :  
 The ranging *Stork* in stately *Beeches* dwells ;  
 The climbing *Goats* on Hills securely feed ;  
 The mining *Coneys* shroud in rocky Cells:  
 Nor can the Heavenly *Lights* their course forget,  
 The *Moon* her turns, or *Sun* his times to set.

Thou mak'st the *Night* to over-vail the *Day* ;  
 Then savage Beasts creep from the silent *Wood*,  
 Then Lions Whelps lie roaring for their Prey,  
 And at thy powerful Hand demand their *Food* :  
 Who when at *Morn* they all recouch again,  
 Then toying *Man* till *Eve* pursues his pain.



O *Lord*, when on thy various works we look,  
 How richly furnish'd is the *Earth* we tread !  
 Where, in the fair Contents of *Nature's Book*,  
 We may the *Wonders* of thy *Wisdom* read :  
 Nor *Earth* alone, but *lo*, the *Sea* so wide,  
 Where great and small, a world of *Creatures* glide.

There go to the *Ships* that furrow out their way ;  
 Yea, thereof *Whales* enormous fights we see,  
 Which yet have scope among the rest to play,  
 And *all* do wait for their support on *Thee* :  
 Who hast assign'd each *thing* his proper food,  
 And in due season dost dispence *Thy good*.

They gather when *Thy gifts* thou dost divide ;  
 Their stores abound, if *Thou* thy hand enlarge ;  
 Confus'd they are, when *Thou* thy beams dost hide ;  
 In dust resolv'd, if *Thou* their breath discharge.  
 Again, when *Thou* of *Life* renew'st the seeds,  
 The withered *Fields* reweave their chearful weeds.

Be ever gloried here *Thy Sovereign Name*,  
 That *thou* may'st smile on *all* which *thou* hast made ;  
 Whose frown alone can shake this earthly frame,  
 And at whose touch the *Hills* in smog shall vade.  
 For *me*, may (while I breath) both *harp* and *voice*,  
 In sweet indictment of thy *Hymns* rejoyce.

Let *Sinners* fail, let all *Profaneness* cease ;  
 His Praise, (my Soul) His Praise shall be thy *Peace*.

H. WOTTON.



*Tears at the Grave of Sir Albertus Morton (who  
was buried at Southampton) wept by Sir H.  
Wotton.*

**S**ilence (in truth) would speak my sorrow best,  
For, deepest wounds can least their feelings tell;  
Yet, let me borrow from mine own unrest,  
But time to bid him, whom I loved, farewell.

O my unhappy Lines! you that before  
Have serv'd my Youth to vent some wanton cries,  
And now congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore  
Strength to accent, Here my *Albertus* lies!

This is the fable Stone, this is the Cave,  
And Womb of Earth that doth his Corps embrace;  
While others sing his praise, let me engrave  
These bleeding Numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the Characters of wo,  
Here will I pay my tribute to the Dead,  
And here my faithful Tears in showres shall flow,  
To humanize the Flints whereon I tread.

Where though I mourn my matchless loss alone,  
And none between my Weakness judge and me;  
Yet even these gentle Walls allow my moan,  
Whose doleful Echoes to my Plaints agree.

But is he gone? and live I Rhyming here,  
As if some Muse would listen to my Lay,  
When all distun'd sit waiting for their Dear,  
And bathe the Banks where he was wont to play?



Dwell thou in endless Light, discharged Soul;  
 Freed now from Natures, and from Fortunes trust:  
 While on this fluent Globe my Glass shall roul,  
 And run the rest of my remaining dust.

H. W.

*Upon the death of Sir Albert. Morton's Wife.*

**H**E first deceas'd; She for a little tri'd  
 To live without him: lik'd it not, and di'd.

H. W.

*This Hymn was made by Sir H. Wotton, when he  
 was an Ambassador at Venice, in the time of a  
 great Sickness there.*

**E**Ternal Mover, whose diffused Glory,  
 To shew our groveling Reason what *thou* art,  
 Unfolds it self in Clouds of Natures story,  
 Where Man, thy proudest Creature, acts his part:  
 Whom yet (alas) I know not why, we call  
 the Worlds contracted sum, the little all.

For, what are we but lumps of walking clay?  
 Why should we swell? whence should our spirits rise?  
 Are not bruit Beasts as strong, and Birds as gay?  
 Trees longer liv'd, and creeping things as wise?  
 Only our souls were left an inward light,  
 To feel our weakness, and confess thy might.

Thou then, our strength, Father of life and death,  
 To whom our thanks, our vows, our selves we owe,  
 From me thy tenant of this fading breath,  
 Accept those lines which from thy goodness flow;  
 And thou that wert thy Regal Prophet's Muse,  
 Do not thy Praise in weaker strains refuse.

Let



Let these poor Notes ascend unto thy Throne,  
 Where *Majesty* doth sit with *Mercy* Crown'd,  
 Where my *Redeemer* lives, in whom alone  
 The errours of my wandring life are drown'd :  
 Where all the Quire of Heaven resound the same,  
 That only *Thine*, *Thine* is the *saving Name*.

Well then, my *Soul*, joy in the midst of Pain;  
 Thy *Christ* that conquer'd *Hell*, shall from above  
 With greater triumph yet return again,  
 And conquer his own *Justice* with his *Love* ;  
 Commanding *Earth* and *Seas* to render those  
 Unto his Bliss, for whom he paid his *Woes*.

Now have I done : now are my *thoughts* at peace,  
 And now my Joies are stronger than my grief :  
 I feel those Comforts that shall never cease,  
 Future in Hope, but present in Belief.  
 Thy words are true, thy promises are just.  
 And thou wilt find thy dearly bought in Dust.

H. WOTTON.

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## P O E M S

Found among the Papers of  
 Sir HENRY WOTTON.

---

*A Description of the Countrys Recreations.*

Quivering fears, Heart-tearing cares,  
 Anxious sighs, Untimely tears,

Fly,



Fly, fly to the Courts;  
 Fly to fond worldlings sports,  
 Where strain'd *Sardonick* smiles are closing still,  
 And grief is forc'd to laugh against her will;  
 Where mirth's but mummery,  
 And sorrows only real be.

Fly from our Country pastimes! fly,  
 Sad troop of human misery!  
 Come serene looks,  
 Clear as the Chrystal brooks,  
 Or the pure azul'd Heaven, that smiles to see  
 The rich attendance of our poverty.  
 Peace and a secure mind,  
 (Which all men seek) we only find.

Abused Mortals! did you know  
 Where Joy, Hearts ease, and comforts grow,  
 You'd scorn proud towers,  
 And seek them in these bowers, (shake,  
 Where winds sometimes, our woods perhaps may  
 But blustering care could never tempest make,  
 Nor murmur's e're come nigh us,  
 Saving of Fountains that glide by us.

Here's no fantastick Mask, nor dance,  
 But of our Kids, that frisk and prance:  
 Nor wars are seen,  
 Unless upon the green  
 Two harmless Lambs are butting one the other;  
 Which done, both bleating run, each to his Mother.  
 And wounds are never found,  
 Save what the *Plow-share* gives the ground.

Here



Here are no false entrapping baits,  
 To hasten too too hasty fates ;  
 Unless it be  
 The fond Credulity  
 Of silly fish, which worldling-like, still look  
 Upon the Bait, but never on the Hook :  
 Nor envy, unless among  
 The Birds, for prize of their sweet song.

Go ! let the diving *Negro* seek  
 For Gemshid in some forlorn creek ;  
 We all Pearls scorn,  
 Save what the dewy morn  
 Congeals upon each little spire of grass ;  
 Which careless Shepherds beat down as they pass ;  
 And Gold ne're here appears,  
 Save what the yellow *Ceres* bears.

Blest, silent Groves, O may ye be  
 For ever Mirth's best Nursery !  
 May pure contents  
 For ever pitch their Tents (Mountains,  
 Upon these Downs, these Meads, these Rocks, these  
 And peace still slumber by these purling Fountains !  
 Which we may every year  
 Find when we come a fishing here. *Ignoto.*

---

*Imitatio Horatiana Odes 9. Donec gratus eram tibi,  
 Lib. 3.*

**A DIALOGUE betwixt GOD and the SOUL.**

*Soul.* **W**Hilst my *Soul's* eye beheld no light, (sight.  
 But what stream'd from thy gracious  
 To



To me the Worlds greatest King,  
Seem'd but some little vulgar thing.

*God.* Whil'st thou prov'dst pure; and that in thee  
I could Glafs all my Deity :  
How glad did I from Heaven depart,  
To find a Lodging in thy Heart !

*S.* Now Fame and Greatness bear the fway,  
( 'Tis they that hold my Prisons Key : )  
For whom my Soul would die, might she  
Leave them her Immortality.

*G. I,* and some few pure Souls conspire,  
And burn both in a mutual Fire,  
For whom I'll die once more, ere they  
Should miss of Heavens eternal day.

*S.* But Lord, what if I turn again,  
And with an Adamantine Chain,  
Lock me to thee? What if I chase  
The World away to give thee place ?

*G.* Then though these Souls in whom I joy  
Are *Seraphims*, Thou but a toy,  
A Foolish Toy, yet once more I  
Would with thee live, and for thee die.

*Ignoto.*

---

### *Doctor B. of TEARS.*

**W**Ho would have thought, there could have bin  
Such joy in Tears wept for our Sin ?  
Mine



Mine Eyes have seen, my heart hath proved  
The most and best of earthly joys:

The sweets of love, and being loved,  
Masks, Feasts, and Plays, and such like Toys.

Yet, this one Tear, which now doth fall,  
In true Delight exceeds them all.

2. Indeed, mine Eyes at first let in

Those Guests that did these woes begin,  
Therefore mine Eyes in Tears, and Grief,  
Are justly drown'd: but, that those Tears  
Should Comfort bring, is past belief:  
Oh God! in this thy Grace appears,  
Thou that mak'st light from darkness spring,  
Mak'st joyes to weep, and sorrow sing.

3. Oh where am I! what may I think?  
Help, help, alas my Heart doth sink;

Thus lost in Seas of wo,  
Thus laden with my sin,  
Waves of Despair dash in,  
And threat my overthrow.  
What Heart oppress'd with such a weight  
Can chuse but break, and perish quite?

4. Yet, as at Sea in Storms, Men use  
The Ship to save, the Goods to lose;

So, in this fearful Storm,  
This danger to prevent,  
Before all hope be spent,  
I'll chuse the lesser harm:  
My Tears to seas I will convert,  
And drown my Eyes to save my Heart.



5. Oh God my God ! what shall I give  
To thee in thanks ? I am and live

In thee, and thou didst safe preserve  
My Health, my Fame, my Goods, my Rent,  
Thou makest me eat while others sterve:  
Such unto me thy Blessings are,  
As if I were thy only Care.

6. But, oh my God ! thou art more kind,  
When I look inward on my mind :

Thou fillest my Heart with humble joy,  
With Patience, Meekness, fervent love,  
( Which doth all other loves destroy )  
With faith ( which nothing can remove )  
And hope assured of Heavens Bliss ;  
This is my State, thy Grace is this.

---

*By Chidick Tychborn (being young and then in  
the Tower) the Night before his Execution.*

1. **M**Y prime of Youth, is but a Frost of Cares,  
My Feast of joy, is but a Dish of pain,  
My Crop of Corn is but a Field of Tares,  
And all my good is but vain hope of gain :  
The day is past, and yet I saw no Sun,  
And now I live, and now my life is done.

2. The Spring is past, and yet it hath not sprung ;  
The Fruit is dead, and yet the leaves are green :  
My youth is gone, and yet I am but young :  
I saw the World, and yet I was not seen.

My Thread is cut, and yet it is not spun :  
And now I live, and now my life is done.



2. I fought my Death, and found it in my Womb,  
 I looked for Life, and saw it was a shade,  
 I trod the Earth, and knew it was my Tomb,  
 And now I die, and now I am but made.

The Glas is full, and now my Glas is run,  
 And now I live, and now my Life is done.

1. **R**ife, oh my Soul, with thy desires to Heaven,  
 And with Divineſt Contemplation, uſe  
 Thy time, where times eternity is given, (buſe;  
 And let vain thoughts no more thy thoughts a-  
 But down in darkneſs let them lie,  
 So live thy better, let thy worſe thoughts die,

2. And thou, my Soul, inspir'd with holy flame,  
 View and review with moſt regardful Eye,  
 That holy Croſs whence thy Salvation came,  
 On which thy Saviour, and thy Sin did die:  
 For in that ſacred Object is much pleaſure,  
 And in that Saviour is my Life, my Treafure.

3. To thee (O Jeſu) I direct my Eye,  
 To thee my hands, to thee my humble Knees,  
 To thee my Heart ſhall offer Sacrifice,  
 To thee my thoughts, who my thoughts only ſees:  
 To thee my ſelf, my ſelf and all I give;  
 To thee I die, to thee I only live. *Ignoto.*

*Sir Walter Raleigh the Night before his Death.*

**E**ven ſuch is *time* that takes on truſt  
 Our *youth*, our *joyes*, our all we have,  
 And pays us but with *Age* and *Duſt*;  
 Who in the dark and ſilent *Grave*,

(When



( when we have wandred all our ways )  
 Shuts up the story of our days.  
 But from this *Earth*, this *Grave*, this *Dust*,  
 My God shall raise me up, I trust.

W. R.

*The World.*

**T**He *World's* a bubble : and the life of man  
 less than a span.  
 In his Conception wretched ; from the womb,  
 so to the Tomb.  
 Nurs'd from his Cradle, and brought up to years,  
 with Cares and Fears.  
 Who then to frail Mortality shall trust,  
 But limns on Water, or but writes in Dust.  
 Yet, whilst with sorrow here we live oppress'd,  
 what life is best ?  
 Courts are but only superficial Schools,  
 to dandle Fools :  
 The rural part is turned into a Den  
 of savage Men :  
 And where's a City from foul vice so free,  
 But may be term'd the worst of all the three ?  
 Domestick Cares afflict the Husband's bed,  
 or pain his Head :  
 Those that live single, take it for a curse,  
 or do things worse : (none,  
 These would have Children, those that have them  
 or wish them gone :  
 What is it then to have, or have no Wife,  
 But single thralldom, or a double strife ?  
 Our own Affections still at home to please  
 is a Disease.  
 To cross the Seas to any foreign soil,  
 peril and toil.  
 E e

Wars



Wars with their noise affright us ; when they cease  
we're worse in peace.

What then remains, but that we still should cry  
For being born, and being born to die ?

*Fra. Lord Bacon.*

*De morte.*

**M**An's Life's a Tragedy : his Mother's Womb  
(From which he enters) is the tiring Room;  
This spacious Earth the Theater ; and the Stage  
That Countrey which he lives in : Passions, Rage,  
Folly, and Vice are Actors : The first cry  
The Prologue to th' ensuing Tragedy.  
The former Act consisteth of dumb shows ;  
The second, he to more Perfection grows ;  
Ith' third he is a Man, and doth begin  
To nurture vice, and act the deeds of sin :  
Ith' fourth declines ; Ith' fifth Diseases clog  
And trouble him ; then Death's his Epilogue.

*Ignoto.*

*EPIGRAM.*

**I**F breath were made for every man to buy,  
The poor Man could not live, rich would not die.

*John Hoskins to his little Child Benjamin  
from the Tower.*

**S**weet *Benjamin*, since thou art young,  
And hast not yet the use of Tongue,  
Make it thy slave, while thou art free,  
Imprison it, lest it do thee.

**LET.**





# LETTERS

TO

Sir EDMUND BACON.

SIR,

**I**T is very just, since I cannot personally Accompany this Gentleman, yet that I do it with my Letter: wherein if I could transport the Image of mine own Mind unto you, as lively as we have often represented you unto our selves abroad, then I should not think us asunder while you read it. But of my longing to see you, I am a better feeler than a describer; as likewise of my Obligations towards you, whereof it is not the least, that I have been by your Mediation, and Judgment, and Love, furnished with so excellent a Comforter of my Absence, and so loving and discreet a divider and easer of my Travels; after whose separation from me, I am ready to say that which I remember the younger *Pliny* doth utter with much feeling, after the loss of his venerable and dearest Friend *Cerellius Rufus*; *Vereor* (saith he) *ne posthac negligentius vivam*. But herein my Case is better than his: for I cannot but hope, that some good Occasion will bring him again nearer me: And I must confess unto you, I should be glad to see him planted for a while about the King, or



Prince, that so if his own Fortune be not mended by the Court, yet the Court may be bettered by him in that which it doth more desperately want. Now, Sir, besides himself, there cometh unto you with him an *Italian* Doctor of Physick, by name *Gaspero Despotini*; a Man well practised in his own faculty, and very Philosophical and sound in his Discourses: By birth a *Venetian*; which though it be not *Urbs ignobilis* (as Saint *Paul* said of his own Mother-City,) yet is his second Birth the more Excellent; I mean his Illumination in God's saving Truth, which was the only Cause of his remove; and I was glad to be the Conductor of him where his Conscience may be free; though his Condition otherwise (till he shall be known) will be the poorer. This Stranger I was desirous to present unto you as my Friend, in his Company, whose testimony may more value him than mine own: And so committing them both to your love, and your self with all that Family to God's Blessing hand, I rest,

From my Lodging  
in Kings Street,  
April 2. 1611.

Your poor Friend,  
and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

---

SIR,

IT is late at Night, and I am but newly come to the Knowlege that my Lord is to send a Messenger unto you to morrow Morning; yet howsoever, I have resolved not to be left out of this dispatch, though in truth I had rather be the Footman



man my felf, than one of the Writers. But here I am tied about mine own bufinefs; which I have told you like a true Courtier; for right Courtiers indeed have no other bufinefs but themselves. Our Lord *Jefus* blefs you all as you are now together and wherefoever you fhall be.

From Greenwich,  
May 27. 1611.

*Your Uncle by your own election,*

*and your Servant by mine,*

H. WOTTON.

1612, 13.

SIR,

I Must now acknowledge it true which our Navigators tell us, that there be indeed certain variations of the Compass: for I think there was never point of a Needle Better touched than you have touched me, having ever since I parted from you, been looking towards you, and yet still by something or another, I am put out of my course. I will therefore hereafter not promise you any more to come unto you, but I will promise my self it; because indeed I have no other means to be at peace with my self: for I must lay this heavy note upon your conversation, that I am the unquieter for it a good while after.

This is the first part of what I meant to say. After which I would fain tell you, That I send this Foot-man expressly unto you to redeem some part of my fault, for not answering your late kind Letter by the Messenger that brought it: But the



truth is, I had some special occasion to send to *Berry*: and therefore I will set no more upon your account, than his steps from thence to *Redgrave*, where perhaps you now are. See what a real Courtier I am, and whether I be likely to prosper. Well, howsoever, let me entertain you a little by this opportunity, with some of our discourses. The King departed yesterday from hence towards you; having as yet, notwithstanding much voice, and some wagering on the other side, determined nothing of the vacant places: Whereupon the Court is now divided into two opinions; the one, that all is reserved for the greater honor of the Marriage; the other, that nothing will be done till a Parliament, or (to speak more precisely) till after a Parliament: which latter conceit, though it be spread without either Author or ground, yet as many things else of no more validity, it hath gotten faith enough on a sudden. I will leave this to the judicial Astrologers of the Court, and tell you a tale about a subject somewhat nearer my capacity.

On *Sunday* last at night, and no longer, some sixteen Apprentices (of what sort you shall guess by the rest of the Story) having secretly learnt a new Play without Book, intituled *The Hog bath lost his Pearl*; took up the *White-Fryers* for their Theater: and having invited thither (as it should seem) rather their Mistresses than their Masters; who were all to enter *per bulletini* for a note of distinction from ordinary Comedians. Towards the end of the Play, the Sheriffs (who by chance had heard of it) came in (as they say) and carried some six or seven of them to perform the last Act at *Bridewell*; the rest are fled. Now it is strange to hear  
how



how sharp-witted the City is, for they will needs have Sir *John Swinerton*, the Lord *Major*, be meant by the *Hog*, and the late Lord Treasurer by the *Pearl*. And now let me bid you good night, from my Chamber in *King-street* this *Tuesday*, at Eleven of the night.

Your faithfullest to serve you,

H. WOTTON.

*Francesco* hath made a proof of that Green which you sent me ; against which he taketh this exception, That being tryed upon Glasse, (which he esteemeth the best of tryals) it is not translucent ; arguing (as he saith) too much density of the matter, and consequently, less quickness and spirit than in colours of more tenuity.

*Cambridge, Sunday at Night.*

SIR,

TO divert you from thinking on my faults, I will entertain you with some News out of a Letter which I have here received from *Venice*, of much consequence diverse ways.

The Bishop of *Bamberg*, a Practical *Almaign* Prelate, (of which kind there be enough of that Coat, though not in that Country) was treating in *Rome* a League against the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, with whom His Majesty (you know) was first by Articles, and is now by Alliance more nearly confederate: His Commission he had from the Emperor, *Setto parole tacite* as they call it. Now, while this matter was there moulding, a *Chiaus* arrives at the Emperor's Court, with a Letter from the *Turk* ;



importing a denunciation of War, grounded upon a heap of complaints easily found out between Princes that do not intend to agree. And accordingly the *Turk* is departed in Person from *Constantinople* into *Hungary* with great Forces (as my Friend writeth) on a morning *quando nevicava a furia* (by which appeareth the sharpness of the humor,) having made a leavy before his going of 5000 youths out of the *Seragli*; a thing never seen before. He hath left behind him *Nasuf Bassa* as President of his Affairs, who told the *Bajolo* of *Venice*, there resident, that his Master was but gone to hunt: and seemeth to have held the same Language with the other Ambassadors: whether out of meer wantonness of conceit, or as esteeming a War with Christians, but a sport, in respect of that which he had newly concluded with the *Persian*, I know not: howsoever, this is likely to quash the Bishops business, and I fear it will fall heavy upon *Germany*: which first in it self was never more disunited; and besides, the Emperor in small good will with those that should help him. It will likewise in my conjecture hasten the departure of the Count *Palatine*, or at least (if it so please him) it may well serve his turn for that purpose.

This is all that I have for your entertainment: To morrow morning I depart hence towards *London*: whence I determine to write by every Carrier to you, till I bring my self.

In your last, you mentioned a certain Courtier that seemeth to have spoken somewhat harshly of me: I have a guess at the man; and though for him to speak of such as I am, in any kind whatsoever, was a favor: yet I wonder how I am fallen out of his estimation, for it is not long since he offered



ferred me a fair Match within his own Tribe, and much addition to her Fortune out of his private bounty. When we meet, all the world to nothing we shall laugh ; and in truth, Sir, this world is worthy of nothing else. In the mean time, and ever, our sweet Saviour keep us in his love,

*Your poore faithful Friend and Servant,*

H. WOTTON.

*March the last, 1613.*

SIR,

I Returned from Cambridge to London some two hours after the King. The next day was celebrated with twenty Tilters, wherein there entred four fraternities: the Earls, *Pembroke* and *Montgomery* ; my Lord *Walden*, *Thomas* and *Henry Hawards* ; the two *Riches*, and the two *Alexanders*, as they are called (though falsly, like many things else in a Court.) The rest were *Lenox*, *Arundel*, *Rutland*, *Dorset*, *Chandos*, *North*, *Hey*, *Dingwel*, *Clifford*, *Sir Thomas Sommerfet*, and *Sir John Harrington*. The day fell out wet to the disgrace of many fine Plumes. Some Caparisons seen before, adventured to appear again on the Stage with a little disguisement, even on the back of one of the most curious: So frugal are the times, or so indigent. The who *Riches* only made a Speech to the King: the rest were contented with bare Imprese ; whereof some were so dark, that their meaning is not yet



yet understood ; unless perchance that were their meaning, not to be understood. The two best, to my fancy, were those of the two Earls Brothers: The first a small exceeding white Pearl, and the word, *Solo candore valeo*. The other a Sun casting a glance on the side of a Pillar, and the Beams reflecting, with this Motto, *Splendente refulget*. In which devices there seemed an agreement; the elder Brother, to allude to his own nature, and the younger to his fortune. The day was signalized with no extraordinary accident, save only between Sir *Thomas Haward*, and Sir *Thomas Sommerfet*, who with a counter-buff had almost set himself out of the Saddle, and made the others Horse sink under him ; but they both came fairly off without any further disgrace. Of the merits of the rest I will say nothing, my Pen being very unfit to speak of Launces.

To this solemnity, of the publick Ambassadors, only the Arch-Duke was invited, for the healing of the distaste he had taken for the preference of the *Venetian* at the marriage. But I doubt the Plaister be too narrow for the fore ; which he seemed not much discontented that men should note in his whole countenance that day. Towards the evening a challenge passed between *Archy*, and a famous Knight, called Sir *Thomas Persons*; the one a fool by election, and the other by necessity : which was accordingly performed some two or three days after, at Tilt, Torny, and on foot both compleatly armed, and solemnly brought in before their Majesties, and almost as many other meaner eyes as were at the former. Which bred much sport for the present, and afterwards upon cooler consideration much censure and discourse, as the manner is.



The departure of the Count *Palatine* and my Lady *Elizabeth* is put off from the *Thursday* in the *Easter-week*, till the *Tuesday* following: which day I think will hold. The Commissioners that accompany her, have the titles of Ambassadors, to give them precedency before Sir *Ralph Winwood* at the *Hague*; and likewise in any encounters with *Almain* Princes. Sir *Edward Cecil* goeth as Treasurer, to keep up that Office in the name; though it be otherwise perhaps from a General, rather a fall than an ascent. Before this Journey there is a conceit, that the Duke of *Lenox* will be naturalized a Peer of our Parliament, and my Lord of *Rocheſter* be created Earl of *Devonſhire*. The Foreign matter is little increased since my laſt unto you from *Cambridge*. The *Savoy* Ambaſſador not yet arrived. The *Turks* deſigns hitherto unknown, and marching ſlowly according to the Nature of huge Armies: In which ſuſpence the *Venetians* have augmented their guard in the Gulf: enough to confirm unto the world, that States muſt be conſerved, even with ridiculous fears. This is all that the Week yieldeth. My Lord and Lady have received thoſe Letters and loving ſalutations which my Foot man brought. And ſo with mine own hearty prayers to God for you, and for that moſt good Niece, I commit you both to his bleſſing and love.

*Your faithfulleſt of unprofitable Friends,*

H. WOTTON.

I pray Sir remember me very particularly to my Couſin *Nicholas*, your worthy Brother; for whoſe health our good God be thanked.

Sir



Sir *James Cromer* is this week dead of an Apoplex in his stomach, and in him the name; unless his Lady (as she seemeth to have intention) shall revive it with matching one of her four Daughters with a *Cromer* of obscure fortune, which they say it latent in your Shire.

*From my Chamber this Thursday, St. George his Eve, 1613.*

SIR,

THE last week, by reason of my being in *Kent*, was a week of silence; and this I think will appear unto you a week of wonder.

The Court was full of discourse and expectation, that the King being now disincumbred of the care of his Daughter, would towards this Feast of *St. George* fill up either all, or some at least of those places that had laid vacant so long, and had been in this time of their emptiness a subject of notorious opposition between our great Viscount and the House of *Suffolk*. Thus I say ran the opinion: When yesterday about six a Clock at Evening, Sir *Thomas Overbury* was from the Council-Chamber conveyed by a Clerk of the Council, and two of the Guard to the Tower; and there by Warrant consigned to the Lieutenant as close Prisoner: Which both by the suddenness, like a stroke of Thunder, and more by the quality and relation of the person, breeding in the Beholders (whereof by chance I was one) very much amazement; and being likely in some proportion to breed the like in  
the



the Hearers, I will adventure for the satisfying of your thoughts about it, to set down the fore-running and leading Causes of this accident, as far, as in so short a time I have been able to wade in so deep a Water. It is conceived that the King hath a good while been much distasted with the said Gentleman, even in his own Nature, for too stiff a Carriage of his Fortune; besides that scandalous Offence of the Queen at *Greenwich*, which was never but a palliated Cure. Upon which considerations, His Majesty resolving to sever him from my Lord of *Rocheſter*, and to do it not disgracefully or violently, but in some Honourable Fashion; He commanded not long since the Arch-Bishop by way of familiar Discourse, to propound unto him the Ambassage of *France*, or of the Arch-Dukes Court; whereof the one was shortly to be changed, and the other at the present vacant: In which Proposition it seemeth, though shadowed under the Arch-Bishops good will, that the King was also contented some little light should be given him of His Majesties Inclination unto it, grounded upon his Merit. At this the Fish did not bite; whereupon the King took a rounder way, commanding my Lord *Chancellor*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* to propound joyntly the same unto him (which the Arch-Bishop had before moved) as immediately from the King, and to sweeten it the more, he had (as I hear) an offer made him of assurance before his going off the place, of Treasurer of the Chamber, which he expecteth after the Death of the Lord *Stanhop*; whom belike the King would have drawn to some reasonable Composition. Notwithstanding all with Motives and Impulsives, Sir *Thomas Overbury* refused to be sent abroad, with such

terms,



terms, as were by the Council interpreted pregnant of contempt, in a Case where the King had opened His Will; which refusal of his, I should for my part esteem an eternal disgrace to our Occupation, if withal I did not consider how hard it is to pull one from the bosom of a Favorite. Thus you see the point upon which one hath been committed standing in the second degree of power in the Court, and conceiving (as himself told me but two hours before) never better than at that present of his own Fortunes and ends. Now in this whole matter, there is one main and principal doubt, which doth travel all understandings; that is, *Whether this were done without the Participation of my Lord of Rochester*: A point necessarily infolding two different Consequences; for if it were done without his Knowledge, we must expect of himself either a decadence or a ruin; if not, we must then expect a Reparation by some other great publick Satisfaction, whereof the World may take as much notice. These Clouds a few days will clear: In the mean while I dare pronounce of Sir Thomas Overbury, That he shall return no more to this Stage, unless Courts be governed every year by a new Philosophy, for our old Principles will not bear it.

I have shewed my Lord and Ladies Sister your Letter of the 18<sup>th</sup>. of *April*, who return unto you their Affectionate Remembrances, and I many thanks for it. The King hath altered his Journey to *Thetford*, and determineth to entertain himself till the Progress nearer *London*. The Queen be-  
ginneth her Journey upon *Saturday* towards *Bathe*. Neither the Marquess *di villa* (who cometh from *Savoy*,) nor *Don Pedro di Sarmiento* (who shall re-  
side



side here in the Room of the present *Spanish* Ambassador ) are yet either arrived, or near our Coast, though both on the way: So as I can yet but cast towards you a longing, and in truth an envious look from this place of such servility in the getting, and such uncertainty in the holding of Fortunes, where methinks we are all over-clouded with that sleep of *Jacob* when he saw some ascending, and some descending; but that those were Angels, and these are Men: For in both, what is it but a Dream? And so, Sir, wishing this Paper in your hands, to whom I dare communicate the freest of my Thoughts I commit you to God's continual Love and Blessings.

*Your faithful poor Friend and Servant,*

H. Wotton.

I pray, Sir, let me in some corner of every Letter tell my sweet Niece that I love her extreamly.

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SIR,

**I** Have newly received your last of the 25<sup>th</sup>. of *April*, and acquainted my Lord with the Postscript thereof, touching your Father's sickness; of which he had heard somewhat before by Sir *R. Drury*, who at the same time told him the like of my Lady, your Mother. But we hope now, that the one was never true, and that the other (which you confirm) will be light and sufferable, even at heavy years.

The long expected Ambassador from *Savoy* arrived yesternight at *Dover*: so as now I begin by the



the Virtue of a greedy Desire to anticipate before hand, and to devour already some part of that contentment which I shall shortly more really enjoy in your sight and Conversation.

Sir *Thomas Overbury* is still in the Tower, and the King hath since his Imprisonment been twice here, and is twice departed, without any Alteration in that matter, or in other greater.

My Lord of *Rocheſter*, partly by ſome relapſe into his late infirmity, and partly (as it is interpreted) through the grief of his Mind, is alſo this ſecond time not gone with the King: ſome argue upon it, that diſaffiduity in a Favorite, is a degree of Declination; but of this there is no Appearance: Only I have ſet it down, to ſhew you the haſty Logick of Courtiers.

The Queen is on her journey towards *Bathe*.

My Lady *Elizabeth* and the Count *Palatine*, having lain long in our poor Province of *Kent* languishing for a Wind, ( which, ſhe ſees, though it be but a vapour, Princes cannot command ) at length on *Sunday* laſt towards Evening did put to Sea; ſome eight days after a Book had been Printed and Published in *London*, of her entertainment at *Heidelberg*; ſo nimble an Age it is. And becauſe I cannot end in a better jeſt, I will bid you farewel for this Week, committing you, and that moſt beloved Niece, to Gods deareſt Bleſſings.

*London* this *Thurſ-*  
*day* the 29<sup>th</sup>. of  
*April*, 1613.

*Your own in faithfulleſt Love,*

H. WOTTON.

S I R,



1613.

S I R,

**Y**Our Friend Sir *Robert Killegrew* hath been committed to the *Fleet*, for conferring with a close Prisoner in a strange Language : which were (as I hear) the two Circumstances that did aggravate his error.

Of his Case whose love drew him into it, I can yet make no Judgment : The Humor seemeth to be sharp, and there is Wisdom enough in those that have the handling of the Patient to manage the matter, so that at length his Banishment from the Court may be granted as a point of grace. The Nature of his Alteration was ( as you rightly judge it ) in the first Access somewhat apoplectical, but yet mingled in my Opinion with divers Properties of a Lethargy ; whereof we shall Discourse more particularly when we meet, which I now long for, besides other Respects, that we may lay aside these Metaphors.

This very Morning shall be heard at the Star-Chamber the Case of Sir *Peter Ruck*, an Inhabitant at *Rocheſter*, an Officer ( as I take it ) of the Navy, who hath lain some good while in Prison, for having Written to a Friend of his at *Dover* a Letter containing this News, that some of the Lords had kneeled down to the King for a Toleration in Religion : besides some particular Aspersions in the said Letter of my Lord Privy-Seal ; whom likewise of late a Preacher or two have disquieted ; whereby he hath been moved besides his own Nature, and ( as some think also ) besides his Wisdom, to call these things into publick Discourse ; *quæ ſp̄reta exoleſcunt*, if ancient grave Sentences do not deceive us.

F f

My



My Lady of *Shrewsbury*, my Lord *Gray*, and the Lady *Arabella*, remain still close Prisoners since their last restraint, which I signified unto you in a little Ticket. Sir *William Wade* was yesternight put from the Lieutenantancy of the Tower.

I set down these Accidents barely, as you see, without their Causes; which in truth is a double fault, Writing both to a Friend, and to a Philosopher: but my lodging is so near the Star-Chamber, that my Pen shakes in my hand: I hope therefore the Ambassador of *Savoy* (who hath already had two Audiences) will quickly be gone, that I may flie to you, and ease my Heart. By the next Carrier I shall tell you all his Business. In the mean while, and ever, our dear Saviour bleſs you.

*Your faithful poor Friend to serve you,*

1613.

H. WOTTON.

This *Friday* Morning, *May* 7. in such haste; that I must leave my dear Niece unanswered, till I can better Assemble my Spirits, and call the aid of the Muses.

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S I R,

**Y**Our Kinsman and Friend Sir *Robert Killegrew*, was in the *Fleet* from *Wednesday* of the last Week till the *Sunday* following, and no longer; which I reckon but an Ephemeral fit, in respect of his Infirmary, who was the Cause of it; which to my Judgment doth every day appear more and more hectical. Yesterday his Father petitioned the King



King (as he came from the Chappel) that his Son might have a Physician, and a Servant allowed him, as being much damaged in his Health by close imprisonment: which for my part I believe, for the Diseases of Fortune have a kind of Transfusion into the Body, and strong-working Spirits, wanting their usual Objects, revert upon themselves; because the Nature of the Mind being ever in Motion, must either do or suffer.

I take Pleasure (speaking to a Philosopher) to reduce (as near as I can) the Irregularities of Court to constant Principles. Now to return to the Matter: The King hath granted the Physician, but denied the Servant; by which you may guess at the Issue: For when Graces are managed so narrowly by a King, otherwise of so gracious Nature, it doth in my Opinion very clearly demonstrate the Asperity of the Offence. Sir *Gervais Elvis* (before one of the Pensioners) is now sworn Lieutenant of the Tower, by the Mediation of the House of *Suffolk*, notwithstanding that my Lord of *Rochester* was the commender of Sir *John Keys* to that charge; which the said *Keys* had for a good while (and this maketh the Case the more strange) always supplied even by Patent in the Absence of Sir *William Wade*. Upon which Circumstances (though they seem to bend another way) the Logicians of the Court do make this Conclusion; That His Majesty satisfying the *Suffolcians* with petty things, intendeth to repair the Viscount *Rochester* in the main and gross. And therefore all men contemplate Sir *Henry Nevil* for the future Secretary; some saying that it is but deferred till the return of the Queen, that she may be allowed a hand in his Introduction: Which likewise will quiet the



voices on the other side ; though surely that point belittle necessary : For yet did I never in the Country, and much less in the Court, see any thing done of this kind, that was not afterwards approved by those that had most opposed it : such vicissitudes there are here below, as well as of the rest, even of Judgment and Affection. I would say more, but I am suddenly surprized by the Secretary of the *Savoy* Ambassador, who I think will depart about the end of the *Whitsun-Holy-days*, for which I languish. With his Business I can acquaint you nothing till the next Week, by reason of this surprisal : And besides, it hath disturbed my Muses so, I must remain still in debt to my sweet Niece, for that Poetical Postscript that dropped out of her Pen. I do weekly receive your Letters, which in truth are more Comfort than I could hope to purchase by mine: so as whereas before I had determined to continue this my troubling of you but till I should see you next, I have now made a Resolution to plant a Staple, and whensoever we shall be separated, to venture my whole poor stock in traffique with you, finding the return so gainful unto me. And so committing you to God's dearest Blessings, I ever rest,

May 14.

1613.

*Your faithfullest*

*poor Friend and Servant,*

H. WOTTON.

SIR,



SIR,

I Have not yet presented to my Lord that Box which came with your Letter of this week ; for he removed on *Wednesday* with the King and Household to *Greenwich* : And I still remain here, to shew you, that the Court doth, like a Loadstone, draw only those that are *intra orbem virtutis sue* : I mean, within the compass and circle of profit.

The *Savoy* Ambassador seemeth in his second Audience to have discharged all his Commission ; or otherwise he wanteth authority to proceed further than to a general overture, till the arrival of the Cavalier *Battista Gabaleoni*, who is hourly expected, and is here to remain as Resident for the said Duke.

With him likewise come certain other Gentlemen of Title, who should from the beginning have dignified the Ambassador's Train : but the cause of this stragling, was a sudden attempt, which the Duke immediately after the Ambassador's departure (who appointed those Gentlemen to follow him) made upon the Marquisate of *Monferrato*, where he surprized three Towns with the Petarde : the first time (as one writeth from *Venice*) that ever that pestilent invention had been put in practice beyond the Alps.

The cause of this attempt, was, for that the Cardinal *Gonzaga* (now Duke of *Mantua*) had yielded to send home the Dowager Infanta to the Duke of *Savoy* her Father : but would retain her only Child, a Daughter of two years : in whose right the said Duke of *Savoy* pretendeth colourably enough



to the foresaid whole Marquisate; and clearly to all the moveables left by the late Duke of *Mantua* her Father, who died intestate. Into which point of Law, there entered besides some Jealousie of State, being unfit for respects that would have fallen easily into the apprehension of duller Princes than the *Italian*, to leave a Child out of the Custody of her Mother, in his, that was to gain by the Death of it: Yet am I of opinion, who have a little contemplated the Duke of *Savoy's* complexion, that nothing moved him more in this business, than the threatnings of the *French* Queen, who had before commanded *Didiguieres* to fall into the said Duke's Estates by way of diversion, if he should meddle with the least Village in the *Monferrato*: which feminine menacement did no doubt incite him to do it out of the impatience of scorn: And withal, he built silently upon a ground, which could not well fail him; That the King of *Spain* would never suffer the *French* Souldiers to taste any more of the Grapes and Melons of *Lombardy*, because *L'apetit vient en mangeant*: which the Issue of the businesses hath proved true; for the Governor of *Milan*, having raised a tumultuary Army of Horse and Foot, did with it only keep things in stay from farther progress on both sides, till the agreement was made between the Duke of *Mantua* himself in Person, and the Prince of *Piedmont*, within the Town of *Milan*. The accord is advertised the King from *Venice* and *Paris*. The conditions will be better known at the arrival of *Gabalecni*; and then likewise we shall see the bottom of this Errand, which hath been hitherto nothing, but a general proposition of a match between the same Lady that was formerly offered, and our Prince now living: which



which the Ambassador hath touched so tenderly, as if he went to manage his Master's credit. Upon the whole matter, I cannot conceive (though he seemeth to let fall some phrases of haste) that he will be gone yet this fortnight or three weeks, till when I languish. And so let me end all my Letters, ever resting,

May 21.      *Your faithfullest poor Friends and Servant,*  
1613.

H. WOTTON.

May the 27.

SIR,

I Do as unwillingly put my Pen to tell you, as I am sure you will be to hear, what hath befallen my Nephew *Albertus* this Week. He was going on Friday last towards evening in a Coach alone, whose driver alighting (I know not upon what occasion) hard by *Charing-Cross*, the Horses (being young) took some affrightment, and running away so furiously, that one of them tore all his Belly open upon the corner of a Beer Cart; my Nephew (who in this mean while adventured to leap out) seemeth to have hung on one of the pins of the Boot, from whence struggling to get loose, he brake the waste-band of his Hose behind, and so fell with the greater violence on the Ground, hurting only the hindermost part of his head, by what possibility we cannot conceive, unless the motion of the Coach did turn him round in the fall. The force of the concussion took from him,



for some hour or thereabouts, the use of his voice and sence, which are now well restored; only, there yet remaineth in his left arm a kind of Paralytical stupefaction, and his right eye-lid is all black with some knock that he took in the agitation of the Coach; which peradventure may have been the motive to make him leap out. But these external evils do not so much trouble us, as an inward pungent and pulsatory ach within the skull, somewhat lower than the place of his hurt; which hath continued more or less since his fall, notwithstanding twice letting Blood, and some nights of good rest, and shaving of his head for the better transpiration; which we doubt the more, because it cometh *sine ratione*, his hurt being only in the fleshy part, and very sleight, without fracture of the skull, without inflammation, without any Fever, and all the principal faculties, as memory, discourse, imagination untainted, The King hath in this time much comforted us both with sending unto him, and with expressing publickly a gracious feeling of his case: but we must fetch our true comforts from him, who is Lord of the whole; and so leave it.

Since my last unto you, I am sure you hear how Sir Robert Mansfield hath been twice or thrice convented before the Lords, and committed to the *Marshalsey*; partly for having consulted with Mr. *Whitlock*, the Lawyer, about the validity of a Commission drawn for a research into the Office of the *Admiralty*, whereof himself is an Accomptant; and partly for denying to reveal the name of the said Lawyer, his Friend, who before had been committed to the *Fleet* for another case much of the same nature. The point toucheth a limb of the  
King's



King's Prerogative, and immediate Authority. Sir *Robert Mansfield's* Answers (by report) had as much of the Philosopher, or of the Hermite, as of the Souldier, or Courtier; professing openly his little care of this World, or of his own Fortunes in it: and divers other phrases of that complexion. Sir *Thomas Overbury* is still where he was, and as he was, without any alteration: The Viscount *Rocheſter* yet no way ſinking in the point of Favor; which are two ſtrange conſiſtents.

Sir *R. Drury* runneth at the Ring, corbeteth his Horſe before the King's window, haunteth my Lord of *Rocheſter's* Chamber, even when himſelf is not there; and in ſecret divideth his obſervances between him and the Houſe of *Suffolk*: And all this (they ſay) to be Embaſſador at *Bruxels*. So as *ſuper tota materia*, I ſee appetites are not all of a kind: Some go to the Tower for the avoiding of that which another doth languish to obtain. I will end with my Paper, and by the next Carrier either tell you preciſely when I ſhall ſee you, or prevent the telling of it. And ſo our ſweet Saviour bleſs you and my dear Niece.

H. WOTTON.

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SIR.

**B**Y the next Carrier (for yet I muſt ſay ſo again) you ſhall hear when this Embaſſador will be gone. The mean while let me entertain you with the incloſed Paper, which the Duke of *Savoy* hath publiſhed in his own defence; joyning together the Sword and Reaſon.

Sir



Sir Robert Mansfield is still in restraint. Sir Thomas Overbury not only out of liberty (as he was) but almost now out of Discourse.

We have lately started at a dispatch from *Ireland*, importing a variance there, about the choice of a Speaker in the summoned Parliament ; which came to so sharp a point, that the Deputy was fain to fetch Wisdom from hence. Sure it is, that the humours of that Kingdom are very hovering, and much awaked with an apprehension taken that we mean to fetter them with Laws of their own making ; which in truth were an ingenious strain of State. My Lord and Lady are stollen down into *Kent* for a few days to take in some fresh Air. They go not this next Progress, if my Brother can get leave of the King to see his Grand-children ; where he intends to spend some fortnight, and the rest of the time between *Boughton* and *Canterbury*.

A Match treated and managed to a fair probability between my Lord Cook's Heir, and the second Daughter of Sir Arthur Throckmorton, is suddenly broken ; the said Lord Cook having underhand entertained discourse about the Daughter of the late Sir Thomas Bartlet, who in defect of her Brother, shall be Heir of that Name.

I have nothing more to say ; and therefore God keep you and my sweet Niece in his continual Love.

Your poor Uncle, faithful

Friend, and willing Servant,

H. WOTTON.

*Alber-*



*Albertus* (God be thanked) groweth better and better, and in the midst of his own pains, hath remembered those in *Suffolk*, whom we both so much Honor.

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SIR,

IN my last I told you, that the Ambassador of *Savoy* was to meet the Queen at *Windfor*, which pains she hath spared him by her own coming yesternight to *Greenwich*, where I think she will settle her self a day or two before she admit him. Now, seeing the time of the Commencement at *Cambridge* so near as it is, and being able to determine of this Ambassador's departure within that space, I have resolved to take those Philosophical exercises in my way to you, hoping in the mean time to see *Albertus* admitted by Oath to a Clerkship of the Council, or at least to the next vacancy, for he is now strong enough again to swear.

Sir *Robert Mansfield*, and Mr. *Whitlock* were on *Saturday* last called to a very Honorable hearing in the Queen's Presence-Chamber at *Whitehall* before the Lords of the Council, with intervention of my Lord *Cook*, the Lord chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Master of the Rolls, the Lord chief Justice being kept at home with some infirmity. There the Attorney and Solicitor first undertook Mr. *Whitlock*, and the Recorder (as the King's Sergeant) Sir *Robert Mansfield*; charging the one as a Councillor, the other as a Questioner in matters of the King's Prerogative and Sovereignty, upon occasion of a Commission intended for a research into the administration of the Admiralty :  
against



against which the said Sir *Robert Mansfield* (being himself so principal an Officer therein) had sought some provision of advice; and, This was the sum of the charge, which was diversly amplified: *Whitlock* in his answer, spake more confusedly, than was expected from a Lawyer, and the Knight more temperately, than was expected from a Souldier. There was likewise some difference noted, not only in the manner, but in the substance between them: For *Whitlock* ended his Speech with an absolute confession of his own offence, and with a promise of employing himself hereafter in defence of the King's prerogative. Sir *Robert Mansfield* on the other side, laboured to distinguish between the error of his Acts, and the Integrity of his Zeal and Affection towards the King, his Master: protesting he should hold it the greatest Glory under Heaven to die at his Feet, and that no man living should go before him, if there were occasion to advance his dominions; with some other such Martial strains, which became him well. The conclusion of his speech had somewhat of the Courtier, beseeching the Lords, if the restraint he had endured were not in their Judgements a sufficient punishment of his error, that then they would continue it as long as it should please them, and add unto it any other affliction of pain or shame whatsoever; provided that afterwards he might be restored again into his Majesties Favor, and their good opinions. To tell you what they all severally said that day, were to rob from the Liberty of our discourse when we shall meet. In this they generally agreed, both Counsellors and Judges, to represent the humiliation of both the Prisoners unto the King in lieu of Innocency, and to intercede for his Gracious Pardon: Which



Which was done; and accordingly the next day they were enlarged upon a Submission under Writing. This is the end of that Business, at which were present as many as the Room could contain, and Men of the best Quality; whom the King was desirous to satisfy, not only about the point in hand, but in some other things that were occasionally awaked; which I likewise reserve to our private freedom.

The King's Officers are returned from my Lady *Elizabeth*, whom they left at *Goltzheime* the last of *May*, where His Majesties expence did cease. This place was chosen for her Confinement in stead of *Bacherach*, suspected of Contagion. She was at *Andernach* feasted by the Elector of *Cullen*; at *Confluence*, or *Cobolentz* (as they call it) by the other of *Trier*; and at *Mentz* by the third of those Ecclesiastick Potentates, very Royally and kindly, and (which was less expected) very handsomly. The Count *Maurice*, and his Brother with Troops of Horse, and a Guard of Foot, accompanied her to *Cullen*, and entered themselves into that City with her: (I need not tell you, that though themselves were within, the Horse, and most of the Foot were without the Walls) Which is here (by the wiser sort of Interpreters) thought as hazardous on Act, as either of them both had done in the heat of War; and indeed no way justifiable *in foro Sapientiae*. And therefore such Adventurers as these must appeal *ad forum Providentiae*; where we are all covered by his vigilant Mercy and Love: to which I commit you, and my sweet Niece in my hearty prayers.

*Your faithful poor Friend, Uncle, and Servant,*

H. WOTTON.

SIR,



S I R,

I Send you a sprigg of some Flowers, which I have newly received out of *Piedmont*, in Winter and Summer the same; and therein an Excellent type of a Friend.

I am bold likewise to keep my self in the Memory of my Niece, till I see her, with a poor pair of Gloves of the newest Fashion.

*Inventore* Henrico Wottono,

*Sculptore* Crocio.

The 18<sup>th</sup>. of June, 1613.

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Friday the 25<sup>th</sup>. of June, 1613.

S I R,

I Told you in my last, that I would take the Commencement at *Cambridge* in my way towards you, where I shall be God willing to morrow seven-Night. This I now repeat, to save the telling of it again by the next Carrier, fore-seeing that I shall then be impatient of so much delay as a line of mine own Effusion, which even now doth torture me, while I contemplate some of those green Banks, (that you mention) where when I have you by me (to express my Contentment in the *Italian* Phrase) *Non scrivero al Papa fratello*. The Ambassador of *Savoy* departed yesterday, making much haste homewards, or at least much shew of it; where he is likely to come timely enough to the warm-



warming of his Hands at that Fire which his Master hath kindled ; whose Nature in truth doth participate much of the Flint as well as his State. But is not all this out of my way ? Sir, Believe it, my Spirits do boyl, and I can hold my Pen no longer than till I have wished all God's Blessings to be with you, and with that best Niece of the World.

*Your poor Uncle and faithful Servant,*

H. Wotton.

*Albertus* was yesterday with me at the Court. And though there be great Disproportion in the space, yet I dare conclude, that as much strength as did carry him to *Greenwich*, will bear him to *Redgrave*.

July 2d. 1613.

SIR,

Whereas I wrote unto you, that I would be at *Cambridge* as on *Saturday* next ; I am now cast off again till the King's return to *London*, which will be about the middle of the Week following. The delay grows from a desire of seeing *Albertus* his Business settled before we come unto you, where we mean to forget all the World besides. Of this we shall bring you the account.

Now, to let matters of State sleep, I will entertain you at the present with what hath happened this Week at the Banks side. The King's Players had a new Play, called *All is true*, representing some principal pieces of the Reign of *Henry* the 8th. which



which was set forth with many extraordinary Circumstances of Pomp and Majesty, even to the matting of the Stage; the Knights of the Order, with their Georges and Garter, the Guards with their embroidered Coats, and the like: sufficient in truth within a while to make Greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now, King *Henry* making a Masque at the Cardinal *Wolsey's* House, and certain Cannons being shot off at his entry, some of the Paper, or other stuff, wherewith one of them was stopped, did light on the Thatch, where being thought at first but an idle smoak, and their Eyes more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, consuming within less than an hour the whole House to the very ground.

This was the fatal period of that virtuous Fabrique; wherein yet nothing did perish, but Wood and Straw, and a few forsaken Cloaks; only one Man had his Breeches set on fire, that would perhaps have broyled him, if he had not by the benefit of a provident wit put it out with Bottle-Ale. The rest when we meet: till when, I protest every minute is the Siege of *Troy*, God's dear Blessings till then and ever be with you.

*Your poor Uncle, and faithful Servant,*

H. WOTTON.

I have this Week received your last of the 27<sup>th</sup>. of *June*, wherein I see my steps lovingly calculated, and in truth too much Expectation of so unworthy a guest.

SIR,



Novemb. 5. 1613.

S I R,

NOW I begin; but why not before? That question shall be answered by the next Carrier, or by a special Messenger the next Week, at which time you shall have an account of all that hath passed, and some Prognostication also upon the future: for my Pen is grown bold and eager with rest, as Dogs that are tied up.

At the present all my care is to let you know that I have received your last, with the enclosed; which although I well understand my self, yet I have not had time since the decyphering to acquaint the party with it, which shall be done as soon as I have sealed this, and sent it to the Carriers.

I thought now to have said no more; but lest it lose the grace of Freshness, I pray let me tell you, that yesterday Morning the Viscount *Rocheſter* was very solemnly in the Banqueting-Hall in the sight of many great ones and small ones, created Earl of *Somerſet*; and in the afternoon, for a farther honouring and signalizing of the day, my Lord *Cook* (brought in by the said Earl) was sworn a Privy-Councillor; to counterpoise the difference of the profit between the Common pleas, and the King's Bench.

I will turn over the leaf though I die for it, to remember the heartiest love of my Soul to that good Niece, to that sweet Niece; to whom I have much to say by the next opportunity. Our dear Saviour keep you both in his continual Love.

Your faithful Servant,

H. WOTTON.

Gg

Touch-



Touching the Project of our House, believe it Sir, I boyl in it; and am ready to begin again, that I may tell you how busie I have been in the Matter; but let this also be put over till the following Week, which is likely to fall heavy upon you.

*Written on the day of our great Preservation, for which our God be ever glorified.*

**On Tuesday the 16th. of November.**

S I R,

**A**N expresse Messenger will ease us both of the trouble of a Cypher; but I was in pain whether I should send another, or be that Messenger myself, being now as near you as *Royston*, and scant able to obtain pardon of mine own severity for not passing farther; yet this may be said for me, that the present Occasion required little noise; and besides, I am newly engaged into some Business, whereof I will give you a particular account, when I shall first have discharged that part which belongeth to your self.

My Lord, my Brother, having been acquainted with the matter inclosed in your last to me, dispatched the very next day Mr. *Pen* down to *Boughton*, for such Writings as had passed at your Marriage; which having consulted with his Lawyers, he found those things to stand in several Natures, according to the annexed Scedule.

For the point of your coming up, he referreth that to your own heart; and I have only charge from him to tell you, that without any such Occasion as this, which seemeth to imply your Affectionate



tionate respect of his Daughter, your own Person and Conversation shall be ever most welcome and dear unto him.

As for my Lady, through whose Knowledge, and my self, through whose Hands you have passed this point of Confidence, if you could behold us, and compare us with my Lord, you should see, though no difference in the reality, yet some in the Fashion. For to him you must allow the sober forms of his age and place; but we on the other side are mad with gladness, at the hope we have now taken by this Occasion of enjoying both you and my Niece this Winter at *London*; and we are contented to profess it as profusely as it is possible for a better Pen to set it down: Nay, for my part (who in this case have somewhat single) I flatter my self yet farther, that the Term (whereof not much now remaineth) will accelerate your coming: which if you resolve, I pray then let me only by this Bearer know it, that I may provide you some fit Lodgings at a good distance from *White-Hall*, for the Preservation of blessed Liberty, and avoidance of the cumber of kindness; which in troth (as we have privately discoursed) is no small one. Now touching my self.

It may please you, Sir, to understand, That the King when he was last at *Hampton*, called me to him, and there acquainted me with a general purpose that he had to put me again into some use. Since which time, the *French* Ambassador (and very lately) having at an Audience of good length besought His Majesty (I know not whether voluntarily, or set on by some of our own) to disincumber himself of frequent Accesses by the choice of some confident Servant, to whom the said Ambassador might Address himself in such Occurrences as did not require the



King's immediate Ear. It pleased him to nominate me for that charge, with more gracious Commendation than it can be seem me to repeat, though I write to a Friend in whose breast I dare depose even my Vanities. But lest you should mistake, as some others have been apt to do here, in the present Constitution of the Court (which is very ombragious) the Kings end in this Application of me, I must tell you, that it is only for the better preparing of my insufficiency and weakness for the succeeding of Sir *Thomas Edmunds* in *France*; towards which His Majesty hath thought meet first to indue me with some knowlege of the *French* Businesse, which are *in motu*. And I think my going thither will be about *Easter*.

Thus you see ( Sir ) both my next remove, and the exercise of my thoughts till then ; wherewith there is joynd this comfort, besides the Redemption from Expence and debt at home ( which are the Gulfs that would swallow me ) that His Majesty hath promised to do something for me before I go.

I should now, according to the promise of my last, tell you many things, wherewith my Pen is swoln ; but I will beg leave to defer them till the next opportunity after my coming to *London* : And they shall all give place now to this one question ; Whether there be any thing in this intended journey, that you will command ? Which having said, I will end ; ever resting

*Your faithfullest poor Friend and Servant,*

H. WOTTON.

*June*



June 8. 1614.

SIR,

IT is both morally and naturally true, that I have never been in perfect health and chearfulness since we parted ; but I have entertained my mind, when my Body would give me leave, with the contemplation of the strangest thing that ever I beheld, commonly called in our Language (as I take it) *a Parliament* : which hath produced nothing but inexplicable Riddles, in the place of Laws. For first, it is aborted before it was born, and nullified after it had a being ; infomuch as the Count *Palatine* (whose Naturalization was the only thing that passed in both Houses) is now again an Alien. And whereas all other Parliaments have had some one eminent quality that hath created a denomination ; some being called in our Records *mad Parliaments*, some *merciless*, and the like : This I think from two properties almost infociable or seldom meeting, may be termed the Parliament of greatest diligence, and of least resolution that ever was, or ever will be ; For our Commetties were as well attended commonly, as full Houses in former Sessions, and yet we did nothing, neither in the forenoon nor after ; whereof I can yield you no reason but this one, that our diversions were more than our main purposes ; and some of so sensible nature, as took up all our reason, and all our passion, in the pursuit of them. Now, Sir, what hath followed since the dissolution of this Civil Body, let me rather tell you, than lead you back into any particularities of that which is passed.

It pleased His Majesty the very next morning to call to examination, before the Lords of His  
G g 3 Council,



Council, divers Members of the House of Commons, for some Speeches better becoming a Senate of *Venice*, where the Treaters are perpetual Princes, than where those that speak so irreverently, are so soon to return (which they should remember) to the natural capacity of Subjects. Of these Examinants, four are committed close Prisoners to the Tower: 1. Sir *Walter Chute*: 2. *John Hoskins*: 3. One *Wentworth* a Lawyer: And 4. Mr. *Christopher Nevil*, second Son to my Lord of *Abergaveny*.

The first made great shift to come thither: For having taken in our House some disgrace in the matter of the Undertakers (of whom he would fain have been thought one) to get the opinion of a bold man, after he had lost that of a wise; he fell one morning into a declamation against the times, so insipid, and so unseasonable, as if he had been put but out of his place for it of *Carver*, (into which one of my Lord *Admirals* Nephews is sworn) I should not much have pitied him, though he be my Country-man. The second is in for more wit, and for licentiousness baptized freedom: For I have noted in our House, that a false or faint Patriot did cover himself with the shadow of equal moderation; and on the other side, irreverent discourse was called honest liberty: so as upon the whole matter, No excesses want precious names. You shall have it in *Pliny's* language, which I like better than mine own translation; *Nullis vitiis desunt pretiosa nomina*.

The third is a silly and simple creature, God himself knows: and though his Father was by Queen *Elizabeth* at the time of a Parliament likewise put into the place where the Son now is; yet hath he rather inherited his Fortune, than his under-



derstanding: His fault was, the application of certain Texts in *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, to the matter of impositions; and saying, that the *French* King was kill'd like a Calf, with such like poor stuff: against which the *French* Ambassador (having gotten knowledge of it) hath formed a complaint, with some danger of his wisdom.

The last is a young Gentleman, fresh from the School, who having gathered together divers *Latine* Sentences against Kings, bound them up in a long Speech, and interlarded them with certain *Ciceronian* exclamations; as, *O Tempora, O Mores.*——

Thus I have a little run over these accidents unto you, enough only to break out of that silence which I will not call a symptome of my Sickness, but a Sickness it self. Howsoever, I will keep it from being hectical; and hereafter give you a better account of mine own Observations, This week I have seen from a most dear Niece a Letter, that hath much comforted one Uncle, and a Postscript the other. Long may that hand move, which is so full of kindness. As for my particular, Take heed of such invitations, if you either love or pity your selves; For I think there was never Needle toucht with a Loadstone that did more incline to the North, than I do to *Redgrave*. In the mean time, we are all here well; and so our Lord Jesus preserve you there.

*Your faithfullest poor*

*Friend and Servant,*

H. WOTTON.



Sir, I pray remember my hearty affection to my Cousin *Nicolas Bacon*, and all joy to the new conjoyned.

I shall propound unto you the next week a very possible Problem, unto which if you can devise how to attain : *Non scriveremo al Papa, fratello.*

---

London, June 16. 1614.

SIR,

THE Earl of *Northampton* having after a lingering Fever, spent more spirits than a younger body could well have born, by the incision of a wennish tumor grown on his thigh, yesternight between eleven and twelve of the Clock departed out of this world: where, as he had proved much variety and vicissitude of fortune in the course of his Life, so peradventure he hath prevented another change thereof by the opportunity of his end: For there went a general voice through the Court on *Sunday* last, upon the commitment of Doctor *Sharp*, and Sir *Charles Cornwallis* to the *Tower*, that he was somewhat implicated in that business; whereof I will give you a little account at the present, as far as I have been hitherto able to penetrate. *John Hoskins* (of whose Imprisonment I wrote unto you by the last Carrier) having at a re examination been questioned, whether he well understood the consequence of that *Sicilian vesper*, whereunto he had made some desperate allusion in the House of Parliament, made answer (and I think very truly) that he had no more than a general Information thereof, being but little conversant in those Histories that lay out of the way of his profession: where-

upon



upon being pressed to discover whence he then had received this Information, since it lay not within his own reading; he confessed to have had it from Doctor *Sharp*, who had infused these things into him, and had solicited him to impress them in the Parliament: And further, that *Hoskins* hereupon demanding what protection he might hope for, if afterwards he were called into question; the said Doctor should nominate unto him, besides others, (whose names I will spare) that Earl, who hath now made an end of all his reckonings: assuring him of his assistance by the means of Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, with whom the Doctor was conjoynd in this practice. Thus came Sir *Charles* into discovery: who being afterward confronted with the Doctor himself, though he could not (as they say) justify his own Person, yet did he clear my Lord of *Northampton* from any manner of understanding with him therein upon his Salvation: which yet is not enough (as I perceive among the People) to sweep the Dust from his Grave. Thus you see (Sir) the natural end of a great Man, and the accidental ruin of others, which I had rather you should see in a Letter, than as I did on *Sunday* at *Greenwich*: where it grieved my Soul to behold a Grave and Learned Divine, and a Gentleman of good hopes and merits, carried away in the face of the whole Court, with most dejected countenances, and such a greediness at all windows to gaze at unfortunate spectacles.

The Earl of *Northampton* hath made three of his Servants his Executors, with a very vast power, as I hear; and for Overseers of his Will, my L. of *Suffolk*, my L. of *Worcester*, and my L. *William Haward*: To the Earl of *Arundel* he left all his Land (which will  
amount



amount to some 3000 *l.* of yearly revenue) besides three or four hundred to Mr. *Henry Haward*, whereof he had before assured him at the time of his Marriage; but neither of them to enjoy a penny thereof as yet this eight year: all which time he intendeth the Fruits of his Estate shall be collected and distributed in legacies and pious uses according to his Will, which hath not yet been seen: but thus much as I have told you was understood before his expiration. To my Lord of *Suffolk* he hath left his House, but hath disposed of all the moveables and furniture from him: And it is conceived, that he died in some distastful impresson, which he had taken against him upon the voices that ran of my Lord of *Suffolk's* likelihood to be Lord Treasurer; which place will now assuredly fall upon him; and the World doth contemplate my Lord of *Rocheſter* for Lord Privy-Seal, and Lord Warden of the five Ports. As for the Lord Chamberlainship, it is somewhat more questionable between my Lord of *Pembroke*, the Duke of *Lenox*, and my Lord *Knowls*. A few days will determine these Ambitions. In the mean time, I commit you, who have better objects, to the contemplation of them, and to the mercy of our loving God in all your ways.

*Your faithfullest poor Friend and Servant,*

H. WOTTON.

Sir, I have (I know not how) mislaid the Character which I left you, therefore I pray send me in your very next a Copy. Therefore I have deferred the matter which I am to propound unto you, till the next week, because I must send you some Ore of Lead,



Lead, and Iron withal, which I have not yet gotten.

Is there no room left for the remembrance of that dear Neice? God forbid. And I pray, Sir, tell her besides, that a certain Uncle here (whom yet I will not suffer to love her better than my self) doth greedily expect some news from her.

---

*On Midsummer Morning, 1614.*

SIR,

**L**Ike a Woman great with Child, I have threatened you almost every week with a proposition of profit; in which kind of breedings, methinks I am of hard birth; but I hope to be brought to bed by the next Carrier. This week hath yet yielded in the publick small effects to entertain you withal; only, some change of opinion about the future great Officers, which are now thus discoursed.

The Earl of *Suffolk* is still beheld as a Lord Treasurer, and that conjecture hath never faded since the very first rising of it. But it is thought, that the dignity of Privy-Seal shall lye vacant as it did in the *Cecilian* times, and that the execution thereof with the Title of Lord Chamberlain, shall be laid on my Lord of *Somerset*; for if my Lord of *Suffolk* should remove from the Kings Privacy to a place of much distraction and cumber, without leaving a friend in his room, he might peradventure take cold at his back: which is a dangerous thing in a Court, as *Ruygomez de silva* was wont to say, that great *Artisan* of Humors. Of the Office of *Five Ports*, I dare yet pronounce nothing.

My



My Lord, my Brother, will none of it (as I heard him seriously say) though it were offered him, for reasons which he reserveth in his own breast: yet the late *Northampton* did either so much esteem it, or thought himself to receive so much estimation from it, as he hath willed his Body to be laid in the Castle of *Dover*.

*Chute, Hoskins, Sharp*, and Sir *Charles Cornwallis* are still in the *Tower*, and I like not the complexion of the place. Out of *France*, we have the death of Dr. *Carrier*, whose great imaginations abroad have had but a short period. And so, Sir, commending you, and that dearest Niece, to God's continual blessings and love, I rest,

*Your own in faithfullest affection,*

H. WOTTON.

---

*The 7. of June, Style of the place, 1615.*

SIR,

I Hear a little voice that you are come to *London*, which to me is the voice of a Nightingal; for since I cannot enjoy your presence, I make myself happy with your nearness: And yet now, methinks, I have a kind of Rebellion against it, that we should be separated with such a contemptible distance. For how much I love you, mine own heart doth know; and God knoweth my heart. But let me fall into a passion: For what sin, in the Name of *Christ*, was I sent hither among Souldiers, being by my profession, Academicall,



mical, and by my Charge, Pacifical? I am within a day or two to send *Cuthbert* my servant home, by whom I shall tell you divers things. In the mean while, I have adventured these few Lines, to break the Ice of silence; for in truth, it is a cold fault. Our sweet Saviour bless you.

*Servidore,*

*Arrigo Wottoni.*

My hot Love to the best Niece of the World.

---

S I R,

**A**Mong those that have deep Interest in whatsoever can befall you, I am the freshest witness of your unexpressible Affections to my most dear Niece; whom God hath taken from us into his eternal Light and rest; where we must leave her, till we come unto her. I should think my self unworthy for ever of that love she bare me, if in this Case I were fit to comfort you. But it is that only God who can reconsole us both: Who when he hath called now one, and then another of his own Creatures unto himself, will unclasp the final Book of his Decrees, and dissolve the whole: For which I hope he will rather teach us to Thirst and Languish, than to repine at particular Dissolutions. I had in a peculiar Affliction of mine own (all within the compass of little time) much Consolation from you; which cannot but be now present with your self; for I am well acquainted with the strength of your Christian mind.

There-



Therefore being kindly invited by the good Master of the *Rolls* to write by his expresse Messenger unto you ; let me (without further Discourse of our griefs) only joyn in this with him, to wish your company divided between him and me.

We will contemplate together when we meet our future Blessedness, and our present uncertainties : And I am afraid we shall find too much Argument to drown our private feelings in the publick solicitude. God's love, wherein is all joy, be with us.

From *Westminst.*  
this 16. April,  
1626.

Your ever true  
and hearty Servant,

H. WOTTON.

---

*From the College the 14th. of Decemb. 1628.*

S I R,

I Have received from *London* the favourable Lines wherewith you Honoured me then near your departure ; which you have somewhat allayed, with the promise of your return at the beginning of the next *Term*, which comforteth well with a change of my purpose to *Christmas* in *Kent*, born in me as I was reading your Letter : For what should I do there in such hast after the Nuptials, when I shall come so as well in *Lent* ? Much ado there hath been towards the point of Conclusion ; like that Aphorism of *Hippocrates* : *Nox ante Christin est molestissima*. Loves being in this like Fevers,

as



as well as in the rest ; for one Definition will serve them both : *Cordis accensio*.

*Jack Dinely* is not yet arrived, but we expect him dayly as Messenger from the Queen his Mistres of her late happy delivery, after a foul report that had been maliciously thrown abroad of her Miscarriage by a fall. The Doctor likewise as yet hath given me no answer ; but I will quicken him, and put life I hope into the Business.

Now, let me tell you, That the Noble Sir *Gervase Clifton* (as in good faith he is *in ipsis visceribus* ) hath been lately here with us, at a time when he hath been content to be entertained with the pastimes of Children ; a Latin and a Greek *Hyppolitus*. How often you were remembred between us, is harder for me to tell you, than I hope for you to believe. Among other Discourse he shewed me a little Excrecence that he hath beginning upon the uttermost ball of his Eyes, a filmy matter like the rudiment of a Pin and Web as they call it. Whereupon fell into my Memory a secret that Mr. *Boban* had told me his Mother knew : How to take away that evil in growth, and perchance much more in the Infancy, with a Medicine applyed only to the Wrists. And I have heard your self likewise speak of a rare thing for that part. I beseech you ( Sir ) be pleased with all possible speed to entreat that receipt from Mr. *Boban*, to whom we shall both be much beholden for it. And Sir *Gervase Clifton* is already so possessed, that he both says and thinks, that nothing will cure him better than that which any way shall come through your hand unto him. No peace as yet with either of the Kings : The more wished I think with *France*, The likelier perchance with *Spain*. No Offices disposed in Court.

No



No Favorite but the Lord Treasurer. More News in my next. For the present, God keep you in his dear love.

*Servidore,*

H. WOTTON.

*To the Queen of Bohemia.*

[*The beginning is wanting.*]

— **Y**Et my Mind and my Spirits give me, against all the Combustions of the World, that before I die I shall kiss again your Royal Hand, in as merry an hour as when I last had the Honour to wait upon your gracious Eyes at *Heidelberg*.

I will now take the boldness to conclude my poor Lines with a private and humble suit unto your Majesty; which I bring with me out of *Suffolk*, from Sir *Edmund Bacon's* House, and that whole Family; among whom your Majesties Name and Vertue are in singular Admiration.

There is of that House a young Plant of some sixteen years, well natured, and well moulded both for Face and Limbs, and one of the bravest spirited Boys in Christendom. It is their joynt Ambition, and they have made me their Intercessor, that your Majesty would be pleased to take him for one of your Pages. They want not means otherways to bestow him, but their Zeal towards Your Majesty, and their Judgments guide them to this humble desire, for his most Vertuous and Noble Nuture. And lest the ordinary number  
of



of your Majesty's Attendants in that kind, being perhaps full, might regard their hope of this high favor, I have Commission to assure your Majesty, that their meaning is not to aggravate your charge, for he shall have yearly a competent Provision allowed to maintain him in good Fashion. If my Niece *Bacon*, of dearest Memory, were alive, (whom God took, not long after my Nephew *Albertus*, into his eternal Bliss) I am sure she would joyn in this suit unto your Majesty, that all Sexes might enter into the Obligation: But it is your Majesty's own goodness, from which only we can hope for a favorable Answer. And so with all our Prayers, and with my particular obliged Devotion, I most humbly commit your Majesty to God's reserved Blessings, and continual Love, ever resting,

*Your Majesty's poor Servant,*

*in all truth and zeal*

H. WOTTON.

On the 6. of March, 1628.

SIR,

I Beseech you let these lines, with as much affection, though with less civility, convey my good wishes after you, which I should my self have brought before your departure.

You seem to have left the Town somewhat Prophetically, not to be near the noise of a very unhappy morning on Monday last; at which time the Parliament assembling again (which you know had been silenced till that day) was then re adjourned by the King's special Command till

Hh

Tues.



Tuesday next: Whereupon the Lower-House fell into such heat (one Passion begetting another) that the Speaker (who, as discharged by the Royal Power, did refuse to read a kind of Remonstrance which Sir John Eliott had provisionally set down in Paper) was forced into the Chair. It is strange to consider the lubricity of popular Favor; For he that before during this whole Session (if so we may call it) and the former, was so highly commended, and even in this very act by some of the soundest and soberest of the House; yet with the general Body is so stript of all his credit in a moment, that I have hardly seen in any Chymical Work such a Precipitation. What hath insued, will be better told you by this good Captain. Some think the Parliament doth yet hang upon a thread, and may be stitched again together: But, that is an airy conceit in my Opinion; yet the peace of Italy, and the Preparations of France against us, are voyced so strongly, that I verily believe we shall have a new summons.

The States of the low Provinces have since their Western great Prize, newly taken a Careck cut of the East, of huge value: so as their acts are, Sub utroque sonantia Phœbo.

I have not yet sent those Verses to Mrs. Katharine Stanhope, that she may rather have them in the second Edition: For the Author hath licked them over, and you shall have a new Copy sent you by the next Carrier. We have met together once or twice since your going loco fofito; but like a disjoynted company, wanting one of our best pieces: God send us often chearfully together; and so I rest,

Your hearty Servant,

H. WOTTON.

When



When *Jack Dinely* shall return out of *Lincolnshire*, I will give you an account what I writ by him to the Queen of *Bohemia* about your Spiritous Nephew. And I will not forget to rouse the Doctor at *Cambridge* in the Charitable Intention. I pray remember my service to your whole name, and to my Noble Cousin Sir *Drue*: To whom I will write the next week.

---

S I R,

I Know that between us there needs little complement; for which I am for my part so unproper and so unmoulded, that I often neglect even civil Duties; as well appeared by my coming from *London* without taking leave of you: but yet I cannot be wanting unto your self, nor to the least of your Name in any real Service, for that were too much violence to my Nature; therefore before my coming from *Westminster*, I wrote such Letters to the Queen of *Bohemia*, about your Spiritous *Frank* as I hope, (together with the good Offices of the Bearer thereof) will place him with the Prince of *Orange* when he hath taken the Busse. I could have wished that his lively Blood had been a little fleshed at that siege. But *Jack Dinely's* long stay at *London* for his dispatch, and at *Gravesend* for a Wind, hath lost us time. We hear that the King of *Spain* upon the peazing of his Affairs in *Italy* (where a palm of ground importeth him more than a Province abroad) was resolved to make the Marquess *Spinola* Governor of *Milan*, and that the Count *Henry Vanden Berge* should command the Armies in chief under the Infanta. If this be so, there will be there



*Bella plusquam Civilia*, for you know he is near of Blood to the Prince of *Orange*, though he hath some a little nearer : For he hath one or two by his own Sister, as I remember they told me in his Town of *Maestrick*. The other employment of the Marques, is a Counsell, plainly taken rather from Necessity than Reason : For otherwise Jealousie of State would hardly commit so much power to a *Genouese* in the Confines of his own Countrey, unless I have forgotten my Foreign Maxims.

I have my head towards *Kent*, with a hope to see you first there, and afterwards at our Election : which will be the third of *August*. And so with my humble and hearty remembrance to that best of men, and noblest of Ladies, I rest

This *Monday*  
night late.  
1629.

*Il suisceatissi manente vostro,*

H. WOTTON.

S I R,

Althoough I intend to write again speedily, and at a little more ease unto you by *James*, and then to send you and Sir *Gervase Clifton* the Copy of a Letter, which *Giovanni* tells me you both desire : yet lest you should send over your *Frank* ( who hath from you all his sails and fraught ) without part of his balast from me, I have hastened the inclosed Letters unto your hand, with the Copy of mine to the Queen of *Bohemia*: the other are *ad hanc formam*. I could wish that he would begin with *Jack Dinely*, and slide first unseen to *Leyden* ; who will bring him thence to the Queen, and acquaint him with all due respects.



I have written to the Countess of *Lervistain* to cherish him also : a great and assiduous Lady with the Queen, and by Title, my noble Secretary. This is all that I need say at the present. Doctor *Sharpe* and I do threaten you the next *Christmas*. In the mean while,

From the College  
this *Tuesday*. 1629.

Your humble Servant,

H. WOTTON.

*Optimo virorum*; and to his most worthy Lady. S.

SIR,

THE very truth is, your Love hath prevented me: for I meant by *Giovanni* to give you some account of what hath passed since our Divorcement. When I had slept half an hour after you were gone from *Darford*, I found my self *fresco come una rosa*: but I awaked in a strange Dream, that had seldom before befallen me in an Inn; finding nothing to be paid, not so much as for mine own Horses: whereby the reason was plain of the paleness of my water which you observed: For none of the tincture of my gold was gone into the reckoning of the drink, as you had handled the matter.

At the top of *Shooters hill* my Foot-man staid, as if he had been watching the Beacon rather than for me; and told me there were good Provision made at Sir *Adam Newtons* for you and me, with kind Expectation of us both. But my self being desirous to reach *Eton* that night, as I did, (for my Horses I see travel best upon another Man's Purse) I blanced the House, and sent thither by *Giovanni* a



fair excuse. True it is, we are much of a Humor: *Cento Bue* will hardly draw us in a journey to any strange place.

At that time likewise *Will* brought me a Letter from Mr. *Griffith*, which had been expressly sent to *Gravesend* the night before: whereby I saw *Giovanni* had taken a false alarm; for he was not to be gone till the *Monday* Morning following: so as I have had time to ballast him with Letters. And I have intimated beforehand to your *Jack Dinely*, your purpose to pass over the spiritous *Frank* as soon as you can trick him. We are now towards the Festival of our Election; wherein annually I make a shift to lose four or five Friends, and yet do my self no good; so as they are angry with me on the one side, and they laugh at me on the other.

I apprehend this year a great poverty of Venison with us: for I came too late to exchange your Warrant; and my Lady *Throgmorton's* will not serve my turn.

Since my coming, Mr. *Turvil*, a French practical man, of good erudition, hath passed a day or two with me, from whom I hear a shrewd point: That the oath of peace (which should have been taken between the two neighbouring Kings upon the same day) is put off for a Month: I believe the stop to be in *France*, to gain time to disturb our treaty with *Spain*.

Mr. *Pim* (a man whose ears are open) told me likewise yesterday a strange thing, that the Queen of *Bohemia* hath newly, being hunting, been chased away her self with some affrightment from *Rhinen* by certain Troops of the Enemy that have passed the *Isel*. With whom it was feared the Count *Henry Venden Berge* would joyn, and ravage the *Velow*. Yet  
withal



withal were cometidings, that the Prince of Orange at the *Buffs* had had partly offered him. But my intelligences are Cistern-Waters, you are nearer the Fountain. And not only, *Dulcius ex ipso Fonte bibuntur Aquæ*, but *verius* too: For both will stand in the Verse.

Before I end, let me beseech you, to remember my humble and hearty Devotion (in the very style of *Seneca* to his *Lucilius*, and I shall need to say no more) *Optimo Virorum*. I envy your enjoyments and Conversations, and most when they are privatest, for then they are freest. I hope the Noble Lady will return quickly again to her *Hesperian* Garden: To whom, I pray, likewise let my humble service be remembered. And so I rest,

From the College  
this *Wednesday*  
night, 1629.

*Excepto quod non simul esses,  
cætera lætus,*  
H. WOTTON.

---

*To the Queen of Bohemia.*

*May it please your Majesty.*

**T**His Bearer is that Lad, by name *Franc Bacon*, for whom your Majesty's Intercession with the Prince of Orange, hath bound so many unto you here. It is your goodness that hath done it, and therefore he is addressed by his Friends (and by me who am the meanest of them) first through your Gracious hands, and laid down at your Royal feet.

There is in him (I believe) metal enough to be cast into good form: and I hope it is of the noblest sort, which is ever the most malleable and pliant. Only one thing I fear, that coming from a Country



life, into the lustre of Courts, he will be more troubled with it, than with the hissing of Bullets.

Now when I consider (as I do at the present) that besides your Majesty's Ancient Favors towards me, and to them that have been, and are so dear unto me; some gone, and some remaining: you have lately received the Child of my very worthy Friend, Mr. *Griffith*, about the Prince your Son, and honored this other with your especial recommendation, in such a forcible and expresse manner as you were pleased to do it: I say, when I consider all this, I cannot but fall into some passionate questions with mine own Heart. Shall I die without seeing again my Royal Mistress my self? Shall I not rather bring her my most humble thanks, than let them thus drop out of a dull Pen? Shall such a contemptible distance, as between *Eton* and the *Hague*, divide me from beholding how her Vertues overshine the darkness of her Fortune? I could spend much Paper in this Passion, but let it sleep for the present: And God bless your Majesty,

*August* 16.  
1629.

*As I am Yours,*

H. WOTTON.

After this humble and just acknowlegemnt of my Obligations unto your Majesty, it were a miserable thing for me to tell you, that at our late Election, I have remembered your Commandment in the first place, I should indeed rather ask what your Majesty will have next done.

*My*



*My noble Nephew,*

I Am sorry that your Cast of *Bucknames* cannot be served at this Election; For to choose one of them (and that must have been in a low place) had been discomfortable, they will fie best at ease together. Yet I have thought of a way the next year, in all event not to fail; which is, to divide them between *Westminster* and *Eton*. Their Election preceedeth ours some three Weeks; and truly upon my late Observation there, I must needs say, that School mouldeth good Scholars, and of certainer Preferment to either of the Universities (for some go to *Oxford*, and some to *Cambridge*) than this: out of which the Issue is always hard, and the entrance not always easie. Glad I am to hear by your Letter, that you have gotten so good a School-Master, that they may be well mued in the mean while. Betwixt this and the next turn, I shall lay you down an infallible course for them. And this must content their good Father at the present.

If your Masons Brother (who was here on *Sunday*) had staid till the next Morning, there was some practicable hope to have sped the Boy this year to *Cambridge*, but some unfortunate haste, and despair of so many places as fell open, carried him away.

If you had not intimated your own coming to *London*, you might perchance have been troubled with me in the Countrey: But I will now Languish for the hour you promise this place of seeing you here; where your Venison (which we enjoy by exchange from Master Vice Chamberlain hath



hath given us all Occasion to remember you thankfully, as a Benefactor to this Board. I will entertain you with no home-Novelties ; but let me tell you a fresh piece of no small noise from abroad. The King of *Sweden* hath landed with 200 Ships a great Army of some 40000 in *Germany*, with intention ( if the Party of our Religion be not all drowsie) to redress the common Cause ; or at least, to reintegrate his near Kinsman in *Meckleburge*, confiscated, you know, by the Emperor : And the opportunity is fair, while the *Austrian* power is diverted for the help of *Spain* into *Italy*. God bless it, and cherish it as his own business ; and in his dear Love I leave you : Ever remaining,

From your College  
this 27 July,  
1630.

Your faithful Servant,

H. WOTTON.

*As intricate as a Flea in a bottom of Flax.*

Sir, I will write to you at large after our Election, when my Brains are settled.

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*Noble Sir, and my most dear Nephew,*

WE were for three Weeks together so besieged at your *Eton*, first with an overflow of water from the West, and then with a deep Snow out of the East, ( contrary quarters conspiring against us ) that our ordinary Boats, which usually go and return twice a week, could not pass under the Bridges : whereby such a Letter from you as never man received, lay silent at my Chamber



ber in *St. Martins-lane* till mine own coming to *London*; to the utter Condemnation of my unthankfulness in the mean time: Which truly I should fear, but that it is the natural property of the same heart, to be a gentle Interpreter, which is so noble an Obliger.

Now, Sir, After I had received and read your Letter, I took some days to deliberate what I should do, and to let my Judgment settle again, which was distracted with so kind a surprisal: should I use a feathered Quill to write unto you; or fly my self to *Redgrave*? for you had given me Wings. At last, I resolv'd upon both. First, to make this true Protestation by writing from my very Bowels where it is Engraven. That though your Bounty (considered in all the Circumstances, as well the form, as the matter, and the very opportunity of the time wherein it came, and especially without any imaginable pretence of desert in my self) hath been such, as never besel me before, nor can ever besal me again: yet have you therewith not enriched, but stripped and despised me for ever: Nothing that was before, either in my power or Possession, being after this mine own: for it is all yours, if it were both the *Indies*. So as your kindness howsoever flowing from a tender Affection: yet is with me like hard Wax, dropp'd and sealed together.

The next after this, shall be to follow it my self: but therein (after the *Spanish* Phrase) I will take Language at the Rolls, where I shall understand more punctually about what time you purpose to be here. For, I aim at the convoying of you up to your *Eten*. About which I will write more by the next Carrier: and prepare your self (Sir) with



with patience while we live, to be troubled weekly with my Letters; wheresoever I am, even when I shall have no more to say than this, which is the least that can be spoken, that I am,

Feb. 13. 1632.

Yours,

H. W.

From *St. Martins* by the *Fields*.

this 18. of *April*. 1633.

To my Noble Nephew long and chearful Years.

S I R,

**B**Y beginning first with Philosophy, I will discover the Method of my Nature, preferring it before the Speculations of State.

Take any Vegetable whatsoever, (none excepted in the effect, though some difference in the degree) express the juyce; put that in any vessel of Wood or Stone, with a narrow Neck and Mouth, not closed at the top, but covered with any thing, so as it may work out above: Set it afterwards in some cold hole in a Cellar, let it stand there some three Weeks or a Month, till by Fermentation it have both purged it self upwards, and by sediment downwards, Then decant from it the clear juyce, and put that in a Limbeck in *Balneo Maris*, or in *Balneo Roris*. The first that riseth will be *Aqua ardens*,  
useful



useful perchance according to the quality of the Plant; as of Wormwood for the Stomach, of Succory, or any of those *Incubæ*, for the Liver: And on the sides of the Limbeck will hang a Salt; this is the extracting of Salt without Calcination; which otherwise certainly must needs consume all the active powers of any Vegetable, and leave nothing but a palastick and passive Virtue.

For the point of preserving that Salt afterwards from Resolution by Air into Water, I hold it impossible, notwithstanding the proper Examples that you alledge; which yet must of Necessity yield to it. For as your excellent Uncle says, and says well, in not the least of his works (though born after him) of his Experiments; *Air is predatory*.

I have forgotten (for *memoria primò senescit*) whether I told you in my last a pretty late experiment in *Arthritical* pains: It is cheap enough. Take a roasted Turnip (for if you boyl it, it will open the pores and draw too much) apply that in a Poultice to the part effected, with change once in an hour or two, as you find it dried by the heat of the Flesh, and it will in little time allay the pain.

Thus much in our private way, wherein I dare swear, if our Medicines were as strong as our wishes, they would work extreamly.

Now, for the Publick, where peradventure now and then there are Distempers as well as in natural Bodies.

The Earl of *Holland* was on *Saturday* last (the day after your Posts departure) very solemnly restored at Council-Table (the King present) from a kind of Eclipse, wherein he had stood since the *Thursday* fortnight before: All considered, the ob-



Obscuration was long, and bred both various and doubtful Discourse; but it ended well. All the cause yet known, was a verbal challenge sent from him by Mr. *Henry Germain* in this form to the now Lord *Weston*, newly returned from his foreign Employments, That since he had already given the King an account of his Embassage, he did now expect from him an account of a Letter of his, which he had opened in *Paris*, and he did expect it at such a time, even in the *Spring Garden* (close under his Fathers Window,) with his Sword by his side.

It is said (I go no farther in such tender points) that my Lord *Weston* sent him by Mr. *Henry Percy* (between whom and the said Lord *Weston* had in the late journey (as it seems) been contracted, such Friendship as overcame the memory that he was Cousin-German to my Lord of *Holland*) a very fair and discreet answer: That if he could challenge him for any injury done him before, or after his Embassage, he would meet him as a Gentleman, with his Sword by his side where he should appoint. But for any thing that had been done in the time of his Embassage, he had already given the King an account thereof and thought himself not accountable to any other. This published on *Thursday* was fortnight, the Earl of *Holland* was confined to his Chamber in Court, and the next day Morning to his House at *Kensington*, where he remained without any further Circumstance of restraint or displeasure *Saturday* and *Sunday*: on which days being much visited, it was thought fit on *Monday* to appoint Mr. *Dickenson*, one of the Clerks of the Council, to be his Guardian thus far, that none without his presence should accost him. This made the vulgar Judgements run high, or rather



ther indeed run low, That he was a lost and discarded Man, judging as of Patients in Feavers, by the Exasperation of the fits. But the Queen, who was a little obliquely interested in this Business ; for in my Lord of *Holland's* Letter, which was opened, she had one that was not opened, nor so much ( as they say ) as superscribed ; and both the Queen's and my Lord of *Holland's* were inclosed in one from Mr. *Walter Mountague* ( whereof I shall tell you more hereafter. ) The Queen I say, stood nobly by him, and as it seems pressed her own Affront. It is too intricately involved for me so much as to guess at any particulars. I hear generally discoursed, that the opened dispatch was only in favor ( if it might be obtained ) of *Monsieur de Chateau Neuf*, and the *Chevalier de Farr* ; ( who had both been here ) but written with caution ( and surely not without the King's knowledge ) to be delivered, if there were hope of any good effect ; and perchance not without Order from His Majesty to my Lord *Weston* afterwards, to stop the said Letters, upon Advertisement that both *Chateau Neuf*, and *de Farr* were already in the *Bastille*. But this I leave at large, as not knowing the depth of the Business.

Upon *Monday* was seven-night fell out another quarrel, nobly carried ( branching from the former ) between my Lord *Fielding* and Mr. *Goring*, Son and Heir to the Lord of that Name. They had been the Night before at Supper, I know not where, together ; where Mr. *Goring* spake something in diminution of my Lord *Weston*, which my Lord *Fielding* told him, it could not become him to suffer, lying by the side of his Sister. Thereupon, these hot hearts appoint a meeting next day morning.



ing, themselves alone, each upon his Horse. They pass by *Hide-Park*, as a place where they might be parted too soon, and turn into a Lane by *Knights-bridge*; where having tyed up their Horses at a Hedge or Gate, they got over into a Close; there stripped into their Shirts, with single Rapiers, they fell to an eager Duel, till they were severed by the Host and his Servants of the Inn of the Prince of *Orange*, who by meer chance had taken some notice of them. In this noble encounter, wherein Blood was spent, though (by Gods Providence) not much on either side, there passed between them a very memorable interchange of a piece of courtesie, if that word may have room in this place: Says my Lord *Fielding*, Mr. *Goring*, If you leave me here, let me advise you not to go back by *Piccadillia Hall*, lest if mischance befall me, and be suddenly noised (as it falleth out in these Occasions now between us) you might receive some harm by some of my Friends that lodge thereabouts.

My Lord (replies *Goring*) I have no way but one to answer this courtesie: I have here by chance in my pocket a Warrant to pass the Ports out of *England*, without a Name (gotten, I suppose, upon some other Occasion before,) if you leave me here, take it for your use, and put in your own Name. This is a passage much commended between them, as proceeding both from sweetness and stoutness of Spirit, which are very compatible. On the solemn day of *Saturday* last, both this difference and the Original, between the Earl of *Holland* and the Lord *Weston*, were fairly reconciled and forgiven by the King, with shaking of hands, and such Symbols of Agreement: And likewise Sir *Maurice Dromand*, who had before upon an uncivil  
rup-



ture on this part, between him and my Lord of *Carlisle*, been committed to the Tower, was then delivered at the same time : and so it all ended, as a merry Fellow said, in a *Maurice*. But whether these be perfect cures, or but skinning over and Palliations of Court, will appear hereafter : Nay, some say very quickly ; for my Lord *Weston's* Lady, being since brought to bed of a Daughter, men stand in a kind of suspense, whether the Queen will be the God-mother after so crude a reconciliation, which by the King's ineffimable goodness, I think may pass in this forgiving week.

For Foreign matter, there is so little and so doubtful, as it were a Misery to trouble you with it. The States confuted Treaty is put to the stock ; and the Prince of *Orange* (by account) gone to the Field two days since, having broken the business (as they say) by three demands ; the resignation of *Breda* and *Guelder*, the dismantling of *Rheinberge*, and the equality of free exercise of Religion on either side. The States are strong in Arms, weak in Money, owing above six hundred thousand pounds *sterling* in bare Interest besides the Capital. The Enemy hath neither Money, nor Men, nor Agreement. *Arca sine calce* ; yet I hear (and *ex bonis Codicibus*) that the States are absolutely resolved to besiege no Town this year, unless it be some such place as may haply fall gently into their lap. They will range with divided Troops.

I will have a care in my Letters to the King's only Sister (for that is now her published style, even in Sermons) so to commend your *Frank* unto her, (whom she was wont to call, when he went first over, her little Pig) that he may speedily have a Captain's place.



God bless him, and bless your whole name; to which I am so much tied, both by the alliance of the sweetest Niece that ever man had, and by your own kindness since her departure to Heaven. And so I rest,

*Your indissoluble Servant,*

H. WOTTON.

Your *Hester* is re-entred into the green sickness, *faulte de je scay quoy*.

I pray burn this hasty Letter when you have read it.

SIR,

If you have (as I remember once you told me) the Will of Sir *William Pickering*, I pray favour me with a Copy of it for a certain purpose; out of which if I pick any good, you shall be partaker of it.

I have been for the most part sick since I wrote last unto you, but am now chearful again.

*To my Noble Nephew many chearful years.*

SIR,

IT is worth the noting, how commonly the casual firings of Houses in Towns do follow one another; and so (methinks) do the inflammations of spirits in Courts: For after the solemn quenching of our late quarrels, there is fallen out a new, and shrewdly pursued, between Mr. *Harbert Price*, a Sewer to the Queen, and Mr. *Eliot*, Page to the King.

The



The beginning they say was upon very flight occasion: but because a young Lady is an ingredient in the story, I will pass it over. To field they went two days since upon hot and hasty blood (which somewhat saves it from a deliberate Duel) both shooting the Bridge in several Boats; yet the matter being before suspected, my Lord Chamberlain sent one Mr. *Haies* (a Scottish-man, and a good Surgeon, though of late an Ordinary Courtier on the Queens side) in quest of them: who found them both on the *Surry* side, a mile or two below Bridge, closed, and (I hear) on the ground. But Mr. *Price* already hurt in three places, in one of his sides, in his face, and in three of his fingers: the other is come off untouched. This *Price* hath been formerly bred a Souldier, and sometimes (they say) a Lieutenant in the Low Provinces. Mr. *Eliot* scarce yet a man in years; but for height and strength at his full prime, and in both above the common scantling. The King is herewith highly offended, succeeding so freshly upon the late reconcilements: And it is doubted, they will at least lose their places.

The journey to *Scotland* continueth hotly, and His Majesty removeth House to *Theobalds*, that way, on *Saturday* come fortnight. But first must be censured the Bishop of *Lincoln* for too many words, and the Citizens of *London* in their undertakings in *Ireland* for too few deeds; which I believe will both trench deep. I shall stay long enough in *London* (not intending to be gone before the Kings remove) to tell you the event: and truly without your benificent courtesie, I had been wrapt in a strange riddle; for I could neither have staid nor departed.



I received the Communion in *St. Bartholomew's* on *Sunday* last (being *Easter-day*) in the same Pew with your *Hester* and her Mother; your *Hester* either becomes a little tincture of the Green sickness well, or that becomes her well: well she looks, I am sure, and in my fancy draws towards the countenance of her Sister *Stanhop* more and more, but stealingly. My Niece *Margaret* is come home from her *Artisan* in *Southwark*, with some pretty amendment. The manner of his cure in those imperfections is somewhat strange; he useth no bindings, but oyls and stroakings; of which I take him to be (in all my reading) both the Instrument and the Author. My Niece *Ann* will prove one of the handsomest Creatures of the World; being much grown, and having rectified a little squinting, or oblique look which she had in one of her eyes, so far as the remainder will turn to a beauty. Her Mother hath of late been much troubled (and I think as much in her fancy, which is the greater cure, as in her body) with a pain in her right side, which changeth place, and therefore is sure but a *flatuous infirmity*: yet it hasteneth her removing to better Air.

From my Lady, my Sister at *Canterbury*, we hear nothing; I believe she is in travail with her own thoughts, about defacing the inscription of the Tomb, as far as *Catholico* and *Catholica* amount unto. And I could wish, as she took your advice in the intention and word upon the Marble, she had done so in the rest: but in that you were no apt Counsellor.

Now for Foreign matters. We have fair tydings from *Germany*, that the Princes hold fast together, and things go well: and I am of opinion, that  
when



when those parts have learnt as well as the lower Provinces, to spend a Summer upon the siege of a Town, the War will nestle there as well as below. For they abound in strong places; and War it self is a great refiner of spirits in little time.

The States are in the Field earlier than heretofore: and in all Judgment it importeth no less, than the countenancing and covering of a general revolt of the *gebeerten Provinces*, as they call them: of that more in my next. And so (Sir) leaving you in our blessed Saviours love, I rest,

From my Lodging in  
St. Martins-lane by the  
Fields, April 25. 1633.

Your *Suiscerato servidore*,

H. WOTTON.

S I R,

When I have sent you (as I will do by the next Carrier) a new character, I will open my files.

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St. Martins-lane by the Fields, June 3. 1633.

*To my Noble Nephew, long and chearful years.*

S I R,

**T**His other day at the Cock-pit in *Shoe-lane* (where my self am *rara avis*) your Nephew Mr. Robert Bacon came very kindly to me, with whom I was glad to refresh my acquaintance, though I had rather it had been in the Theater of *Redgrave*.

I asked him of his Brother, your *Frank*; and he told me he had been so hindered by winds, as he thought he was not yet gotten over: At which I was sorry, for he hath lost the Honor of taking



*Rheinberge* : He may come yet timely enough to see *Guelders* yielded, and after that to have his share in *Fuliers*, which they write from the Camp, will be the next piece; and so the States will be Masters of all the tract that lies between the *Maese* and the *Rhene*, and backed with one of the fattest Provinces of Christendom. Besides, we hear they have recovered their former footing in *Brasil*, and beaten the *Spanish* Fleet. It is hard to say, into what these prosperities will run out: for surely, if they can establish a right correspondency with the upper Armies of *Germany*, and either both hold out, or neither agree without the other; even this Summer will breed notable effects, and among other I hope, the restitution of the *Palatinate*; where, as much as the *Swede* had taken, is offered for 16000. Dollers; whereof the half is paid already by the Duke of *Simmern*, Administrator to the young *Palatine* in his minority, and the other moyety is expected from hence. One thing I must not omit to tell you, that the said young Prince was at the siege of *Rheinberge* to initiate him in action. The young Cardinal *Infante* is come you know to *Milan*, and they say will there reside as Governour till he can recover *Casale* and *Pignerclo*, and purge *Italy* of the *French*: so as I believe he will come to *Bruxels* (for thither he finally tends) in the *Spanish* pace. Having thus a little skimmed over our Foreign news, give me leave now to entertain you with some Novelties of Art. I send you herewith two printed Caps, a triangular Salt-celler, and the top of an Amber-Ring. The Caps is a pretty fresh invention of a very easie rate; for they will run shortly at some six pence a piece: and they say the sale is monopolized by a Woman at *Amsterdam*; which may come



to some pretty perfection in the ornament of Curtains and Valances of Beds, or in some fine historiated Table cloth for a Banquet, or the like. In the invention of the Salt-celler you have an interest your self; for I remember (Sir) you shewed me a whole furniture of Marble Salt-cellars for a Table of your bespeaking: But there is one that hath only gone beyond you in the cheapness of the Material; for this which you now receive is but of Seacoal, and it is strange to see what a polishment so base a stuff doth take, like the ennobling of a Clown. To the broken Ring there belongs a little more discourse. I bought it for a trifle in *Lombard-street* long since, because it had a Fly intombed in the sealing part; which if it had been precisely in the middle, would have shewed like the sculpture of the Signet it self. Now a while since by a fall from a Table to the ground, it brake, though in a boarded room: whereupon there fell a conceit into my mind, that the Ring was Artificial Amber, and not Natural; as indeed my Servant *Giovanni* and I have since plainly discovered. Now I cannot chuse but smile when I think how much more the first Seller of it might have had from me for the fallhood (if he would have said so) than for the truth: For surely many rare things may be made of this composition, and intire insectiles of any greatness, and in any posture be inclosed therein; which I am sure will inflame you, as it hath set me on fire already to find the way how to clarify the Pasta, which seems to be of Rosin, and perchance some dust of true Amber. And thus you see what easie ways I take to please my self, while I am conversing with you. Let me add to these, a strange thing to be seen in *London* for a

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couple



couple of pence, which I know not whether I should call a piece of Art, or Nature: It is an *English-man* like some Swabber of a Ship come from the *Indies*, where he hath learned to eat Fire as familiarly as ever I saw any eat Cakes, even whole glowing Brands, which he will crash with his teeth, and swallow. I believe he hath been hard famished in the *Terra de Fuego*, on the South of the *Magellan strait*.

Sir, I have heard (I know not by whom) that you had a purpose to be here this *Witsentide*; but imagining that at least Mr. *Chitock* may meet you by the way, I have ventured the trouble of these lines unto you. For mine own estate, I must acquaint you, (because whether well or ill, I am yours) that of late I have been much Troubled with certain splenetick vapours, mounting to the top of my Stomach when it is empty: For which I am in a course of gentle Physick at the present, remembering that of *Galen*, *Ego soleo hortari amicos meos, ut in melancholicis affecticnibus abstineant à validioribus remediis*. My best Physick will be your company,

*To whom there is none bound in truer service than*

H. WOTTON.

OH my most dear Nephew, (for so I still glory to call you, while Heaven possesseth her who bound us in that Relation) how have I of late, after many vexations of a fastidious infirmity, been at once rent in pieces by hearing that you were at *London*: What! said I, and must it be at a time when



when I cannot fly thither to have my wonted part of that conversation, wherein all that know him enjoy such infinite contentment? Thus much did suddenly break loose from the heart that doth truly Honor you. And now (Sir) let me tell you both how it hath gone with me, and how I stand at the present. There is a triple health: health of Body, of Mind, and of Fortune; you shall have a short account of all three.

For the first; it is now almost an whole Cycle of the Sun, since after certain fits of a Quotidian Fever, I was assailed by that Splenetick Passion, which a Countrey good Fellow that had been a piece of a Grammarian meant, when he said he was sick of the *Flatus*, and the other hard word; for *Hypocondriacus* stuck in his Teeth: It is the very *Proteus* of all Maladies; shifting into sundry shapes, almost every night a new, and yet still the same; neither can I hope, that it will end in a solar Period, being such a Saturnine Humour; but though the Core and Root of it be remaining, yet the Symptomes (I thank my God) are well allayed: And in general, I have found it of more contumacy than malignity; only since the late cold weather, there is complicated with it a more Asthmatical straitness of respiration than heretofore: yet those about me say, I bear it well, as perchance custom hath taught me; being now familiarized and domesticated evils: In the Tragedians expression, *Fam mansueta Mala*. And thus much of the habit of my Body. On the other side, my Mind is in a right Philosophical Estate of health; that is, at an equal distance both from desire and hope; and ambitious of nothing, but of doing nothing, and of being nothing:

yet



yet I have some Imployment of my thoughts to keep them from mouldring, as you shall know before I close this Letter. But first, touching the third kind of health. My condition or fortune was never better, than in this good Lord Treasurer's time: the very reverse of his proud Predecessor, that made a scorn of my poverty, and a sport of my modesty; leaving me in bad case; and the world so, as though we now know by what Arts he lived, yet are we ignorant to this hour by what Religion he died, save only that it could not be good, which was not worthy the professing. This free passage let me commit to your noble brest, remembring that in confidence of the receiver, I have transgressed a late Council of mine own which I gave to a young friend, who asking me casually of what he should make him a sute, as he was passing this way towards *London*; I told him that in my opinion, he could not buy a cheaper nor a more lasting stuff there than *silence*. For I loved him well, and was afraid of a little freedom that I spied in him. And now, Sir, I must needs conclude (or I shall burst) with letting you know, that I have divers things in wild sheets that think and struggle to get out of several kinds, some long promised, and some of a newer conception: but a poor exercise of my Pen (wherewith I shall only Honor my self by the dedication thereof unto your own person) is that which shall lead the way by mine and your good leave, intending (if God yield me his Favor) to Print it before it be long in *Oxford*, and to send you thence, or bring you a Copy to our *Redgrave*. What the Subject is you must not know beforehand: for I fear it will want all other grace, if it lose virginity. And so the Lord of all abundant joy keep  
you



you long, *con quella buona Ciera*, which this my Servant did relate unto me,

*Who live, at all your commands,*

H. WOTTON.

From your College  
this *Ash-wednesday*,  
1637.

*Postscript.*

Mr. *Clever*, one of the now Fellows of this College, (where have been divers changes since it had the Honor and the gladness to receive you) being this day returned hither from the Excellent Lord-Keeper, to whom we had addressed him about a business that concerneth us, tells me even at this instant in the account of his journey; That it pleased his good Lordship to enquire of him twice or thrice very graciously touching my health. I beseech you (My Noble Nephew) let his Lordship see, if it please you, this whole Letter (for I dare trust his indulgent goodness, both with my Liberties and with my simplicities) and that will tell him my present Estate: which by making it any part of his care, is for ever at his most humble service.

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*Noble Sir; above all the most Honored and Loved.*

**U**Pon the receipt of a Letter from you (which came late, and I know not by what misadventure, half drowned, to my hands) with advertisement, that you had been at *Sudbury* in your passage



passage homewards assailed with a Quartan : I resolved immediately to visit you by this Bearer the best of my flights, and lately well acquainted himself with farther travellers, who yet hath been kept here after my said resolution, that he might bring you a full account of the business touching my inviolate Niece so dear unto us both, which was a part of your foresaid Letter, and wherein I am confident you will receive very singular contentment out of the very Originals of some, and true Copies of other Letters, which I send you by this my said inward servant ; and if he were not so, I would not have intrusted him with so tender Papers. The rest of his stay, was only that I might collect among my poor memorials and experiments something conducible to the recovery of your health, wherein I reckon my self as much interess'd as in any one thing of this World. I will not say unto you, *Courage*, as the *French* use to speak : for you have enough of that within your self, Nor, *Be merry*, in our *English* phrase (for you can impart enough of that even to others in the incomparable delight of your conversation.) But let me give you two comforts, though needless to the serenity of your spirits. The first, That I hope your infirmity will not hold you long, because it comes (as I may speak, according to the barbarous Translators of *Avicenna*) *In complexionato suo* : that is in the very season of the revolution of melancholick humours, for *Omnis Morbus contra complexionatum Patientis vel Temporis, est periculosus aut longus*. The other, That it hath not succeeded any precedent caustick disease, because those Quartans are of all the most obstinate which arise out of the Incineration of a former Ague. The rest I have committed to the instru-



instructions and memory of this Bearer, being himself a Student in Physick ; and though I dare not yet call him a good Counsellor, yet I assure you, he is a good Relator : with this dispatch I will intermingle no other vulgar subject, but hereafter I will entertain you with as jolly things as I can scramble together. And so, Sir, for the present, commending you into the sweet and comfortable preservation of our dear God, I rest,

From the College  
Novemb. 6. 1638.

*Your faithful poor Servant,*

H. WOTTON.

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*My Noble, Honored, Loved, ever Remembered, ever Desired Nephew.*

I Shall give to morrow morning *Matthew Say*, our Boat-man, before his going, a shilling, and promise him another at his return to deliver this small packet with his own hands at the *Green-Dragon* in *Bishopsgate-street*, according to the form of your address, not for any value of mine own Papers, but for some things therein contained, which I wish may come safely and quickly to you. And first, I send you your immortal Uncles Confession of his Faith, which I did promise you at *Canterbury*, solidly and excellently couched, as whatsoever else had the happiness to fall under his Meditation and Pen.  
Next;



Next ; you receive a Letter freshly written me from *Cambridge*, with mention (God bleſs us) of a Jeſuit of your name : who ſeems (as all that comes from any of you is piercing) to have ſent over lately ſome pretty inſinuating Book in matter of Theological Controverſie, perchance better dreſſed than any before, and with more reliſh commended to the vulgar taſte, but I believe it will be the ſame to the ſtomach : for well they may change their form, but it is long ſince we have heard their ſubſtance over and over, ſtill the ſame *ad faſtidium uſque*. I ſhall languish to know how he toucheth upon your Name and ſtirp. The Name of my Friend who writ me the ſaid Letter, I have defaced, for the cenſure of ſome other things therein, which I ſhould be ſorry to adventure at large : but you ſhall know him from me hereafter ; and believe it, he will be worth your knowing.

I cannot forbear to tell you a thing (I know not whether I ſhould call it news, becauſe it is nearer you than to us) but ſtrange in truth, written me from the ſaid University at the ſame time by the Provost of Kings College there ; between whom and me doth paſs much familiar correſpondency. It is of a weekly Lecture there performed heretofore by the Perſon of Mr. *Chriſtopher Goad*, and lately depoſed with ſevere commandment (as it ſhould ſeem) from above, whereupon the Women eſpecially by way of revenge for that reſtraint do flock to *St. Maries* in ſuch troops, and ſo early, that the Maſters of Art have no room to fit ; ſo as the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houſes were in deliberation to repreſs their ſhoaling thither. Methinks, it is a good thing, when Zeal in a Land grows ſo thick and ſo warm. But ſoft, if I lanch  
any



any farther, I may perchance run (which yet were a great mistake) into the name of a Puritan. For that very Lecturer which is now depofed, did live heretofore with me at my Table upon especial choice: being in truth a man of fweet converfation, and of fober folidity.

Now, for other things, *Nicolas Oudard* brought me, the *Friday* after his departure from you, the glad tidings of your Agues difcharge, as you then conceived it would be at the twentieth Access, according (as you feem to have told him) to a common obfervation with you there: fo as in *Suffolk*, I fee you count *Quartan* fits, as you do your Sheep, by the fcore. I could heartily wifh you would take for fome time after it *Alternis Diebus*, my preparation of the *Lignum Sanctum*, with addition likewise of the roots of *China*, *Enula Campana*, and a fprig of *Tamarisque*, all in the decoction of Barley-water, and quickened with a little fprinkling of a Limon: a rare Receipt to corroborate the *Viscera*, and to keep the Stomach in *Tono*. My faid *Nicolas* tells me likewise, that you began to chirp upon being in *London* the next Term. I fhould be glad with your favour to know that point precisely: for having a purpofe (by God's dear bleffing) to vifit you at *Redgrave* (which will be the beft Cordial I took in long time) I would fhape my courfe circularly, either from *Suffolk* to *Kent*, or from *Kent* to *Suffolk*, as I fhall hear off your motions towards the beginning of next Lent. For novelties of Court and State, all mens minds at the prefent with us feem magnetical, looking towards the North. Order is come down this day to the Juftices of this Shire, about a general mufter at *Alisbury* the next week, and for especial watch at the



the Beacons ; so as any burning of a bush by chance near one of them, would set the whole Province in an alarm ; but notwithstanding these good providences, we hope well of the Issue ; and the rather, for that a pretty strong conceit runneth, that the Deanary of *Durham* is reserved for Doctor *Belkanquel*, as a reward of his travels to and fro in this great business. While we are uniting our ceremonious breaches, the Kings of *France* and *Spain* abroad treat hard this Winter about a peace, as one writeth, (and I believe very truly) without consideration of any other Prince or State but themselves. If this be so, and take effect in that manner, then is *Charles de Lorain Exutus Lepidus* stript to his shirt, the Count *Palatine* left at large, and the *Swede* must stand upon his own feet. But *Brevibus Momentis summa vertuntur*: all depends upon the taking, or not taking of *Brisach*, the *Helena* of *Germany*: and though a Town indeed of great strength and advantage, yet a poor price for so much blood as hath been lost about it. While I am talking of War, let me tell you what I hear, that your Sir *Jacob Ashley* is grown a great man at Court in private introducements to the King, together with the Earl *Marshal*: our good Sovereign will feel a sufficient man quickly. The States lie still and close oppressed with the adversities of the last year ; and with nothing more, than the late ruine of forty well laden Ships by the *Texel*, wherein with deploration of the whole Province were lost one thousand Mariners.

Touching the subject whereof I sent you an account by *Nicolas*, I have heard nothing since to increase my hope, and much less my faith. You shall have more the next week. Till when and ever our sweet Jesus have you in his love.

Your Servant *alla fuiscerata*, H. W.



SIR,

Since I concluded this, Mr. Hales (our *Bibliotheca ambulans*, as I use to call him) came to me by chance, and told me, that the Book of Controversies issued under the name of *Baconus*, hath this addition to the said name, *alias Southwell*; as those of that Society shift their names as often as their shirts: And he says it is a very poor thing, only graced with a little method.

From your College Decemb. 5. 1638.

SIR,

**A**fter the rest of your trouble, at the present their remaineth a proposition to be consulted with you; about which I should esteem the charge of an express Messenger not ill expended, though you were at Jerusalem. And both Mr. Harison and my self think no man living more proper to solve it, than our Sir Edmund Bacon. The Question is this, whether there may not be found some natural Philosophical way to determine the measure of a minute, or quarter, or half, or intire hour, or any portion of time more precisely and uniformly, and infallibly than hath been yet invented by any Mechanical and Artificial motion? And particularly, whether it may not be done by the descent of drops through a Filter, either in Manica Hippocratis, or in a Tongue of Cloth equally thick, with consideration likewise of all circumstances in that liquid substance which must sink through it. If this may be done, there will be a mighty point obtained in the rectifying of the Longitudes of the Earth, which depend upon the thoment of the Lunar Eclipses; and Mose, up-



on the exact determination of the beginning and ending of an hour : for which purpose the great Tycho Brache composed divers Horologies, and Hour-glasses, some running with simple Water, some with distilled Spirits, some with pulverized Metals, and some with crude Mercury ; but never to any infallible satisfaction of the point propounded : which likewise would be of singular use in divers Astronomical Observations, if it could be once justly regulated. This we commend to your curious Judgement. My Servant Nicholas and I hope to send you some good Flints to be Agatized by your miraculous invention.

I pray, Sir, if you have any of those Island stones which you mentioned unto me at Canterbury, bestow a few upon me. But above all, forget not to let me know where you will be about the beginning of Lent.

Iterum & Iterum vale.

---

*A late Letter written towards the end of Lent, by Sir Henry Wotton Provost of his Majestie's College at Eaton.*

*To the Right worthy his ever truly Honored, Sir Edmund Bacon Knight and Baronet, touching the loss of Friends, and final resignation of our selves.*

S I R,

**A**LL the faculties of my mind (if they had ever been of any value) and all the strength of my Body, must yield to the seignory and soveraignty of  
of



of time over us : But the last thing that will die, or decay in me, is the remembrance, how amidst that inestimable contentment which I enjoyned (as all others do) in the benefit and pleasure of your Conversation (being then with you at *Redgrave* in *Suffolk*, both your delightful Mansion and Philosophical retreat, where you are best, because there you are most your self, though every where well imparted to your Friends) I was then surprized with an Advertisement from Court, of the death of Sir *Albertus Morton*, my dear Nephew, in the vernality (as I may term it) of his employments and Fortunes under the best King and Master of the World. And how no great time after (as adversities are seldom solitary) there succeeded in the same place the departure of my no less dear Niece, your long, and I dare say, your still beloved Consort (for Love and Life are not conterminable) as well appeareth by your many tender expressions of that disjunction, and by that Monument of your own excellent invention which you have raised to her memory.

This (Sir) ever freshly bleeding in me, and withal revolving often in my retired thoughts, how I have long since over-lived my loving Parents, all mine Uncles, Brothers and Sisters, besides many of mine especial Friends and Companions of my youth, who have melted away before me, and that I am now my self arrived near those years which lie in the Suburbs of Oblivion, being the sole Masculine Branch of my good Fathers House in the County of *Kent*: So as that poor Name Reputation which my Ancestors have heretofore sustained by God's permission, must expire and vanish in my unworthiness: I say (Sir) again and again,



debating often these Circumstances with my self (and truly not without the common weakneses and passions of humanity, from which I am of all men least exempted) an extreme desire did lately assail me to entertain between my other Private Studies, some such discourse as might work upon mine own mind, and at least abstract a while, if not elevate my cogitations above all earthly objects. Whereupon, towards the end of this last Lent (a time of contracted thoughts I fell to think of that Theme, which I have now entituled, the loss of Friends, and final Resignation of our selves. Intending, though it be the highest and uttermost point of Christian Philosophy, to familiarize it between us as much as I can, and to address it in form of a Letter to your self. For, with whom can I treat of this matter more properly, being both of us almost precisely of equal age, and by the love which you are pleased to bear me, all Joy in the Fruition, and all Grief in the Privation of Friends common between us.

*Now Sir, &c.*

---

*My dearly and worthily ever Honored Nephew,*

**T**HIS is that Saturnine time of the year which most molesteth such splenetick Bodies (as mine is) by the revolution of melancholick blood, which throweth up fastidious fumes into the head, whereof I have had of late my share: Howsoever, this trusty Fellow of our Town being hired by one about some business to *Cambridge* (as he is often hither and thither) and acquainting me commonly with his motions, I have gladly stretched his present



sent journey as far as the *Redgrave*: hoping by him to have an absolute account of your well being, which *Nicholas* my Servant left in a fair disposition.

Let me therefore by this opportunity entertain you with some of our newest things ; but briefly, for I dare not trust my brains too much.

First, for the affairs of *Scotland*: *Est bene non potuit dicere, dixit, Erit.* The wisest Physicians of State are of opinion that the *Crisis* is good; and I hope your Sir *Jacob Ashley*, and my Sir *Thomas Morton*, will have a fine employment upon the borders; Honour by the choice of their persons, money by their journal pay, little pains, and no danger. Our Court mourneth this whole Festival with sad frugality for the untimely death of the young Duke of *Savoy*, our Queens Nephew, hastened they say by the Cardinal his Uncle, who would first have illegitimated him, and that not taking effect by the supportment of *Spain*, he fell to other Roman Arts; so as the said Cardinal to decline this black report, is gone a wandring, and, as it is thought, will visit bare-foot the Holy Land. In the mean time, methinks I see him with a crew of *Banditi* and *Bravi* in his company, and his own Conscience a continual Hangman about him. The Queen Mother stirreth little between Majesty and Age: She hath published a short *Manifesto*, touching the reasons of her recess from *Bruxels*, wherein is one very notable conceit: *That she had long born silently the affronts done her by the Prince, Cardinals, Councillors, and under-Officers, upon no other reason, than the very shame to have received them.* Of himself she speaketh with good respect, but I know not how the Character of humility ( which she giveth him)



will be digested : for perchance he had rather have been painted like a Lion than a Lamb. Our Queens Delivery approacheth, in a good hour be it spoken. There is newly sworn her Servant, a lovely Daughter of Sir *Richard Harisons*, our Neighbour in *Barkshire*, to answer *Madamoiselle Darci* on her Mothers side. The Count *Palatine* since his late defeat, is gotten in disguised habit to *Hamborough*, and as they say, hath been there visited by the King of *Denmark*, amidst that cold Assembly of Ambassadors : But in his passage between the said Town and *Bremen*, was like to have been taken by ambush of Freebooters, who no doubt would have made sale of him. Certain it is, that his Brother Prince *Rupert* fought very nobly before he yielded; whereof such notice was taken, even by the Count of *Hatfield* himself, that he hath ever since been kept by him in a strong place, rounded day and night with a guard of naked Swords ; yet in the Tablets of one that had leave to visit him, the Prince made a shift to comfort the Queen his Mother with a line or two to this sence : *That whatsoever became of himself, he would never change his Religion, nor his Party.* We hear my Lord *Craven* hath made his Composition under 20000 *l.* As for *Ferrets*, I believe his own head must ransom him, or his Heels. The Popes Treaty at *Coley* goes *Il passo del Gambaro*, rather backward then forward. And all deliberatives of State seem to depend much upon the event of *Brisach*, which I use to call the *German Helena*, long wooed, but for ought I hear yet, an Imperial Virgin. These are our foreign Rhapsodies : I will end in somewhat nearer us. You receive herewith the Copy of my last or second Letter to Mr. *Cary Raleigh*, and his answer thereunto.

Believe



Believe it, Sir, (whatsoever conceit his actions shall breed) that he is a Gentleman of dextrous obilities, well appearing in the management of a business so tender and delicate, as that which now runneth between us, which for my part I resolve to press no farther: For (to depose my mind as plainly as I may safely in your breast) I never could observe any great good effect to ensue upon violent dissensions in businesses of this Nature, but rather an obduration than an abversion: Howsoever, I would fain (as the occasion suggesteth) propound unto your Judgment a pretty Moral doubt, *super tota materia*, which I have heard discussed, and resolved affirmatively among some skilful Humorists, who knew the World well. The Question was this, *Whether in such a case precisely as ours of meer scandal, without apparent truth, some inclining to think the worst, and some the best, there be left room for any middle imagination between good and ill?* In the solution of which point, I will crave pardon to reserve a secret till we meet, at which I believe you will smile.

We are here (God be blessed) all well: Our *Audit* ended a little before *Christmas-day*, more troublesome than fruitful, after the fashion. The same Officers as the year before, every man of them your Servant, or otherwise they had wanted my voice. Mr. *Harison* hath been of late somewhat more than heretofore trouble with certain *Ne-phritical* fits; but they are transient and light, *Et jam mansucta mala*. Mr. *Powel* speaketh of you with much devotion, as all other whom you have once touched with your Magnetical vertue. In the Conclusion let me, as with a Box of *Marmalade*, close up your stomach with one of the Genialest pieces that I have read in my life-time, of the same un-



affected and discheveled kind, (as I may term it) sent me newly from *London*; which if you have seen before, I am out of countenance. And so (Sir) wishing you (for I cannot wish you better on earth) after the sweet apprehension of God's continual Favor, the Fruition of your self: I rest, at what distance soever,

From the College  
on the Eve of the  
*New year*, through  
which God send  
you a blessed passage,  
and many more.

*Your unseparable Servant,*

H. WOTTON.





# ADDITIONAL LETTERS

TO

## SEVERAL PERSONS:

Now first Published from the Au-  
thor's own Copies.

---

King *James* to Sir *Henry Wotton*, 1616.

*To Our Right trusty and well beloved Sir Henry  
Wotton, Knight, Our Ambassador Resident with the  
State of Venice.*

*James R.*

**R**ight trusty and well beloved, We greet  
your well. Whereas many of the Gen-  
try, and others of Our Kingdoms,  
under pretence of Travel for their ex-  
perience, do pass the *Alpes*, and not  
contenting themselves to remain in *Lombardy* or  
*Tuscany*, to gain the language there, do daily flock  
to *Rome*, out of vanity and curiosity to see the An-  
tiqui-



tiquities of that City ; Where falling into the company of Priests and Jesuites, or other ill disposed persons, they are not only corrupted with their Doctrine, but poysoned with their Positions, and so return again into their Countrys, both averse to Religion, and ill-affected to Our State and Government. Forasmuch as we cannot think upon any better means to prevent that inconvenience hereafter, then by imposing the care of that business in part upon you : These are therefore to require you, to take notice with diligence of all such, as by the way of *Venice* shall bend their courses thither, and to admonish them, as from Us, that they should not presume to go beyond the bounds of the Dukedom of *Florence*, upon any occasion whatsoever. After which advice of yours given unto them, if any Subject of Ours, of what degree or condition soever, shall be either so much forgetful of the duty he doth owe to Us, or so little respective of his own good, as to press further, to the breach of Our Commandment delivered them by you ; Our Will and Pleasure is, that you should forthwith acquaint us with the Names of the Persons, who shall so miscarry themselves, that upon notice thereof from you, We may take such further order with them, for the redress of this mischief, as to Our Wisdom shall seem good.

Given under Our Signet at *Newmarket*, the seventh day of *December*, in the Fourteenth year of Our Reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the Fiftieth, 1616.

*Venice*,



[Venice, 1618.]

*My most Honored Lord and Patron,*

**M**Y humble suit unto your Lordship is this : It is His Majestie's usual Grace, to yield His Foreign Servants the comfort of His Gracious sight once in three years, as this Republick doth likewise recal their Ministers, which Term by my Privy-Seal will end on the first day of *February* next.

I do therefore humbly beg, that by your Lordships intercession, I may have leave to return home for a Month or six Weeks, concurring two urgent occasions.

The one, for the pursuit of a business depending on a Patent long since granted to Sir *Edward Dymock* and me, whereunto I am summoned by His Majestie's Attorney, as will appear unto your Lordship by the Copy of the said Attorneys Letter, (coming herewith) written to my Brother Sir *James Wotton*, my Feoffee in trust ; wherein my presence is necessary, by reason of some differences between the said Sir *Edward Dymock* and me. And this is a Case wherein we are to maintain His Majesties Title, as hath been endeavored, with our own moneys hitherto unfruitfully spent.

The other, for the re-ordering of my Exchanges, which have been much incommodated by the failing of *Seignor Burlamachie's* credit here, (though it stand well in other places) by a trick that was played him.

While I shall be at home, I will challenge nothing from His Majestie's Exchequer, though perchance I shall bring some Observations, not altogether



gether unprofitable, as a publick Instrument. I will likewise neither trouble His Majesty as the Fountain, nor your Lordship as the Means, with any private suit, in the way of mine own Fortune. For by His Royal Goodness, and by your favorable mediation, I am already abundantly satisfied in some Expectatives, (as marks of His Grace, and of your Patronage) which have not only exceeded my merits, but even quieted mine appetites. Only thus much I humbly crave, That by His Majestie's toleration of my weaknesse, I may still retain this charge, and live upon his service, without farther burden unto him, because I see no man hasty at home, to die for my benefit.

---

1619.

*A Report of my Negotiaton in Germany, and of some Particularities occurring in my Journey.*

*To my most Gracious Sovereign and Master.*

I Came to *Munichen*, the Court of *Barvaria*, in the evening before the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, and in my company, the Duke *Joachimus Ernestus* of *Holstein*, who since the ceasing of Arms in *Friuli*, had lived with me at *Venice*: which I mention as a duty, having been recommended unto me, and to that State, by Your Majestie's special Letters, and in truth likewise by his own worthy dispositions: Here we thought only to have stolen a sight, in some private window, of the Procession the next day, where we were told the Princes and whole Court



Court would be: But in the morning we were prevented by the Duke *Maximilian*, who having gotten knowledge of our qualities, sent a Baron of his Bed-Chamber with Coaches to conduct us to the Court; which gracious surprisal we could not civilly resist. At the Court we were placed, by the Dukes own appointment, in a Gallery; where when we saw a more solemn and sober Procession, than I had beheld even at *Rome*, under the Popes eyes; as perhaps, all superstition is loosest at the Fountain. In this Procession, a little after the Duke and his Brother *Albertus*, went two young Sons of one of them, that were thrown out of the window at *Prage*, who since then have been fostered in *Bavaria*: And from hence we took our first judgement of the affections of that Court. I cannot omit, that at this Solemnity were two *Jesuites*; who otherwise in *Italy* do studiously decline the familiarity of such publick appearances, for preservation of respect: At which when I did express some wonder, I was told between jest and earnest, that indeed the greater Fathers were more reserved of their presence, but these were only like Ushers over the Seminary Boys, to keep them in awe at this Shew.

This done, the Duke of *Holstein* and my self were led and lodged in several Quarters of the Palace: and before Dinner, the Duke *Maximilian* (though tired with walking) sent singly for me, and passed with me more than an hour in private and free discourse: Falling into it, with as serious protestation as mine ears ever heard, that though he was bred in the *Roman* Faith, yet no Prince living did more Honor and Reverence the great Vertues, and eminent Wisdom of the King my Master, to whom  
he



he had the Honor to be allied, both by marriage and by his own descent; and therefore should have thought it a disgrace for him, to let me go that way, without offering me, after I had passed the *Alpes*, a little commodity of repose in that poor House: as he was pleased to term it; being otherwise one of the most capable, magnificent, and regular Fabricks of Christendom; and all of his own device and erection in five years. He told me besides, how sensible he was of the Honor which the Count *Palatine* had done him with a personal surprisal; and how ashamed, that the times had not yet permitted him to revenge that favor, which he had vowed to do with the first opportunity: And the rather, that he might invite Your Majesty's most vertuous Daughter (who hath filled these Countrys with her excellent fame) to come and take possession in *Bavaria* of her Woods and Fields, and to kill all there that had either wings or feet. This was the Complemental part of his Speech. In the rest, he bewailed the present appearance of unquietness in the Empire: He lamented likewise the situation of his own State, which made it hard for him to preserve himself neutral, though he had studied it. He spake of *Ferdinando's* Person, kindly; of his Fortune, doubtfully; of the *Bohemians*, with a cool temper, rather censuring the form of their proceeding, than the cause; of himself, with singular moderation, and without the least discovery of any ambitious affections, though we found his Courtiers warm enough in their hopes.

After Dinner, he sent for the Duke of *Holstein*: And then came himself with his whole train to visit me on that side where I was placed, (an Honor done



done seldom before, as I heard, to any Ambassador) where he spent with me about half an hour, with new affirmations of his reverent respect towards Your Majesty: As likewise, the morning following; when, with much ado, we got leave to be gone. Which Noble Language he afterwards (as not contented with a verbal profession) did prosecute in a Letter that I received from him on the way, which I reserve to be shewn Your Majesty.

This was my entertainment in the *Bavarian* Court, by a Prince (I am bound to say) every way good, but in that wherein he should be best: of Noble manner in his hospitality; of sharp conceit, of great erudition; and both orderly and lovingly served. Which Circumstances I have thought it my part to set down the more particularly, for that, I am certainly informed of much jealousy both taken and expressed by the Pope, at the Count *Palatine's* reception in that Court; and more, for a Book written by his Chancellor, and published by the Duke's direct Command, (prefixed in the front thereof) in defence of *Ludovicus*, the *Bavarian* excommunicated Emperor: Which things considered, make his kindness to Your Majesty's Servant, and professions towards Your Royal Person, more notable. Now to proceed:

At *Augusta* I took language, that the Princes and States of the Union had deferred their Assembly ten days: which gave me opportunity to find them together at *Heilbrun*, whom I should have missed at their own homes. And for due respect, I gave the Count *Palatine* notice of my intent to be there, by a Gentleman expressly sent. Of what I did in *Augusta* for Your Majesties service, I bring  
with



with me the Accompt. Being arrived at *Heilbrun*, the day after the first sitting of the Princes, I repaired immediately to the Count *Palatine*, as Director, not only of the Union; but likewise of me; (for so I told him was Your Majestie's Will:) who after he had spoken with his Associates, did order the form of my proceeding in this manner: With himself, I was to treat *in Individuo*, both for respect of privacy, being Your Majestie's Son-in-Law, and of Dignity, being then *Provisor* of the Empire, as his right style is, and not *Vicar*. To the four Princes, I went joyntly; they agreeing upon a Room where they would assemble, and sending for me their Coaches and Courtiers; namely, the Marquess of *Anspach*, (who hath the precedency, as an Electoral branch) the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the Marquess of *Baden*, and the Prince *Christianus* of *Anhalt*, respondent for his own House: The Landgrave *Maurice* of *Hassia* was not there, but voiced to be sick. The Marquess of *Brandenburg* was out of the Empire in *Prussia*, and his Son in the Low Provinces. The Representants of the three United Cities, *Nurenburg*, *Strasburg*, and *Ulm*, (which direct the meaner Towns) were to come all joyntly (as they did) to my Lodging. The Count *Palatine* met me at the Stair head; and did render me the visitation where I lay, in person: The Princes came all joyntly down into the very Street, to take me from my Coach; and in like manner brought me down again unto it; and did afterwards visit me all together: The Marquess of *Anspach* then presenting unto me their Answer in writing, with all due commemoration of their obligations to Your Majesty. The Representants of the Cities did present their Answer verbally at my Lodg-



Lodging by the *Syndic* of *Strasburg*, with no less Zeal and Devotion than the Princes had done. And this was the formal part, full of all just respect that could be expressed in that place. Now touching the real part : When I had conferred with the Count *Palatine*, your Majesties scope in the main business, I found him in truth for himself exceeding forward ; but for the other Princes and Towns he objected two difficulties : The one was, the present distractions of *Germany*, which made the Proposition somewhat unreasonable. The other was, the differences between our Church and those of the *Augustine* Confession ; which though but few, yet perchance might a little hinder their concurrence with us in this excellent work : especially the *Lutheran* Princes, being likely to do nothing without counsel of their Ministers, and they being the passionatest Men amongst them. These two objections considered, it was thought fit by the Count *Palatine*, (into whose hands I had delivered my self) after deliberation with his own Counsellors, that I should at this time only dispose the other Princes, and Representatives of Cities, in your Majesties Name, towards a concurrence, with apt lenitives and probabilities ; and that I should endeavor, by your Majesties Christian perswasion, to remove all asperity that might impeach it, leaving a more particular prosecution thereof till the noise of the Empire were settled : in which mean while, many things might be further thought on to advance this purpose, and be conferred afterwards by Letters.

Hereupon I framed my Speech to the Princes in the manner following.

I told them, that I brought thither two sorts of Commissions, The one from the Duke and Se-



nate of *Venice*, *sub fide tacita*, which I presented in writing, containing a profession of much good will from that State towards them, and a clear inclination to a straighter correspondence with them: In contemplation of whom, the Republick had resolved not to permit the transport of any succours cross their Gulf into *Austria*, for the further troubling of *Germany*. This was the substance of that I brought under silent confidence, without any other credit than mine own honesty might bear; which had been delivered unto me by Order of Senate, whom I acquainted thus far, that I would take home-wards the way of *Germany*. Wherein I craved from the Princes and the rest some taste of their inclinations, that these fair offers might be farther prosecuted by your Majesties Mediation, whom I knew much to desire the further strengthening of this Body with good Amities.

My other Commission was (as I said) from mine own Royal Master, from whom I brought Letters of his confidence unto them; after presentation whereof, and all other due premises, I told them, That your Majesty having long and deeply considered the corruptions that have grown in your own Kingdoms, and in the States of your Confederates and Friends, by the secret practices of *Jesuits*, did finally observe but one only cause of this creeping mischief, and but one only Remedy; which you had thought meet to communicate with them by an express though a covered Legation, under the colour of my return homewards. The cause of the said evils was, that we had left the Pope at too much ease in his own Provinces; the Remedy would be, to cut him out so much work  
at



at home, as should force him to gather his thoughts about himself, and in conclusion to revoke his Emisfaries for the maintaining of *Italy*. To do this, there were but four means:

1. By the advantage of Arms in time of Action.
2. By open Preaching.
3. By dispersion of Books.
4. By secret Semination.

For the First, it was true, that the late necessity and calling *French* (among whom there were many of our Religion) into *Piedmont*, and the *Dutch*, *Flemish*, and *English* into *Friuli*, had done some good by freedom of conversation, all Inquisition ceasing at such times: But this violent way must be left to further occasion.

For the Second, although there had been for one whole Lent publick Preaching against the *Roman* Doctrine in *Venice*; yet that Liberty and the Popes Excommunication did cease together, and must so abide till new opportunity.

For the Third, I acquainted them how greedy the *Italians* were of our Treatises in matter of Controversie, and of divers ways that had been used both to excite, and to satisfy that curiosity, both by the works of the Arch-bishop of *Spalato*, since his retirement into your Majesties protection; and of a Discourse that was ready to come abroad, wherein should be discovered by a great Intelligent man, even of their own breeding, all the Practices of the Council of *Trent*, out of the Original Registers and Secret Papers; wherein your Majesty had a hand, for the benefit of the Christian World.

For the Fourth and Last way, of secret Semination, wherein we had been hitherto wholly deficient



cient and asleep: This I said was the particular scope of my present Charge.

In this your Majesty did exhort them by all fervent perswasion to joyn with you their Counsels and Cares, their diligence and Powers according to such ways as should be hereafter propounded either by your Majesty to them, or conceived amongst themselves. Whereunto your Majesty had been stirred, first by the Zeal of Gods glory; next, by a Religious shame and indignation, to see Superstition more active than the truth: Thirdly, by the instance of divers well-affected Persons, both within the Body of *Italy*, and in the Confines thereof. And lastly, by the opportunity which the present time it self did yield unto it: which I did particularly remonstrate unto them; but being matter of secrecy, I will keep it in my pen till I arrive with your Majesty.

After which, I concluded with your Majesties most loving and Christian Perswasions unto them (which they could not refuse, coming from such a Friend) to lay aside our own small differences, to suppress the heat of passionate Divines by Civil Authority, and to joyn together against the common Adversary of our Churches and States.

And because the free passage into *Italy* was a point much importing the present purpose, as likewise in other respects very considerable, Your Majesty did intreat them to spend their earnest intercession by a common Letter to the Cantons of *Zurick* and *Bern*, That they would endeavor by all means possible (as being incomparably the fittest Mediators) to re-establish the League between the *Venetians* and the *Grisons*; to which both parties were well inclining, but there wanted a third



to break the Business, and to remove the scruple of, Who shall begin? which had hitherto hindred the effect.

This was my poor Exposition of your Commands: whereof I thought it my Duty to render your Majesty this preambulatory Accompt, for Your ease at mine arrival, and for mine own Discharge: bringing with me, the Letters and Answers of the Princes, as I hope, to Your Majesties full contentment.

I will conclude with my most humble thanks unto your Royal goodness, for this Imployment above all other: And with my prayers to God, that the weakness of the Instrument, may not prejudice the excellent Intention of the Master and Director.

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1620.

*Instructions to our trusty and well-beloved Servant Henry Wotton Knight, at his imployment about the Affairs of Germany, to the Emperor Ferdinand, to Our Dear Son-in-Law Frederick the Prince Elector, and Count Palatine of Rhene, &c. to the Princes of the Union in Body, or to their Sub-Director in place of Our said Son-in-Law: And to other Princes and States, as the Duke of Saxony, Bavaria; and upon Occasion, as his particular Letters of Credence shall direct him.*

**Y**OU are to know, that this your Imployment is, for the present, meerly exploratory and provisional, to give us a clear and distinct Accompt of



the present Affairs, both how they stand at your arrival there, (being every day changeable) and how they incline in the future; and particularly, to sound the affections, and the matter, how far they be capable of any reasonable measure of agreement; that from thence We may take judgment, whether it shall be fit for Us to add any others unto you in a main Treaty, with safety of Our Honor, and benefit of the Cause; or to send others in your room, and to release you from that business, to your Ordinary Residence at *Venice*. Wherein We are contented to defer thus much to your discretion, That if you shall find things desperate, and the Emperors Party absolutely victorious, you may then, after a Courier dispatched unto Us with Advertisment of all circumstances, take your way to *Venice*: If, otherwise, you shall find the Forces on both sides to stand within such terms of equality, as the event is like in probability to continue dubious, and uncertain, you shall then attend the Issue, till the blow shall be stricken; and upon all important variations of occurrences, you shall signify the same unto Us.

2. According to this scope of your employment; you shall hold with all those Princes, from the highest to the meanest, and from those that are most remote in respect, to those that are nearest unto Us in nature and Alliance, the same language; assuring them all, that We constantly continue in Our own Principles, that is, in first desiring the quiet of Christendom, and particularly of those parts, by all possible means, wherein We have formerly expressed by a noble Ambassage of one of Our nearest Servants, before Our Brother the *French* King did enter into it, and before Our  
Selves



Selves shall be drawn to any other resolution, which We thought meet to make publickly know, both by Our said former Ambassador, the Vicount *Doncaster*, and now by you ; leaving the rest to God and time.

3. Touching your Address, First or Second, to one part or other, We leave it to your discretion upon the place, when you have consulted with the Princes of the Union in general, or with their Subdirector for the time, whither you may best direct your self; whom you shall pray in our Name to assist you therein with their best advice: as likewise in all things else concerning the present Affairs: That after this exploration of the business, being much altered since our first Ambassage, We may know what it shall be fit for Us further to direct.

4. Whereas We are informed, that the Ambassadors of Our Brother, the *French* King, have Instructions to propound two things, 1. A Surceasance of Arms, 2. An Imperial Diet; you shall signifie, that in the first of these motions We mainly concur with Him; and in the other, so far as by the directions of Our dear Son-in-Law you shall find convenient for the publick good, and His own.

5. Touching the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, and any other Prince not comprised within the Union, you shall desire them heartily in Our Name to joyn with Us for the common tranquillity, that things may not pass to a further irritation of those Princes and States, and particularly of Our Selves, which otherwise profess Pacifical and Christian ends: fortifying your exhortation therein with the best reasons that you can collect out of the present Affairs, as they shall appear unto you.



6. To all Princes whom it may any way concern, you shall make it known, that in the Election of our Son-in-Law to the Crown of *Bohemia*, We had no part by any precedent Council or practice; which we affirm in the faith and truth of a Christian Prince: And are likewise informed of his own clearness therein, by vehement Affirmations, and by most probable Circumstances.

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*A Copy of my Dispatch to the King, from Vienna, Septemb. 7. 1620.*

*May it please my most Gracious Sovereign,*

**I**F Your Majesty, since my last Accompt from *Augusta*, of what I had handled with the Duke of *Loreign*, and *Wirtenburg*, with the Arch-duke *Leopold*, and with the Communities of *Strasburg* and *Ulm*; shall have expected to hear before now, what I do in this place, the Obligation of Your own goodness, and bounties towards me, besides the Conscience of my charge and duty, may in the mean while have assured Your Majesty, that no diligence or fidelity on my part hath been wanting in the pursuit of your Commands and Christian ends, as I hope shall appear by this Dispatch: Wherein first, It may please your Majesty to understand, that I have been ten days here in *Vienna*, after I had been four whole days stayed by the Emperor at *Cloyster-Nyberg* on the *Danuby*, not above a *Dutch* mile or little more from this Town, whilst a House, and all other things were preparing for my reception: Which course was likewise held with the *French* Ambassadors in the same measure.

Dur ing



During which time of my stay, the Emperor sent me some Provisions, and withal the young Baron of *Harach* to conduct me hither, and here continually to assist me, for procurement of my Audiences, or any other Conveniences, being a Gentleman of the Emperor's Bed-Chamber, twice heretofore employed in foreign Ambassages, Son-in-Law to the Count *Eckemberg*, the Emperors Favorite, and Son to the next of his Counsellors in grace and credit; though the young Baron of *Mersberg*, Captain of his Guard, was sent to the *French*, yet I perceive in the choice of this other Gentleman, an equality of respect towards your Majesty was used.

An hour after my arrival here, he sent to bid me welcome the Count of *Mecaw*, heretofore Lord Chamberlain to the Emperor *Matthias*, and a Counsellor to this, *in tertius quartisve*. I am placed near to the Court, in the House of the Baron *de Gabriela* with rich furniture and good attendance, and hitherto at the Emperors Charge, which within a while must cease, of which I have given the Reason in my Letter to Mr. Secretary *Nanton*. In the mean time I must profess unto your Majesty, that no Circumstance of due regard to the Honour of your Name hath been here omitted, but all done with unexpected freedom: insomuch as to accompany me at my Table, are sent and admitted Gentlemen of both Religions, and of the best degree, which in the meaner Courts of *Germany* I have noted to pass with more restraint. Thus much concerning my Reception, which is the formal part.

Now before I pass unto the material, it is a piece of curiosity to tell unto your Majesty, what discords I here find amongst the publick Instruments,



ments, which seem somewhat considerable : The *French* Ambassadors have been here about seven weeks, and to this hour are unvisited by the *Spanish* (though close adjoining them) upon a meagre punctuality ; for thus it standeth, The *French* arrived on the *Monday* at night ; the *Spaniard*, sent immediately to welcom them his Secretary, *ex forma*. They have Audience the next morning following : That passed, the Count *Ognate* demands leave to visit them in the afternoon ; They desire to be excused, being a day of Ordinary dispatch. The excuse is accepted ; but because they did not afterwards, without a second demand, send him word that they would be at leisure, *incrassatus est sanguis*, on the *Spanish* side. A much deeper and incurable case is fallen out betwixt the *French* and the Extraordinary Ambassador of *Parma*, who, after the *French* sent first unto him, as they say, (though he affirms it was the *Spaniard*) did yet visit the *Spaniard* before them belike, according to the method of his Devotion, and proximity to his Master, or of Authority in this Court : howsoever, hereupon the Duke of *Angolesme* assigned the same Ambassador a day to visit him, and when he came *alla buca*, he shut his Gates upon him : Which is here generally the worse interpreted, because he is a Bishop, seeming an affront to both his qualifications. In such a touchy time as this, I had almost had my share ; to whom, after the three *French* Ambassadors had sent their three Secretaries (for prevention of the *Spaniard*) as far as *Cloyster Newberg*, where I made my stop : they were likewise the first here that sent to visit me, but came all three together, and with them Monsieur *de Beaugie* the Ordinary Agent : Whereupon fell a little disputation



tation between us, Whether visits of respect between Representatives of equality, being received *in specie*, should be paid *in individuo*? which seemed unto me no good complemental *Logick*: but finding afterwards, first, that their Commissions were the same; then, that the Emperor had sent to their several Lodgings; and the Popes *Nuncio*, though visited in gross, had visited them apart, I made an end of this scruple: yet not before a promise, that if your Majesty should send more Ambassadors hither, they will proceed *a la pereeille* with them: having gained thus much by this small debate, that perchance they think me not over-punctual, nor altogether supine. I have likewise received and rendered to the *Spanish* Ambassador all due formalities, and from all other Ambassadors and Agents, except the Popes, and the Duke of Parma's, whose habits make us incommiscible. Of the rest I need not speak at all; of the *French* and *Spanish* I will presume to speak my opinion, as far as may conduce to the main. I find the *French* surely of good intention towards a peace here, but not hasty either to believe in truth that the Crowns of *Hungaria* or *Bohemia* were Hereditary. Here, at their first coming, they had more credit (as I receive from a good hand) than they seem to have now; which is thought to proceed from the *Spanish* Ambassador, who in this Court is not only the Supreme Councillor, but hath in truth a *Dictatoriam potestatem*, as the *French* find; the reason being not very obscure: for when I put in the *major*, that the Emperors resolutions depend upon necessities; and in the *minor*, that his necessities depend upon *Spain*, I think I may spare the conclusion. Thus stand the publick Ministers here, and thus they stand



stand one with another ; which I thought fit to set down, because it hath some Influence into the general business.

Now to proceed to the scope of my employment in matter of substance, I had audience of the Emperor ( as the *French* ) the second day after my arrival, where what I said, will best appear to your Majesty out of the Memorial, which I afterwards [sent] unto him, at his own Requisition, here following word for word, as I have translated it out of the *Italian*, in which Language the Emperor treateth most willingly.

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*The Proposition of Henry Wotton Knight, Ambassador Extraordinary from his Majesty of Great Britain, delivered in the Name of his Sovereign Lord the King with all real intention to his Sacred Imperial Majesty, the 23 of August, stylo vet. did contain four points:*

**F**irst, That his Imperial Majesty would be pleased to make known his Inclination towards a sincere Treaty upon the present Motions.

Secondly, That it will please him by one or two, or more, to inform the said Ambassador of all the fundamental Arguments in the merit of the Cause, which shall be most faithfully represented by him to the King his Master.

Thirdly, Either his Imperial Majesty will refuse, or agree to enter into Treaty: In the first Case, It were vain for Representatives of Princes of good Intentions, to spend further the Reputation of their Masters. In the second, His Majesty of *Great Britain* doth think it most convenient, that both the Parties, together with their Confederates,

be



be contented to condescend to a Cessation of Arms for some competent time ; lest while their Reconcilements were in Treaty, their passions be more exasperated than before.

Fourthly, That for the furthering of their Reconcilement, His Imperial Majesty would be pleased to free the passages of Couriers from *Vienna* to *Praque* ; which shall be procured likewise on the other side.

Besides these substantial points, the said Ambassador did touch three Considerations about the Person of His Sovereign Lord the King, which did render Him with His Imperial Majesty of indubitable credit, although interested by so strait Bonds in the contrary side.

First, His Majesties clearness in the beginning of these Motions :

Secondly, His Neutrality in the Progress thereof :

Thirdly, His Equity in the present.

Touching the first point, the Ambassador declared in his Majesties Name, with high and holy Affirmations, that he had had in Election of his Son-in-law, to the Crown of *Bohemia*, no participation of Counsel, or fore-knowledge. Which His Majesty did not only affirm for himself ; but as indubitably in the Person of his Son-in-law, that he had no way fore-practised that Election.

For the second point, of Neutrality, the Ambassador said, that his Majesty had not yet given the Title of *King* to his Son-in-law, or of *Queen* to his Daughter, in any Letter either publick or private ; nor had permitted the same Title, in any Sermons, within his Kingdoms.

As for the third point, of Equity, the Ambassa-  
dor



dor shewed most evidently, the great moderation and equanimity of the King, his Master, in not having settled any firm Judgment touching the merit of the Cause, upon information from that side wherein His Majesty is most interess'd, without first requiring farther knowledge from the Emperor himself by an express Minister.

This was the Memorial of my Proposition.

Four days after, the Emperor sends me word, that his Answer was ready ; giving me my choice, whether I would receive it from himself, or else from the Baron of *Eckemberg* his Principal Councillor ; and, whether verbally, or in writing, or both. In this gracious option, I took hold of the writing, because *scripta manent* : and wished I might have it from the Baron, without the Emperors farther trouble, till from it might rise some new occasion. To the Baron I was called two days after ; whom I found infirmer of his feet than of his head ; for in truth he is a Gentleman of strong conceit, and fair delivery, though (as most of the Court are) tainted with the *Jesuit*. From him I received (besides complements, and many thanks, for the Honor that Your Majesty had done his Master ; and vehement protestation of intire belief in your Christian intentions at the present, and of your former clearness) the Paper that cometh herewith, indorsed, *Contenta Resolutionis Cæsareæ data Nobilissimo Legato serenissimi Regis Magnæ Britanniae*. In delivery whereof, the Baron seeming much to insist upon the persons [to] whom the Emperor had formerly been content to commit the business ; as first, to the four Interposers, whereof the Count *Palatine* himself was one ; then to the whole Electoral College, even after

dissi-



sufficient offence to distast him from the *Bohemians*, who would have hindred his Election at *Francfort*; I say, by these recapitulations perchance silently inferring, that the *German* Princes were the properest Interveniens: I was moved to tell him, That I knew, Your Majesty in this case was more ambitious of the good, than of the glory; and if Your worthier Servants at *Prague*, and I here, co-operating with the *French*, could prepare the matter, as it were in *Chylo*, for a fuller concoction hereafter by more hands, we should thinke our selves very happy: With which reply he seemed extreamly pleased.

To the third point, about a Cessation, he spake somewhat more gloriously, than we here see cause; that things were now too far run on, the Emperors Preparation being made, and his Friends in Motion: wherein he gave a touch (though more, I think, than he could then say) upon *Saxony*: he added likewise, that no doubt the Count *Palatine* was as forward with his Powers, and Confederates, naming *Bethlehem Gabor*, and perchance, said he, by his means the *Turk*. I replied (as I had done before to the Emperor himself) that the event of Arms was uncertain; and pityful to conceive, what desperation might breed: But in the mean time, I had heard wise Men of Opinion, that the Count *Palatine* had done the Emperor no displeasure in accepting the Crown of *Bohemia*, laid upon him by those, which peradventure, might otherwise have placed it on a worse Neighbour to these Provinces. To which truth the Emperor (when I said it) nor himself replied any thing: and upon my Conscience, so they think.

To the last, about freeing the Passage, he understood



stood me too largely, as if I had meant the re-establishment of a Current Post, which round about this place is every where broken; but he hath granted his safe Conduct, upon Occasion, as far as he is able; though *ea conditione*, as your Majesty sees in his written Answer, *ut non alias, quam dicti Domini Legati literas deferant*. The only point of jealousy that I have met with since my coming.

To the second, which I make the last, because I have most to say upon it, he told me, that the Emperor would send to my Lodging some Persons of dignity, and knowledge, to inform me in that Cause; as he did, the day after: Namely, the Baron Pople, Great Chancellor of *Bohemia*, the Baron of *Straulendorf*, Chief President of the Aulical Council, *Der Here Mostitz*, *Consiliarius Aulicus*; the first a *Bohemian*, the other two *Germans*; of whose Persons I shall afterwards inform your Majesty. But to proceed: The Errand, delivered by the Great Chancellor, consisted for the most part of things I knew were often published already, which I shall the less care for to repeat, because Your Majesty received lately the substance thereof, under the Title of, ———— *-ex Constitutionibus & Privilegiis*, &c. consigned to me by the said Deputies; and likewise the same again more clearly set down and more fully expressed by a new Author, as yet unknown, a Book the Emperor himself sent me, the day after this Conference, to be conveyed unto Your Majesty. Two things they urged with much vehemency: [First,] certain Letters, both from the *Bohemian* [Directors] and which is more, from all the States of *Hungary*, with pendent Seals; wherein they call this Emperour [King] fifteen Months after they had chosen him



him, and yet the Chancellor having spoken nothing in all that time, they afterwards pretended that the Election was null. They shewed likewise an Original Letter from the Count *Palatine* himself, dated at *Hidelberg April 23. 1619. tempore Vicariatus*, to the now Emperor, as King of *Bohemia*, both in the Subscription, and the Superscription. The Second urged point was, that neither the *Silesians*, nor the *Moravians*, which concurred in the Election of the Count *Palatine*, had any power to do it at that time, but that it was approved at their return home, *ex post facto*. Lastly, all objections made against *Ferdinando*, in point of Regiment, or Intrusion during the Life of the Emperor *Matthias*, they are contented, for ought I see, to bestow upon *Matthias* himself.

This is the substance of a long Conference, beautifully interlarded with divers praises of the Emperors good Nature ; which I think truly are due unto him, if he be considered in his own capacity : but these Orators could give it no credit, being, as I here, the greatest inflamers of all this business, and principally the principallest of them ; a man saved at the time of the *defenestration, dum regnabat rosa*, only by being here.

This is a faithful Relation of all that hath hitherto passed between the Emperor, or his Servants, and me in this place ; wherein your Majesty sees, that I have obtained two things : First, a Freedom to propound, and next a Freedom to send : whereupon the *French Ambassadors*, and my self, have this very day accorded to send joyntly to *Prague*, for there we must begin, even in point of civility. This is but an exploratory, and pretentative purpose between us ; about the form whereof, and the

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matter,



matter, we shall consult to morrow: and your Majesty immediately upon the return of our Messengers from thence, and some feeling of the Emperor here, shall have knowledge of all by another express Courier.

Septemb. 23. 1620.

*Duplicate of Secretary Nantons Letters.*

*My Lord Ambassador,*

**H**is Majesty hath commanded me to make you this short Answer to your fair and well-digested Relation sent by *Ballard*.

1. That He allows very well, and is thoroughly satisfied with the good endeavors you have used with the Emperor.

2. That He would have you give thanks to His Imperial Majesty, for the good respect shewed to His Majesty in your Person, being His Ambassador; which we conceive, by your Lordships Letters, to have been every way equal at least, if not beyond those demonstrations that have been afforded the *French*; of which we have received other informations out of *France*, that they have no more than answered their expectations.

3. That your Lordship can do no better Service to Christ, and to his Majesty, than to open any fair way to a Treaty. *Maacte, ergo, & quam nactus es spartam exorna.* You have begun well, wherein you have already *facti plusquam dimidium*: I know your own understanding and Judgment to be such, and your zeal to the Publick, and to our Great Masters Service, that you will need neither encourage-



couragement, nor further directions for the main, than those you carried along with you :

That you are to deal effectually with the Emperor, not to proceed too hastily to the publishing of the *Banne*, seeing that would be to deliver over the Patrimony of His Majestie's Children unto Strangers; which were an unkind requital of His Majesty's Princely, sincere, and moderate intentions and proceedings toward him; and must of necessity Interest and Imbarque His Majesty in the defence of His Childrens inheritance; which His Majesty hopes the Emperor will take into his advised and serious consideration.

This is all I have to recommend unto you for the present, as from His Majesty: for my self, I promise it my self from you, that you are resolved I am and will remain

Whitehal Sept. 23.  
1620.

*Your Lordships most assuredly  
to do your service.*

Septemb. 1620.

*The Copy of my Letter written to His Majestie's  
Ambassadors at Prague.*

S. P.

I Do address the present unto your Lordships, or in your absence to Sir Francis Nethersole, by this Gentleman Mr. Walter Waller, coming in company of Monsieur de Sigonie, whom the French Ambassadors, Duke d'Angolesme, Monsieur de Bethunes, and Monsieur de Preaux, do conjoyn with me in this Dispatch; the scope whereof I cannot well set down, without first telling what doth lead it. I have been here almost a fortnight, well received



with all imaginable circumstances due to the Honor of our Gracious Master. My proposition to the Emperor did consist of these four points:

1. That it would please him to make known his inclination towards a sincere Treaty upon the present Motions.

2. That he would be likewise pleased to instruct me by one, or two, or more Persons, of choice and knowledge, in all the fundamental Arguments touching the merit of the Cause; promising to represent them faithfully to the King my Master.

3. To condescend to a cessation of Arms for some competent time, least while the Reconcilement is in Treaty, the passions be more and more exasperated.

4. That for the furtherance of these good intentions, the Emperor will be pleased to grant Passports for Couriers from *Vienna* towards *Prague*, upon all occasions where his Armies lie.

Of these, he hath yielded to the first and last; namely a freedom to treat (whereof I made some doubt) and a freedom to send; whereupon the *French* Ambassadors and my self have joyntly formed this present Dispatch; to this end, that the Elector *Palatine* may likewise by your Lordships, or by his Majesties Agent there, be drawn as far as we have disposed the Emperor in the first and last points of my Proposition; for to this hour the Prince *Christian* of *Anhalt* (though the *French* Ambassadors before my coming had written and expressly sent unto him) hath given no Answer, by which conjecture may be made, whether the foresaid Elector will treat or no, or whether the *Bohemians* will suffer it. Now because if I should end here, so much only as I have hitherto said,

would



would scanty import the price of the carriage we have thought fit (I speak still plurally in the names of the *French* and my self) to acquaint your Lordships, and Sir *Francis nethersole*, with some ways that have been conceived for the effecting of our Masters good intentions about the Publick repose.

It hath been first thought very expedient, that both parties were drawn to remit these great differences to a Diet at *Regensburg* of *German* Princes, with intervention of Foreign Ambassadors.

Next, some have gone so far (and this both the *French* and my self profess to have taken up on the way, even amongst the Friends of the Elector) as to project a form of Agreement upon some such Articles as these that follow.

1. That the Elector *Palatine* be contented to relinquish the Title and possession of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

2. That the Emperor *Ferdinando*, according to the first Election of the *Bohemians*, and by Virtue thereof shall enjoy the entire Profits and Title of the said Crown, during his natural Life.

3. That after the decease of the said Emperor, it shall be free for the *Bohemians* to chuse what King they will, and much more to admit him whom they have designed, namely the *Palatine* Heir apparent.

4. That for assuring the immunities of that People, and future Freedom in the exercise of both Religions, the Emperor be contented to commit the Regiment of the said Kingdom to the Naturals thereof.

5. That of Persons on each side banished, whether Spiritual or Civil, nothing be said till a full agreement about the rest. Concerning these things



(I mean as well the Diet as the project) the *French* Ambassadors and my self do joyntly pray your Lordships, or in your absence Sir *Francis Nethersole*, by your wisdoms to found the inclinations of that place where you are, that accordingly we may here, upon your Answer, likewise feel the Emperor (with whom it were ill manners to begin.) Not fixing our conceits upon this which hath now been represented, but leaving it as a Bears whelp, which may be licked into a better form; and remaining here both willing and desirous to receive either this better polished, or some new conception from your Lordships, that we may drive to the wished end: Of all which an account hath been given from hence to our Sovereign Master, that his high and Christian wisdom may approve, or alter what it shall please him. And so commending to Almighty God, the God of Peace and Love, your Lordships and the Publick health, I humbly rest,

At your Commandments,

Vienna. 1620.

H. WOTTON.

*Postf.* I have done Mr. *Dickenson* (my Friend and Confociate in the Treaty at *Santoan*) a great deal of wrong not to mention him in this Dispatch, if he be with your Lordships of which I was doubtful.

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*The Ambassadors Answer from, Prague Octob. 18. 1620.*

Right Honorable,

SIR *Francis Nethersole* communicated unto us your Lordships of the 7th of September St. vet. the 9th present, the impediments of journeying, with the delays



delays we met with at *Dresden*, having made our arrival so late here, that he had not only given overture to the business, but gained such an Answer, as the present constitution of the state of Affairs, and Affections of Parties would admit: for which we refer you to his Relation to whose endeavors the Honor is due. You will easily believe, that we would give all the force we could to second this great good work, so piously intended by our gracious Master, so requisite for Christendom, and so needful to draw our Masters dear Son-in-Law, and his blessed Lady, out of the extreme difficulties they are in, and, in this work, to be joyned with your wisdom and dexterity. Here you will find ready affections to Peace, to treat, to admit the ways and conveniencies to Treaty, if a cessation of Arms may be accorded: but the difficulty lies to find the *medium*. The Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and the Appurtinances, are the very question; and they tell you here, that the granting of a disposition thereof, is to overthrow their Privileges, Immunities, and Rights: So to leave the possession of the Kingdom, and to keep it, is to reconcile *Yea* and *No*. Yet our earnest longing being to see a good end of our gracious Masters blessed designs, we cannot but think of ways to keep on foot the contentment of Traffick with you, and communicate them, though but raw indigested conceptions of our own, to be produced further, if your Judgement and hope warrant them. This granted, that both Parties have affection to Treat, doth warrant the freedom of access to the Instruments. Whereupon we propound as followeth: That whereas His Majestie's Son-in-Law (for ought we can find) is resolute to hold both the Title and



Possession of this Kingdom, it may be advised, whether the Emperor may be drawn to content himself with the Title, and such a Compensation by a yearly proportion of Money, as competent and equal Arbitrators shall judge to be fit. Hereto may be added, the quitting of *Austria* on the one part, and Restitution of the *Palatine* on the other. As for banished Men on both sides, and particular Rights, both Civil and Criminal, the same Arbitrators may deal therein according to equity. Having besides Sir *Francis Nethersole's* faithful endeavors, founded with our best lines, and we cannot say found the depth, but a kind of scantling, we offer you to measure, whether this heat of War and Confusion may by such a Channel be drawn to a peaceable Haven; the perfect good steering of which, we present to your great practice in affairs of Consequence, to the good guidance whereof, we offer all our powers and endeavors, while they may be of use; but if we find no other ground of hope here then we have hitherto, we are resolved to draw towards home; and in that case, your Lordship finding occasion, may continue your Addresses to Sir *Francis Nethersole*, of whose careful correspondence you may rest assured. Wherewith we rest,

*Your Lordships*

From Prague,  
October 18.  
St. vet. 1620.

*in all true Affection to serve you,*

Edw. Conwey. Rich. Weston.

J. Dickenfon Secr. Assistant.

Octob.



Octob. 1620.

Amico Veteri S. P.

**A** Ccepi quas ad me Wormatia dederas Octobris 10. quibus effusius respondebo per unum ex metis quem isthac in Angliam destinavi intra triduum.

Famdiu scis, legatos Gallicos & me simul singulos Nobiles utriusque Nationis cum totidem famulis in Bohemiam ablegasse, ad explorandam Coronati Electoris mentem super eadem ferè Concordiæ formula, quam ipsemet mihi Stutgardæ injecerat, quamque commemorati legati, credo, etiam hauserant ex eodem fonte. Ex nostris Nobilibus Gallus, nomine Sigonius, solus rediit: Is Anglum in Oppidulo Austriæ superioris (quod Freystadt vocant) reliquit sub potestate morbi. Duo Famuli Pragæ periere ex Febre Hungarica, que perexiguo intervallo distat à peste: Literæ intactæ pervenerunt, per quas incipio conjectari, quam operosa res sit circa quam sudamus, Nemo te melius novit, quantum legati valeant in turbatis temporibus. Igitur rectè videris, exuto Civili munere militari subiisse. Utcunque, benè speramus; & de eventu, qualiscunque demum fuerit, te faciam brevi certiore. Interim hoc scias velim, nato hic rumores per omnium ora, de magna Bohemorum strage, super Sigonii Galli reditu, tanquam ipse id attulisset: quod profectò in hac Aula est familiaris ludus. Semniant quæ volunt; & cuicunque ex Castris advenienti aliquid affingunt; præcipuè paulò ante Mercurii aut Sabbati diem, quo hinc Cursores in omnes cras avolant; quia falsa impressio interdum causa est magnorum motuum.



*The Memorial Exhibited to his Imperial Majesty by Henry Wotton Knight, Ambassadour Extraordinary from the King of Great Britain, after his Audience of the 17. of November, 1620.*

27. Styl. nov. Translated ad verbum from the Italian.

1. **T**He said Ambassadour began with thanks in the King his Master's Name, for the good Reception he had found here, in all points of due respect to the Honor of his Majesty whom he served.

2. After this, he said, that as his Majesty had to this hour conserved himself purely neutral in the Business of *Bohemia*, so he would remain hereafter, till more liquid information than he had yet seen from either side, touching the merit of the cause; and would proceed with all real intention in the Christian Office of a Mediator, without entring into those of a Judge, and much less of a Party.

3. That although his said Majesty was resolved to suspend his judgment, for as much as might concern the differences between the Emperor and *Bohemians*; yet he found himself tyed both by nature and by reason, not to leave the Patrimonial inheritance of his own descendants, that is, neither the inferiour nor superiour *Palatinate* in the hands of any alien Usurper: the said Patrimony being a thing separated from the rest of the present Controversie, and so understood in the Treaty of *Ulm* by the common consent of the Lieutenants of the Union and the League.

4. That as his Majesty of *Great Britain* would be unwillingly perswaded, without the Emperour's

own



own affirmation, that the Marquess *Spinola* was by his Order entred hostility into the lower *Palatinate*, so much less could he believe, that his said Imperial Majesty would lend any Authority *ex post facto* to so unjust an intrusion, by way of proscription, or otherwise; with which the moderate proceeding of his Majesty in the whole progress of this Cause, from the very first motions, should be ill recompensed.

Lastly, The Ambassadour besought his Imperial Majesty, according to the declaration of his Will already passed, to condescend actually to a sincere Treaty upon the *Bohemian* Business, to which the *French* Ambassadors and himself had already jointly disposed the other part.

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*A Copy of the Emperor's Answer to my Audience,*  
28. Nov. 1620.

**A**D ea quæ Serenissimi Magnæ Britanniae Regis Legatus nuper, cum ore tenus, tum scripto proposuit; Sacratissima Cæsarea, & Hungariæ Bohemiæque Majestas, Dominus noster Clementissimus, benignè respondet, uti animum suum ad solidæ amicitiae atque benevolentiae studia cum<sup>a</sup> serenitate sua sincerè continuanda proclivem jam tum ab initio Legationis suæ dicto Domino Legato declaravit, ita etiamnum eidem sese proposito firmiter inhaerere.

Ad negotium autem Bohemicum quod attinet, in

<sup>a</sup> 1. The Style of the Emperour's Chancery when he treateth with Kings, is not *Majestas*, which he reserveth for himself, but either *Serenitas*, or *Regia Dignitas*: This made him angry, when he heard that the



*French* Ambassadors styled *Bethlem Gabor*, *Serenissimum*: who on the other side, gave them leave to entitle him how they would, adding this Reason, That they were not Ambassadors which could make or unmake Kings.

*atque æquitatem agnoscere & observare: eoque magis gratum habet, quod Affinitatem, & Genus, & Fœdera,*

<sup>b</sup> 2. Of these words he taketh advantage, which were in your Majesties Credential Letter delivered by me.

<sup>c</sup> 3. I wonder he would touch this point, wherein I had clared both the Arch-duke *Leopoldus* and the Emperor himself: namely, that the first subsidiary Troops sent towards the *Palatinate*, were meerly *Voluntaries*, without Your Majesties Contribution, and defensively intended, before any noise of the Invasion.

*quo Majestati suæ Cæsareæ Regiæq; non alia Controversia est, quam quæ Principibus, cum subditis suis rebellibus ad obedientiæ metam reducendis esse solet; certo sibi persuadet, Serenissimum Magnæ Britanniæ Regem, pro singulari sua prudentia atque integritate evidentem, quæ pro Majestate sua Cæsarea, militat, causæ justitiæ*

*Regio sanè judicio, infra Conscientiæ legem hæcenus sese locasse scripserit. Optasset autem Majestas suæ Cæsareæ, ut hoc ipsum tot auxiliaribus copiis è Serenitatis suæ Regnis atque Provinciis iniquissimæ causæ subsidio missis, aut certe permissis, nequaquam Serenitas suæ dubium reddidisset: Sed potius Generum suum, non tantum prudentissimis monitis, atque consiliis, verum etiam viribus subtractis, ab iniqua cupiditate alienis se Regnis immiscendi absterruisset; unde non alius quam optatus almæ pacis fructus, & ut Majestati suæ in Bohemia, Palati-*



no verò in Ditionibus, quas Majestatis Cæsareæ, Sacrique Romani Imperii beneficio tenebat, res tranquillæ persisterent, sperari potuisset. Nunc si in Ditionibus propriis quas à Suprema Majestate Cæsarea, Sacroque Imperio, in feudum cum fidelitatis obsequio recognoscere debebat, quasque Dominus

Legatus<sup>d</sup> Patrimonium appellat. pœnam temerarii ambitus contra Dominum & Imperatorem suum, Serenissimi Regis. Gener experitur, non habet quem culpet, præterquam quod animo suo obsecundare, & intempestivis suorum consiliis, quam prudentissimis Majestatis suæ Cæsareæ, Regum, Electorum & Principum, ipsiusque Soceri sui consiliis deferre maluerit.

Et sanè nullus non iniquissimum æstimabit, si tempestivè precavere non liceret, ne Feuda & beneficia quæ à Supremo Monarcha fluunt, in propriam suam injuriam redundant: quod quidem Se-

renissimo Magnæ Britanniae Regi (cui perpetuam in Regnis suis pacem ex animo Majestas sua Cæsarea precatur) uti rerum humanarum vices sunt, tam aliquando obesse posset quemadmodum nunc ad injustam Generi causam colorandum prætenditur.

Hinc itaque Dominus Ligatus rationes haud obscure colliget, quibus permota Majestas sua Cæsarea, vigore Constitutionum Imperialium, ad turbatam Imperii pacem redim-

<sup>d</sup> 4. In declaring Your Majesties Will and determination from the beginning touching the Palatines, if they should be assailed, I told the Emperour, that though in the single Business of Bohemia You had suspended Your Judgment till more liquid proofs; yet You found Your Self tyed both by Nature and Reason, not to suffer the Patrimonial Inheritance of Your Own Descendents in the hands of an Alien Usurper.



*redintegranda, & Inclytæ Domus suæ Jura vindicanda, Primarium Imperii Principem, & Patrualem suum charissimum, Archiducem Albertum requisiverit, à quo*

*Marchio Spinola cum flo-*  
 5. At this Audience I told the Emperour, that Your Majesty would hardly be persuaded, without his own affirmation, that Spinola had invaded the Palatinate by his express Order: And much less believe, that he would lend any approbation thereupon *ex post facto*,

by way of Ban, or otherwise. Which action of Spinola, the Emperour doth here assume: But whether such was his meaning, from the beginning; or that his Success in *Bohemia* hath bred this resolution, may be somewhat questionable. Always sure it is, that he affirmed into the *French* Ambassadors long since, that the Marquess Spinola was to come into *Bohemia*.

*Circa Tractatum de Pace instituendum, declarat se sua Cæsarea Majestas ab eodem haudquaquam alienum; quodque intellecto Consilio Inclytæ Domus suæ Principum, nec non Electorum & Principum, quorum hætenus fide-*

6. Of this term of 40. days, and the following reistrætion, not to treat touching any Province that in the

*rente exercitu, Literis Majestatis suæ Cæsareæ Patentibus munitus, adversus eum submissus, qui nulla injuria laceffit, rebellibus subditis, infami & abominando quibuscunque Regibus & Principibus exemplo, patrocinari, & Regiæ Imperatoris atque Domini sui Coronæ verticem suum submittere ausus fuit.*

*lem operam adhibuit, intra dies quadraginta circiter se resolvat: quem tamen Tractatum ad illas saltem Provincias extendi vult, quæ interim vel armis, vel*  
*alio*



*alto modo, ad debitam Regi Dominoque suo obedientiam non fuerint reductæ; reservato sibi quoque jure interimum Armis, tum Legibus & Constitutionibus Imperialibus, contra quoscumque Pacis publicæ perturbatores, & adversarios suos procedendi.*

mean time shall be reduced to his obedience, I have written the true cause in my Letter to Your Majesty.

*Et in his omnibus, quemadmodum Majestas Cæsarea Jure & recta Conscientia freta, nihil ambigit, omnes Christiani Orbis Reges & Principes ea probare, quæ pro omnibus Regibus & Principibus, quantum ad exemplum attinet, gessit: ita quicquid in posterum ex Juris præscripto in hac causa sanciet, iisdem facile se comprobaturum confidit. Domino autem Legato gratiam suam Cæsaream clementer offert.*

*Per Imperatorem Die Nov. 28. Anno 1620.*

*Decemb. 4. 1620.*

A Copy of the Emperours Answer to my Audience, about the Ban or Proscription intended against the Palatine.

**S***Acra Cæsarea & Hungariæ Bohemiæque Regia Majestas, Dominus noster Clementissimus, iisque Serenissimi Magnæ Britannia Regis Legatus de suspendenda declaratione Banni Imperialis contra Palatinum Rheni Electorem, de expresso & Regis sui mandato proposuit, in hunc sensum respondet.*

7. <sup>2</sup> In Letters from M. Secretary Nauntou of the 23. of Sept. which came so late unto my

hands, that the Emperor's Ban was already formally couched, and ready to be put to the Print.

*Magni*



*Magni semper Majestatem suam Cæsaream dicti Serenissimi Regis sibi addictissimi, officia, amicitiam, mutuamque cum Inclita Domo sua Austriaca conjunctionem æstimasse, & etiam nunc æstimare; ac ne minimum quidem ambigere, quinsi prudentibus & pacificis Soceri sui consiliis. Gener obsecundare, quam turbulentis pravorum instigationibus, atque animo suo morem gerere maluisset, ingens malorum necessitas tempestivè præcaveri atque declarari potuisset. Cum verò parta nuper, singulari Dei beneficio, propè Pragam contra Majestatis suæ Rebelles memorabili victoria, ne nunc quidem dictus Palatinus sanioribus sese consiliis accommodet, sed in eodem inobedientiae tramite<sup>h</sup> pertinaciter*

<sup>h</sup> 8. This I think was added, out of meer conjecture: For we have heard nothing of the Electors Actions, since his retiring into Silesia.

*perseveret, quin etiam refractarios Majestatis suæ subditos, atque Provincias quæ cæteroquin Regis Dominique sui, à quo desciverunt, gratiæ haud dubiè sese submitterent, ad Rebellionem malè ceptam, despe-*

*ratè continuandum animet, atque instiget: Nulla Majestati suæ Cæsareæ, hoc loci, benignitatis vel indulgentiæ commonstrandæ, vel declarationis pænæ etiam ad momentum suspendendæ occasio superet. Quæ tamen pro innata sibi bonitate, & singulari erga Serenissimum Magnæ Britanniæ Regem benevolentia, in hoc gravissimo negotio, ea adhuc<sup>i</sup> tem-*

<sup>i</sup> 9. So as upon my Intercession the Emperor hath granted some suspension of the Banne: Which I required for two principal Reasons:

*poris moderatione, quam causæ Justitia, Sacri Romani Imperii Constitutiones, Suprema Officii sui Cæsareæ Autoritas, & ipsa denique necessitas permissura sint, procedet.*

1. Because the King

*Per Imperatorem Die Dec. 4. 1620.*



my Masters moderation in the *Bohemian* Business, not Cause, Who was so much interess'd in the Persons, did justly merit from the Emperor an exchange of temperate proceeding.

2. Because such an Imperial Proscription would but more and more inflame the minds of all Princes interess'd by reason of Blood or State in the subsistence of the *Palatine*, and would be the cause of a perpetual War in the Bowels of the Empire, contrary to the Christian endeavours and wishes of Your Majesty: Whose good intentions were now so manifested to the World by fundry Ambassages, that You were satisfied in Your Own Conscience, and justified before God and Man, whatsoever should ensue. I told him besides, that I thought Your Majesty would take it kindly, if at Your request this Proscription were forborn.

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*A Dispatch from Vienna, in Decemb. 1620.*

*To His Most Sacred Majesty.*

**A**lthough I had from Your Majesty a power in my Instructions to depart hence to my other Employment, as soon as this Controversie should be decided, either by Treaty or by Fortune; yet I have stay'd here a Month and a half after the Batel, that I might view the final resolutions; whereof I shall now render Your Majesty an accompt: Which I am bound to begin with my humblest thanks for Your benign approbation of my poor Endeavours, as I have understood from both Your Secretaries; wherein I see that Your Majesty is still pleas'd by the excellency of Your Nature, and



by the indulgency of your Judgment, to accept honest Zeal for discretion in your own Creature. Serving therefore so good and so gracious a Master, I will proceed chearfully to the discharge of the rest, as the Affairs stand.

By my last to Mr. Secretary Nanton, your Majesty understood the cause of Monsieur de Preaux his going into *Hungary*: And by this you may expect the fruit of his journey: There arriving after news of the defeat before *Prague*, He found much alteration in their faces, and much altercation in their Councils; about which he was once publickly admitted; where he understood passion enough, being the common language of Nature, but nothing else: for they spake in their own Tongue. At last this was the Conclusion, That a Gentleman should be immediately dispatched to the Elector *Palatine* (supposed at *Preslaw* in *Silesia*) to understand whether he would joyn with the *Hungarians* in a Treaty with the Emperor: and in case of either delay or denial, to make a solemn protestation, that they would provide for themselves: Of the event whereof the Prince of *Transylvania* undertook by the 15<sup>th</sup> of this Month, *aut circiter*, to give knowledge hither. I must profess unto your Majesty, that I did little expect (for my part) so much formality from the said Prince, *in hoc statu rerum*, as to attend a return from *Silesia*; having before (as hath been written) so closely begun here to practise of his own reconciliation: But the truth is (as well he knows it) that he may be heard when he listeth, by reason of the *Turk* at his back; under whose shadow he will fit himself.

Now touching mine own peculiar duties. For  
with



with *Bethelam Gabor* and the *Hungarians* I have nothing to do in single consideration (as your Majesty's Servant) till we shall hear whether the Elector, your Son-in-Law, and that Kingdom, will treat with the Emperor conjunctively or no.

Before the going of *de Preaux*, I had one access to the Emperor, and two other while he was away.

The first after consultation here with the *French* Ambassadors, about the Answer which we had (with no small loss of time and advantage) so late received from *Bohemia*, addressed unto me by Sir *Francis Nether-sale* in *French*, as it came to him from the Camp.

The other two, touching your Majesties declaration of your self in the *Palatine* cause, and intercession against the Emperors *Bann*, as they call it: about which I shall need to trouble your Majesty no farther than with the perusal of such Marginal Notes as I have added both to the foresaid *French* Paper, and to the Emperors two Answers in *Latine*, which come herewith, and contain all that may concern your latter directions in two Letters from Master Secretary *Nanton*. Yet I must not omit, that between the second and third of these Audiences, I was visited by the Baron of *Eckenburg* (the Emperors inwardest Councillor and Favorite) who spent an hour or two at my Lodging, with much protestation of his Masters respect towards your Majesty; of his grief that things were gone on to such expence of Blood; of his wishes that your Son-in-Law had rather taken your Majesties Council than the Duke of *Bevillon's*; of his forgiving nature; of his desire to recover only his own, and to redeem this Imperial House from open scorn: Lastly, that the King of *Spain* also had



written hither, how glad he would be that your Majesty might have all possible satisfaction. This was after the Emperor had been informed of his success at *Prague*; whereunto there was, as to all other fair discourse of this kind, but one only reply on my part; That your Majesty might justly promise your self very good respect here, and good Offices from *Spain*, by the merit of your own moderation in the *Bohemian Cause*, and by your Christian endeavors for the common quiet with such perseverance. I must not forget likewise to inform your Majesty, that my self visiting here the *Spanish Ambassador* (as I have usually done after my Audiences with the Emperor) and falling (as I thought might well become me) into wonder at *Spinola's* intrusions, enough to inflame all Christendom, which your Majesty (measuring other Princes by the equity of your own heart) had no reason to expect. He asked me, after a little deliberation, *Whether the Marquess of Buckingham were not a Gentleman of Honor?* I need not profess how glad I was of such occasion to do your Majesties Dearest Servant, and mine own most Noble Patron, all the right that my voice could utter; but in truth, on the other side, extremely surprized with so impertinent a question to my discourse, till he eased me with the sight of a Paper out of his Cabinet. It was the Copy of a Letter written by my Lord Marquess, in your Majesties Name, to the *Spanish Ambassador* residing with you: wherein your Majesty did thus far justify the *Spanish* proceedings, *As never to have made any promise that they would not assail the Palatinate.* Whereupon this Ambassador inferred, that the said Letter written by so Noble a Personage, and in your Majesties Name,



Name, was a high discharge for *Spain* in the point of real dealing. I replied, That indeed I had never heard of any direct promises, or denial made about that matter ; but that your Majesties Servants employed therein (whereof I was one my self to the Arch-Duke *Leopoldus*) did rather complain of Answers obscure and ambiguous, and very different from our plain *English* style. This was all that passed between the Conde d' *Ogniate* and me, into which I have a little digressed. Now then to recollect how we stand here in point of Negotiation.

The Prince of *Transylvania* hath prefixed the 15<sup>th</sup> day of this Month, or thereabout, (I said before) for his Term ; within which he will signifie in what manner he intendeth to Treat, according to the Answer out of *Silesia*. The Emperor on the other side, did take the term of forty days for the declaring of his mind fully to me and the *French* Ambassadors, which expire, by our computation, on the 27. of this said Month ; intending in the mean time to preconsult with his Friends, or rather (as we perceive) with his Fortunes: And howsoever, *Not to Treat of any Province, or part, as then reduced to his obedience*. So as plainly enough he chose that respite to contemplate the intervenient changes : For at first he was more tractable ; he spake of no Friends whose advices were before to be asked ; he demanded no term to think farther on the matter ; he added no restriction : all these are the suggestions of his prosperity. And so we stand in point of business.

In the state of the Provinces I can deliver nothing but fluctuation and submission, the Ordinary consequences of Victory.



The first were the *Bohemians*, who forgetting both Oaths and Contracts, yielded up the Original Patent of their Combination to the Duke of *Bavaria*, as the Emperor's Commissary.

The next were the *Moravians*; who after the Count *Bucquoy* had taken *Trigla*, one of their Wealthiest, and summoned *Znam*, the chiefest of their Towns, resolved in a full Assembly of their States, to submit themselves by Deputies, who art hourly expected here.

The other Appendants to the *Bohemian* Crown are likely to follow the *Moravian* Example, being incomparably (as hath well appeared) the most resolute piece of the whole knot, and that which gave vigour to the rest, *dum Troja stabat*.

What the *Hungarians* shall determine of themselves, I will set down in a Postscript; for which I have long suspended the dispatch of this Bearer.

I cannot conclude without representing unto your Majesty, in all event, two humble remembrances, whereof your higher Wisdom may perchance make some use.

The first is, That I conceive the *French* King bound to joyn with your Majesty in the *Palatine* Cause: I do not mean only by reason of State and Jealousie of this spreading House, *cujus gliscit potentia*, as I may modestly say, nor by Ancient obligation and gratitude to the said Electoral Line, or to your own Kingdoms in the needful days of his Father, but by a fresher band, even by the Treaty of *Ulm*, where his Embassadors did intervene: For they tell me, that by Virtue thereof, neither *directè nec indirectè*, any of the Provinces belonging to the League, or to the Union, could be molested by either side. Which the Electors of

Mentz.



*Mentz* and *Colen* have broken by permission of *Spinola*; nay, divers ways, by subministration of commodities to his Army. And I hear, that, to save themselves, they have procured Patents from the Emperor, that as his Commissaries, they may do some things which they could not do or permit as Leaguers. Always sure I am, that the Duke of *Bavaria* did three or four days withstand the nominating of the *French* Ambassadors in the foresaid Treaty, which the other side did as vehemently affect; for no other imaginable reason, within my penetration, than only to engage *France* in the maintenance thereof. This I have touched, not that I doubt of your accommodating of those things civilly without Arms, or that your Majesty shall need (if extremity require the sharpest remedies) any help to vindicate your own Descendents from violence; but because *en tout cas* the conjunction of *France* would be some ease to the Princes of the Union, whereof your Majesty is the head.

The other point that I am bold to offer unto your Majesty's consideration, is, That the King of *Spain* himself is bound by his own protestation to revoke *Spinola*: For therein he declareth, that his meaning was not by assisting the Emperour, *Cuiquam Mortalium per injuriam vim inferre, aut in aliena cupiditatem suam extendere*: which protestation the Emperor received from his own Ambassador in the *Spanish* Court, and by his Secretary here did communicate the same with me, to be sent unto your Majesty, as I did in my first Dispatch; and have now again sent another Copy, least the former should be strayed. And so with my humble



Prayers to the eternal God for your blessed health and joy, I ever rest,

*Your Majestie's long devoted Servant,  
and faithful Vassal, H. W.*

### POSTSCRIPT.

The expected Advertisement is now come from the Prince of *Transylvania* to this effect. He greatly complaineth of the faintness and defection of his Confederates in general: And in particular, first, that an Ambassage which he addressed since the Battle to the *Moravians*, with animating persuasions, took no place. Next, that the Elector *Palatine* (to whom he expressly sent into *Silesia* *Johannes Kraufs*, Secretary of the Kingdom of *Hungaria*) hath not vouchsafed him any clear or determinate Answer to the Subject of his Errand, which I have before set down, Nay farther, that the Prince of *Anbalt*, and the Count of *Hollock*, came joyntly together unto the said *Johannes Kraufs* in *Preßlaw*, and there among other discourse told him, *That the remainder of this Affair was not to be handled by the French Ambassadors, nor by me here*; which the *French* take very sensibly, especially their offer and intercession having before by the said Prince of *Anbalt* been unaccepted, and a Letter which they wrote unto him, to this hour unanswered; though sent by *Monsieur de Ste. Catherine*, no suspected Person, but one, who had been so long resident in the *Palatine* Court. Upon which premises, they have seriously desired me to testifie unto your Majesty (as in truth I am bound) their

willing.



willingness to have mediated in this cause, and their continual frank and faithful conferences with me about the common end. On the other side, I have desired them to represent things fairly to the King, their Master, and not upon any private distaste to abandon the common interest, which so many Princes have in the subsistence of the *Palatine*. Since this Advertisement from *Bethelem Gabor* and his *Hungarians* (who are resolved to Treat singly, and have sent hither to propound it) we have gotten knowledge, that such a Letter is come to the Emperor from the Duke of *Saxony*, touching the *Palatine* Elector, as makes us conceive he will use his mediation rather than ours: So as I am preparing towards *Venice* in this hard season, where (as your Majesties Servant) I have the Honor to be much expected and desired, as I hear by their Resident in this place, especially the Republick standing in no small perplexity and sollicitude at the present divers ways. There I shall attend your Majesties farther directions, and leave the *French* (as I found them) upon this Stage, till they get leave to depart, for which the have dispatched home an expresse Courier, intending in the mean time to deal between the Emperor and *Bethelem Gabor*.

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*The Accord of Ulm, June 23. 1620.*  
*(mentioned in the foregoing Letter.)*

**N**ous Maximilian par la grace de Dieu Comte Palatin du Rhein, Duc de la haute & basse Baviere, &c. Et nous Joachim Ernest par la mesme grace, Marquis de Brandenburg, Duc de Prusse, Stetin, &c.



& Pomeranie, *des Casoubes*, & Wenden, *de Silesie*,  
*de Croonen* & Jagendorff, *Burgrave de Nurnberg*,  
 & Prince de Rugen:

Be it known unto all and every one, that seeing as well within the Sacred Empire of *Germany*, as in divers Kingdoms and Neighbouring Estates, Troubles and Tumults, and Alterations have been on foot, and long continued, whereas not the Catholicks only, but the Electors, Princes, and Confederate States of the Religion, have taken occasion to Arm themselves, which indeed hath been the cause of great differences and misprisions, if these preparations of Arms, and Levy of Souldiers should proceed further on both sides, to offend and destroy one another: Therefore that such despight may be removed, and good friendship between both Parties in the Empire established, We have made a firm and constant Agreement, by means likewise of the *French Ambassadors*, which were at that time in the Imperial City of *Ulm*.

And first of all, We *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*, as General of the Catholick League, by Virtue of our Authority, and We *Joachim Ernest*, Marquess of *Brandenburg*, as Lieutenant General of the Union, by Virtue of our Authority, in the presence and approbation also of other Princes, States, Alliants, Deputies with full Power and Authority, do promise and vow for our Selves of each Party, Alliants, Electors, Princes, and States, by all the real Words of Truth and Fidelity, in the best and most stable form that may or ought hold, or stand firm by all the Rules of Right, That no Electors, Princes, Alliants, States, of either Party, in what manner soever, or under whatsoever pretence, neither by themselves nor any other, shall with  
 Arms



Arms pertaining to either Party, offend or cut off the Treaty of Peace, or discommodate, pillage, spoil, attaint, or trouble one another, nor any thing to them belonging, as Electoralities, Principalities, Subjects, Towns, Villages, Revenues Ecclesiastical or Civil: But that as well the Catholicks with the Gospellers, as they again with the Catholicks, be and remain in true and unfeigned Peace, Concord, and Charity, every of them secure in their own Proprieties, without fear of Trouble or Assault. And to the end that this Promise and Confidence (being otherwise required and enjoyned between Princes and Neighbouring Estates, by Constitutions of the Empire) may faithfully be continued, it is provided, That the two Armies here near encamped, with all possible speed remove out of the places where they were pitched, without any detriment to either Party, and that they lodge not together in one place.

Secondly, it is concluded, That if perchance any Elector, Prince, Confederate, State, of either Party, or indeed either of them in gross, should require upon necessity a Passage, by Virtue of Ordinances of the Empire, for the Defence and Security of them and their Subjects, having first peaceably given sufficient Caution, neither of them ought to deny it: Provided the same requisition be seasonably made, not upon rash and precipitate Advice, when the Army be upon the Frontiers, or indeed within the Territories of them, with complaint or discommodity of the Subject.

Thirdly, Forasmuch as We *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and other Electors, Princes, Catholick Estates and Alliants, have excluded from this present Treaty the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, with the Incorporated Provinces, and other States Heredi-



hereditary of the House of *Austria*, and comprehended within the Treaty, only the Electoral, and Countries belonging to Electors, Princes, and States Confederates of either Party, under which also is contained the Electoral *Palatinate*, with all Inheritances thereunto belonging, situate within the Empire; They ought not to be expended further, seeing at this present we persist not in these differences, that having nothing common with the rest, but we will keep good Correspondence with them without any suspicion: Which likewise We, *Joachim Ernest*, Marquess of *Brandenburg*, do agree to the Resolution of the Electors, Princes, and States Catholick, touching the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and the the United Provinces, with other Inheritances appertaining to the House of *Austria*, for Us, our Alliants, Electors, Princes and States; and We will no less on our side, that the said Kingdom of *Bohemia*, with the United Provinces and Countries Hereditary to the House of *Austria*, be not comprized in this Treaty, understanding as well this Declaration to be for the Electoralities, Principalities, and Estates situate and being within the Empire.

Fourthly, Whereas during this Treaty, divers times mention hath been made of the Griets of the Empire not yet decided, the decision of the same is remitted to some more convenient time, seeing this was too short, and the Grievances touched not only those of either Party, but in general all, both Catholick and Evangelical States of the whole Empire, concerning which, for this present, there is no sufficient Power or Authority to determine.

And seeing both of either Party pretend losses and damages done and received by either side, and par-



particularly at the Village of *Sandthaim*, and thereabouts, it shall be shortly treated of reasonable restitution for the same. All which things, We, *Maximilian*, Duke of *Barvaria*, and We, *Joachim Ernest*, Marquess of *Brandenburg*, as well for us, as for the above-mentioned our Confederates, Electors, Princes and States, do promise to maintain and keep inviolably : In witness of which, we have set to our Hands and Seals, the 3. *July*,

— An. 1620.

23. *June*,

*Locus O Sigilli*      *Locus O Sigilli*  
*Maximilian.*      *Joachim Ernest.*

A Dispatch by *Ralph* from *Venice*, 1621.

SIR,

I Choose at the present to write thick and small, for the closer conveyance of that which followeth, first to your faithful hands, and by them immediately unto our Sovereign Lord the King.

The deputed Cardinals of the Congregation or Committee in Rome touching his Majesties Matrimonial Treaty with Spain, having resolved negatively even after six Assemblies; the Cardinal *Ludovisio* and the Spanish Ambassador went joyntingly to the Pope, to pray him, that by no means the negative resolution might be divulged as yet, but suppressed for a time; because some turns were to be done by the concealment thereof. Hereupon the *Venetian* Ambassador, by name, *Reniero Zen*, (the most diving man that ever the Republick hath held in that Court, and of much confidence with the Pope upon old acquaintance) observing that the foresaid Con-



Congregation had voted, *and that their censures were concealed*; comes to the Cardinal Ludovisio, the Popes Nephew, before-named, and extracts from him the whole matter, with the means and reason of the suppression. This I have received from a credible, and I would say, from an infallible fountain, if it did not become my simplicity, in a point so much concerning the eternal dishonor of a great King, to leave always some possibility of mis-information. Yet thus much more I must add, not out of Intelligence, but from sober discourse; that although the present Pope hath been hitherto esteemed more French, than any of his Predecessors a great while; yet is not the King of Spain, such a Bankrupt in Rome, but that he might easily have procured an assent in the fore-named Congregation, or at least a resolution sooner, than after five or six meetings of the deputed Cardinals; unless delays had been studied. Be it how it will; as to his Majesty doth belong the Sovereignty of Judgment; so to his poor honest Creatures abroad, the liberty of relation, and a frank discharge of our Zeal and Duties. To which I will subscribe my unworthy Name.

Venice, Feb.  $\frac{12}{25}$ .

1621.

*A Dispatch about the King of Bohemia's Affairs at Venice, 1622.*

*Right Honorable,*

**I** Have formerly acquainted his Majesty, through your hands, how my self being then in Padoua under



under Physick (of late my familiar evil) I was recalled to *Venice*, by the arrival here of Signor *Filippo Calandrini*, expressly sent to solicit some contribution from this Republick to the support of Count *Mansfelt's* Army, wherein my joynt endeavour was required by Letters from the Elector himself (as then at the *Hague*) And likewise I was thereunto the better enabled by very careful instruction from Sir *Dudley Carlton* under cypher, of the whole business how it stood. Neither did I need any new immediate Command from his Majesty, to serve in the Cause of his own descendents, especially after your Letters of the 19<sup>th</sup> of *January*, by Order whereof I had before in his Royal Name made a general exploration here of their good will towards us, and now by the present imployment of the foresaid *Calandrini*, as also upon Letters from the Elector to this Duke, (whereof the delivery and pursuit was recommended to me) I found apt occasion to descend à *Thesi ad Hypothesin*; which with what discretion it hath been handled, I dare not say; but sure I am, with as much zeal and fervour, as the capacity of my heart could hold; whereof the accompt is now due, as followeth:

Two full Audiences I had upon this Subject at mine own demand, and a third at their calling as long as both the former. In my first (to make it appear more serious than an ordinary duty) I told them I would do that which I had never done before. For whereas we commonly leave the reference of our Propositions to a Secretary of the State, who stands always by the Ambassador, and is the transporter both of our Arguments and of our affections to the Senate: The Tribunal where we speak being not definitive (which is no small dis-

advan.



advantage) I now promised to ease his memory my self with an extract of what I had said, which was accordingly sent him the next morning, containing two principal heads :

1. The merit of the Cause ;
2. The community of the Interest.

Both as clear as the Sun. For touching the first, the question now was only *de recuperatione proprii*, violently invaded: In the course of which action, it did appear by pregnant inferences, lately published, together with those intercepted Letters which Friar *Hiacintho*, an out-cast from this Town, did carry in his Wallet, That the Duke of *Bavaria* had practised the Electorate of *Rhine* before the true Elector was called to the Crown of *Bohemia*; which I thought the fitter to be touched; for that I knew the Duke had newly received a Copy of the said divulged Letters from his Agent at the *Hague*, and it was a point of great impresson.

Now their Interest was as plain as the Case it self: For if such violences shadowed with Imperial Authorities, should likewise be countenanced and comforted with success, what could hinder, within a while, the same Torrent to overflow *Italy*, and especially this Dominion, *circondato da affetti poco sicuri d' ogni intorno*, as I told them I might well say, even with modesty. These premises being laid, I inferred, that his Majesty, upon a Cause so just, and a common Interest so clear, was most confident in the Wisdom of this grave Senate, that having spent with palpable benefit in their last Motions of fresh memory *qualche bona somma* (indeed about two millions of Duckats) to maintain a diversion so near at hand as *il Piede delli Monti*, they would find it more reasonable to foment



foment the like further off ; all diversions and revulsions (both Politick and Natural) being so much the more effectual, by how much the more remote. Lastly, that though his Majesty in exchange of that open, frank, and voluntary Declaration, which he made of himself heretofore in time of their Troubles, might now expect the like again from them *ex æquo* ; and that no Prince living knew better what the declared Authority of a Dominion so eminent, would import to the sum of the business. Yet not to press his Friend too far, his Majesty would be contented with a silent Contribution without noise, under any form that should best please them, and in such proportion as should be conformable to their Love ; whereby they should oblige his Royal Person and Progeny, not to be wanting unto them in any of their own just Occurrents. This was the substance of my first Audience, and of my Memorial sent to the Secretary. At my second, after I had pressed the same Inducements more effectually, and informed them that the Elector was now gone in person to add vigor to his Subjects, so as their help could never come in a better season : I fell to tell the Duke, that though it could not become my simplicity to prescribe any form to so wise a Prince, yet I would crave leave to insinuate thus much, that they might under the Name of the States (with whom their Confederacy was already known) pass their good will towards his Majesty and his Son-in-Law, without any further imaginable noise, by adding what they should please moreover to that Contribution (whereunto they are tied by League) of 50000 *Florins*, or 5000 *l. sterling per mensem*, for which surcrew (whatsoever it should be) the States would be answerable

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swerable to the Elector: Nay farther, I told him, albeit now by long service, and by the very conscience of my Zeal towards them, I might presume to Merit some Part of their confidence; yet I would therein dispence even with mine own Ambition, and undertake as much likewise for Signior *Calandrini*, leaving it free unto them to exercise their Friendship through the Hands of Signior *Surriano*, their own Minister at the *Hague*, without acquainting us here with their determination, for the more silent carriage thereof: yet withal, I was not tender to re-intimate unto them, that both the King my Master did merit a Noble and open Proceeding, and on the other side, this Republick was by God's Blessing so powerful, as they should not need to smother their Resolutions in so just a Cause. In conclusion I told him, that I did languish for the Senates Answer; for well I knew that they are much guided, like the wisdom of a Merchant, by accidents, which makes them so prone to defer, still harkening how things fall or rise, and accordingly shaping their Councils. Between these Audiences Signior *Calandrini* did likewise twice intercede in the name of the States, whose perswasion (as their Instrument) he spent apart from mine, though otherwise our agreement was well enough known.

On *Wednesday* last, some five or six days after my second Audience, I was called to college, and the Senates Answer read unto me very loud and treatably, as the Duke willed the Secretary; whereof yet I required a second reading, for Copies are not usually granted; which I must note for another disadvantage of moment in negotiating with this State, because they may appeal from our Memories.



mories. In this Answer were repeated, with some new beautifying, the three points wherein they did pretend to have prevented, his Majesties former imploration of their concurrence, when he wrote his own Letters in behalf of his Son-in-Law. The three points were these :

1. Their Contribution to the States, by which they maintain in those Provinces 4000 men.

2. Their Entertainment and Pensioning of the Count *Mansfelt*, with intent to fix him where he is, who else might have been drawn away by other offers.

3. Their Promise to joyn with the *French* King and *Savoy* in the *Rhetian* business.

All which three, they call Points of Common Interest with his Majesty, and of Common Benefit to the Elector by way of Diversion ; and two of them Actual Ingagements of this Republick. Now to these in the foresaid Answer, they added a fourth, for a little stronger excuse at the present ; namely, a fresh and sharp Insurrection amongst the *Grisons*, where the Patriots of the *Dieci drittore*, seemed to have over-matched the Party of the Arch-duke *Leopoldo* with such considerable success, that the Canton of *Surick* (who are nearest the truth) are likewise in some motion to help them ; so as this State expecteth also to be called to that Feast, and well inclined thereunto. This was all the new garnishment that I could observe in their Answer. Towards the end whereof I was much surprized with their telling me, in plain terms, that his Majesty was well satisfied with those former Demonstrations of their good will in the Common Cause, represented unto him by their Ambassador *Lando*, as he had written hither. To which point, though



the last of theirs, I replied first, That indeed his Majesty (whose excellent heart doth believe always the best of his Friends) had no reason to dislike their former Answer : And so far I had co-operated with their own Instrument, as to represent it *con buon sapore* ; but yet no further than the matter would bear, which was but a generality of good will, and no direct satisfaction. And whereas now they did desire me likewise to reiterate to the King my Master, their great sensibility of the Common Interest ; I told them ingeniously *con un' stringer di spalle*, that I knew not well how to do it, till they gave me more Subject : For Philosophy (whose naked Principles I had more studied than Art of Language) had taught me, even in one of her most Fundamental Maxims, that *ex nihilo nihil fit*. Hereupon the Duke fell very seriously to dilate upon the Senates Answer, and left me indeed with some occasion of contentment : For he told me, I might mark by the said Answer, a Resolution in the Senate not to neglect a Cause wherein they held themselves so interested, and (as had been said before) already actually ingaged, though the business of the *Grison*, and the new noise from thence did at the present distract them. Of this I took presently hold ; replying, That I would receive this Speech as a Commentary upon the Senates Answer ; and represent unto his Majesty, that when the principal reason of their excuse should cease, namely, these fresh stirrings so near them, which seemed to require their abetment, then they would give us more particular satisfaction. For which (to rivet it the better) I gave thanks, and told him, I would hearken after the Issue of this *Rhetian* noise, and accordingly put him in mind again of our own  
ne-



necessities: to which he gave me *un gratioſo accenamento*, and ſo fell to tell me, with extreme gladneſs, their news of the late defeat given by *Mansfelt* to the *Bavarian* Troops.

Now to collect the fruit of my poor endeavors, thus we ſtand: If Action ſhall grow on this ſide, we ſhall ſurely receive more benefit by that diverſion, than we ſhould by contribution: For the Arch-duke *Leopoldo* would by chance be drawn from *Alſatia* to think of *Tirol*: and the *Neapolitan* and *Milan* Levies, which ſhould ſupply *Germany*, will be ſpent here. If *Italy* be quiet, then (*dicam audax verbum*) this State muſt neceſſarily help us, that it may be ſo ſtill; for I ſhall not need to make them ſenſible of the viciffitude of Human Troubles, either here or there, which is their common Text: But all dependeth upon his Majeſties urging of his own merits, which was my higheſt Argument, together with that Obligation which he will acknowledge, as his own gracious Letters import.

This account I ſend with ſome diligence, that it may prevent the new *Venetian* Ambaſſadors firſt Audience, or at leaſt the leave taking of the old; into whom it may pleaſe his Majeſty to infuſe his good thoughts, and to take notice of theſe Audiences which I had here in the way of his Service. And ſo the Lord of Heaven bleſs Him and His.

### POSTSCRIPT.

Signior *Filippo Calandini* came hither with Inſtructions from the States, much reſembling a Quadruple entrenchment; wherein being beaten from the firſt, he was to retire to the ſecond, and ſo forth. The firſt was, To ſollicit a free and open Contribution. The ſecond, That they would at



least Contribute under the Name of the said States. The third, That they would Contribute joyntly with the States. The fourth, That at least they would pay the Arrearages of 10000 *Florins per mensem*, that have run due by Virtue of their League, from the 9th. of *April*, 1621. Since with term, the said States pretend to have re-entred into Action; and in this Case the States promise to contribute five of those Months to the Elector. Now, considering the hopeful Answer that I have received, I have dealt with Signior *Calandrini*, to spend the perswasion of the States in the first point absolutely; and in the last, to urge only the Arrearages upon the Contract, without adding the intention of the States to contribute any portion thereof to the Elector; least it might prejudice the hope of a greater Contribution, which no doubt his Majesty may have from hence, if it please him to urge his own merits.

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1624. S. P.

**I** Send you both the inclosed, unclosed, and my Seal withal, that when you have perused them, you may seal them; for because they contain a recommendation of your self, it were somewhat incongruous to present them open.

You had yesterday received them, but that I suspended my hand too long in expectation of James; about whom we are yet in much doubt of some misadventure by his stay. You see that in the Postscript to the Duke, I mention the design of Caprarola, which I have left out of his Letter, that you may not come unto him with empty hands.



*It shall be fit for your self to offer him your service abroad, which I have (as you see) offered the Prince through Mr. Thomas Cary's hands, who, I hope, will let his Highness see my Letter.*

*And so languishing to hear somewhat from my Nephew, with all my duties remembred to all, I rest,*

*This Tuesday  
Morning.*

Your ever true Friend,

HENRY WOTTON.

*Upon the Design you must play the Mountebank. And tell the Duke, that the one Paper containeth the Plant or ground-Lines, the other, the reared work, in Perspective with all the Dimensions so exactly, as if it please him, he may easily have a Model made thereof in Pastboard.*

*If Mr. Thomas Cary should by chance have been sent away again into France, then deliver, with my humble service, the Letter to my Lord of Lepington his Father, and beseech him to shew it the Prince.*

May, 1626.

*The Copy of my Report after the Examination of the Lord of Oldebare's Daughter.*

**A**CCORDING to His Majesties good pleasure signified unto me by an Order from His Council-Table, under the 19th. of May, and delivered by an express Messenger on Monday morning the



22. of the said Month, at His Majesties College of *Eton*, that I should examine the Lord of *Oldebare's* Daughter, now resident in the Town of *Windsor*, in the circumstances of a business which His Majesty had committed to my trust; *vid.* Concerning a certain Roll of Names mentioned in a late malicious defamatory Pamphlet, which one *George Eglisbam* had scattered in Print; pretending therein that it was a Roll of divers great Personages which were to be Poisoned by the now Duke of *Buckingham*, and among those Great ones, the said *George Eglisbam* himself for one; which said Roll (as the said *Eglisbam* affirmeth) the foresaid Daughter of the Lord *Oldebare* had brought to the late Lord Marquess of *Hamilton*, her Cousin, who was one of the inrolled to be Poisoned; grounding this defamation upon the testimony of that Roll, brought by the said Gentlewoman to the foresaid

Marquess: I say, According to  
*When I had first* His Majesties Command herein, I  
*enquired out her* repaired, the next day after the  
*Lodging.* receit thereof, to the said Lord of

*Oldebare's* Daughter, by Name  
*Anne Luc*, (though not nominated by the foresaid  
*Eglisbam*, but under her Fathers Title) at her  
 Lodging in *Windsor*, where I found her accompa-  
 nied with her younger Sister, and a Gentlewoman  
 of her attendance, who were all three in the Room  
 while I spake with her, and I brought in with me  
 Mr. *Michael Branthwait*, heretofore His Majesties  
 Agent in *Venice*, as a Gentleman of approved con-  
 fidence and sincerity. At my access unto her, be-  
 cause I was a stranger, and the business somewhat  
 harsh and umbrageous, I laboured to take from her  
 all manner of shadow touching her self; which in  
 truth



truth I found very needless: For after I had shewed her my Commission, and the places in *Eglisbam's* Book wherein she was traduced for a Witness of this foul defamation, she was so far from disguising or reserving any circumstance, that she prevented all my inquisitiveness in some Questions which I had prepared, making a clear, a free, and a noble report of all that had passed, which she did dictate unto me, as I wrote in her Window, in her own words, without any inforcement or interruption, as followeth:

At His Majesties being in *Spain*, a Car-man of one *Smith* a Woodmonger in *Westminster*, found a Paper, as he said, and gave it to my Mothers Footman to read, whose Name was *Thomas Allet*, who brought it immediately in me; it was half a sheet of Paper laid double by the length, and in it was written in a scribbled hand, the Names of a number (above a dozen) of the Privy Council; some words had been written more, which were scraped out. The Names were not writ in order as they were of Quality. In it, next to the Marquess of *Hamilton*, was writ, Dr. *Eglisbam* to imbalm him. No mention of poysoning, or any such thing, but very Names. I not knowing what it might import more, the Marquess of *Hamilton* not being at that Instant in *Whitehall*, I sent for *James Steward* Servant to the Duke of *Richmond*, and desired him to shew his Lord that Paper, wherein was his Name. He said he would not present it himself, but would give it to *Alexander Heatly*, his Secretary. So he took the Paper from me; and within a day or two after he brought it back to me, and said, the Secretary thought it not necessary to trouble his Lord withall, for as he did conceive, some that  
had



had a Cause to be heard before the Privy Council, or in the Star Chamber, had written these Names to help his own memory, to reckon who would be with him or against him. Immediately then I sent the said *Allet* to *David Strachen*, Servant to the Marquess of *Hamilton*, and bid him give that to his Lord from me immediately; which he said he did, and that his Lord read it, and put it in his Pocket.

These are the very express and formal words, which this Noble Gentlewoman, with a very frank and ingenious spirit, as I am bound to testify of her, did dictate to me, in the presence of the above-named: Whereby may appear to any reasonable creature, what a silly piece of malice this was, when Mr. *Alexander Heatley*, a Gentleman of sober Judgement, to whom the Roll was first sent, though that be concealed by *Eglisbam*, did think it too frivolous to be so much as once shewed to his Master, howsoever named therein. At this first Conference, as I was ready to depart, my Lord of *Oldebare's* Daughter desired of me a view of the Book, out of which I had read her some passages, wherein her Name was translated; which could in no equity be denied. So I left it with her till the next day, praying that I might then have her full Judgement of it: When repairing again unto her, she told me as freely as the rest, in the hearing of the same company as before, except her Gentlewoman, that *Eglisbam* had gone upon very slight grounds in so great a matter.



*The Copy of my Letter to the Duke about the same Examination.*

I Send unto your Grace by this Bearer, Mr. *Michael Brantwait*, the Examination of the Lord of *Oldbare's* Daughter, touching the Roll of Names said to be found in *Westminster*, of Great Personages, which were to be poisoned here, while you were in *Spain*: In the delivery whereof, I have been careful, as an Examiner, and Relater, to set down nothing but her bare and free report; which is the Historical part: The Critical now remaineth; for after the examination of circumstances, there is a liberty of Judgment.

I have seen many defamatory and libellous things of this nature, abroad and at home; though for the most part always without truth, yet oftentimes contrived with some credibility: But this appeareth, in the whole contexture, utterly void of both, even though we had never known your Grace; nay, I will say more, though we had known you to be as bad, and as black, as this Author would paint you. For first, the main ground upon which he would raise this defamation, is the foresaid Roll of Names, found, forsooth, not in a Cabinet, but in a dirty Street. Now, when we come to hunt it home, the authentical Instruments that should give it credit, are a Carman, and a Footman; till at last it came to Mr. *Alexander Heatley*: a Gentleman indeed (as I have conceived of him) of sound abilities. Then what does he with it? Marry, He thought it so frivolous, that albeit it had passed to him through the hands of a noble Gentlewoman of his own Country, yet he would



would not once trouble the late Duke of *Richmond* his Master so much as with a sight of it, though his said Master was one of the inrolled. Then, it comes back again, and the Gentlewoman conveyeth it by another hand to the late Marquess of *Hamilton*: What doth he with it? It sleeps in his Pocket. There, we are not only at a fault, in the Hunters-term; but at a rest, as if we were but playing at Tennis: I am sorry to charge the memory of that Worthy Gentleman, to whom I was much bound for his favor, so far as his Doctor hath laden him; that if he thought it more important than Mr. *Heatley* did, either by want of charity he would smother so horrible a practice against the lives of at least a dozen of his Colleagues in Privy-Council, or for want of courage not prosecute his own Cause: Especially, your Grace (whose power this Pamphleter doth alledge for the impediment of all prosecution) being then (as appeareth by the Examination) in *Spain*.

Much more might be said upon the matter: but I value, not only your Graces, but mine own time at a greater price: Yet I have committed a remembrance or two to this Bearer; for whose sincerity I am bound to answer, because I did choose him for a Witness in the Examination. One scruple only I had in point of formality, Whether I should address this accompt or no to the Council-Table, whence I received the Commission. But considering, that it came unto me, though by Order from thence, yet under the Kings trust; I have directed it to your hands, whom it most concerneth.

I had waited with it on your Grace in person, but that, in truth, some straitness by distillations in my breast, makes me resolve to enter anew into a  
little



little course of Physick. And so having discharged this duty according to my Conscience and capacity, I humbly leave your Grace in Gods Blessed Love; remaining,

*Your Graces ever devoted  
and professed Servant,*

HENRY WOTTON

1626.

*The Copy of my Letter to the Queen of Bohemia.*

*Most Resplendent Queen, even in the darkness of Fortune,*

**I** Most humbly salute Your Majesty again, after the longest silence that I have ever held with You, since I first took into my-heart an Image of Your excellent Vertues. My thoughts indeed have from the exercise of outward duties been confined within my self, and deeply wounded with mine own private griefs and losses; which I was afraid, if I had written sooner to Your Majesty, before time had dryed them up, would have freshly bled again. And with what shall I now entertain Your sweet Spirits? It becomes not my weakness, to speak of deep and weighty Counsels, nor my privateness of great Personages: Yet because I know Your Majesty cannot but expect, I should say somewhat of the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom all contemplate, I will begin there; and end in such comforts as I can suggest to Your present Estate: which shall be ever the Subject both of my Letters and of my prayers. But before I deliver my conceit



ceit of the said Duke, I must use a little Preface. I am two ways tyed unto him : First, for his singular Love to my never forgotten *Albertus* ; therein likewise concurring with Your Majesties inestimable affection. Next, for mine own particular, I hold by his Mediation this poor place, as indeed, for the benefit, I may well call it, though not for the contentment : But if it were worth Millions, or Worlds, I protest unto Your Majesty (to whom I owe the bottom of my Heart) I would not speak otherwise of him, than I conceive. Therefore, setting aside both fears of Parliament, and hopes of Court, I will spend my opinion, which is all my freehold.

And truly (my most Gracious and Royal Mistress) I cannot weigh his Case without much Wonder : being one of the strangest (all considered) that I ever yet took into my fancy. Not, that the Commons assembled should sift and winnow the Actions even of the highest of the Nobility: Not, that an obscure Physician then among them (Ambitious of some Glory out of his own profession) should dare to give the first onset on so eminent a Personage : Not, that such a popular pursuit once begun by one, and seconded by a few other, should quickly kindle a greater Party. These are in their Nature no Marvels, nor Novelties. Neither can I greatly muse, that in a young Gentleman, during thirteen years of such prosperity and power, the heighth of his place exposing him to much observation and curiosity ; the Lower House likewise opening the way to all kind of complaints, (as they did ; ) and examining nothing upon Oath, (as they never do ; ) there should be matter enough gleaned to make up thirteen Objections,



jections, and none of heinous degree: For after such boltings to the quick, even among men of far meaner managements, I think there would be found every where some Bran. Therefore I can pass all this over with easie belief. But there is a consideration or two, which do much confound my Judgment. First, for the matter it self: That this very Noble man, who at the Parliament of 1623. was so universally applauded and celebrated in every corner, as a great Instrument of the Publick good, (insomuch as for my part I conceived him then to be that which few or none had been before in all Ages, No less Favorite, I mean, to the People, than to the King) should now be pursued with these dislikes, when for the most part the very same Objectors were in the foresaid Parliament, and the very same Objections (except one or two) might as well then have been alledged: This is, I must confess to my understanding a Labyrinth. Again, When (from the matter turning to the Person) I view the fairness and equality of his temper and carriage, I can in truth descry in his own Nature, no Original excitement of such distaste, which commonly ariseth, not so much from high Fortune, as from high looks. For I most ingeniously avow unto your Majesty, that among all the Favorites which mine eyes have beheld in divers Courts, and times, I never saw before a strong Heart, and eminent condition, so clearly void of all Pride and Swelling Arrogancy, either in his Face or in his Fashion.

These are partly the Reasons that make me wonder, how such offence should grow like a mushroom in a night. But there is one thing above all other that hath stricken deepest into my mind,  
and



and made me see, how the greatest men have this unfortunate adjunct in their felicity, to be sometimes obnoxious to the foulest and falsest reports whereof in the person of this very Duke himself, I shall lay a monstrous example before your Majesty, out of mine own particular knowledge and employment.

It pleased my Sovereign now being, to direct unto me hither a Commission to examine my Lord of *Oldebare's* Daughter, by name Mistress *Anne Lion* (I think sometimes not unknown unto your Majesty) then resident at *Windsor*, about an abominable Pamphlet published and printed towards the time of the last Parliament, in divers Languages, by one Doctor *Eglisbam*, a *Scottish* Physician, who therein chargeth the Duke of *Buckingham* with such trifles as these: The death of the Marquess *Hamilton*, his near Friend and Ally; the death of our late King, of ever blessed memory, his most dear Master; the intended deaths of divers Councillors of State, his Associates: painting, in effect, a nature far beyond that of *Richard* the Third, when he was Duke of *Glocester*. And for a Witness hereof he traduceth the foresaid Gentlewoman, or rather as the main ground of his whole Book: which occasioned her examination, at the Dukes pursuit against himself; whereof I send your Majesty a Copy herewith, as I took it from her own free delivery; wherein you shall see a bare Note of a few Councillors Names, found at first, not in the Dukes Cabinet, but in the very kennel of *King-street* by a Car-man, Servant to a Woodmonger: Secondly, by him brought to a Footman; by which Honorable degrees it came to the Gentlewoman all dirty. And at last, it is turned  
by



by this Doctor into Bill of Personages to be poysoned, out of a very charitable interpretation then reigning in him. I am doubtful, what passion it will most stir in your Majesty, when you read the Circumstances; whether meer laughter at such a ridiculous slander, or a noble indignation at so desperate Impudency. And so not to stay any longer upon this Cobweb, I will end with such comforts as I propound to my self in contemplation of your present being.

The first shall be a general impression which we have taken of his Majesties Nature: And it is this, That he is not only (to consider him absolutely in his own composition) of singular Vertue and Piety, and resolution in good; but likewise (to consider him relatively) he is an excellent Husband, Brother, and Friend. I call Favourites the Friends of Kings, as your Majesty (who is so well versed in the best of Books) knows I may do with very good warrant: For was not *Hushai* the *Archite* so styled to *David*, and after him *Zabud* to *Solomon*? Nay, had not the Highest of all Examples, in the time of his Humane lowness, both among the living a Beloved that lay on his Bosom, and another also whom he calls his Friend, even when he called him from the dead? Thus much I could not abstain to let fall from my pen, by the way, against all murmurers at any singularity of affection, which abound both in States and Families. But of these three Relations, I will now only contemplate that which respecteth your Majesty; which indeed is as clear and visible as the rest: For surely all the Parliaments that our most Gracious Sovereign hath hitherto assembled, and all the Actions that he hath undertaken abroad, either of himself or by com-



binations, and his private Counfels at home, have principally levelled at your fupport and reftorement; as the Deliberations likewife that went before, in the latter time of your moft bleffed Father. So as your Majesty, in the juftnefs of your Caufe, and in the fweetnefs of your Nature, doth ftand firmly invefted in both the Titles of as beloved a Sifter as you were a Daughter. And I am confident, that our living and loving God, who did accept the zeal of your Royal Brother, and blefs his own and the publick devotions at home, with almoft a miraculous Conversion of the infirmity which raged, into Health, and of the ftertility which was feared, into plenty; will likewife find his own good time to favor our purfuits abroad.

Your Majesty's fecond comfort, is the univerfal love of all good Minds. To which I may juftly add, a particular zeal in him who is neareft his Majesty, to foment his beft defires towards you; which he hath expreffed fundry times within my hearing.

The laft and inwardeft Confolation that I can represent unto your Majesty, is your felf, your own Soul, your own Virtues, your own Chriftian conftancy and magnanimity: Whereby your Majesty hath exalted the glory of your Sex, conquered your Affections, and trampled upon your adverfities. To conclude, you have fhewed the World, that though you were born within the chance, yet without the power of fortune.

And fo having fought to redeem fo long a f Silence, I fear, with too long a trouble; I will promife your Majesty to commit no more of the former fault,



fault, and humbly beg your pardon for the other :  
ever and ever remaining,

*Your Majestie's poor Servant,*

*with all humble and hearty Devotion,*

H. WOTTON.

---

*To my most dear and worthy Friend, Mr. John Dinely,  
at the Hague.*

*My ever most dear Jack Dinely,*

**T**He Queen's last Letter (wherewith her Majesty did too much honour me) coming when my voices of any value were no more in mine own power, was nearer a torment than a surprisal. It shall teach me to reserve my self, as wiser Men do, for such supervenient Temptations, I must confess, above all strength, if the least possibility had been left. It is true, I could have given him a latter place ; but in that, I should have disgraced the suiter, and disrespected the Commander. I have therefore rather chosen to put him in the Vanguard the next year, being the Son of a Souldier, than now in the Reer. And this is the summ of my humble answer to her Majesty, though in other terms.

Your *Anthony* ( who is my Guest every *Saturday* night ) is well grown in Stature, and more in Knowledge. I verily believe he will prove both a wise and learned Man, and certainly good. We have passed over *quocunq; modo* the most troublesome  
P p 2 Election,



Election, that, I think, was here ever seen. Wherein, according to my usual Fashion, I have lost four or five Friends, and yet I thank God, not gotten the value of one *Harrington*: So as they are angry at me on the one side, and they laugh at me on the other. If my most gracious Mistres will in her goodness be pleased to drown her displeasure till the next turn, I shall chearfully in the mean time, bear the weight of mine own simplicity.

I have gotten, with much adoe, some of the *Psalms* translated by my late most blessed Master, for the young Prince of *Bohemia*, (which is one of your Memorials that have slept too long by me) and I have ransacked mine own poor Papers for some entertainment for the Queen: which shall be sent together. Though it be now a Misery to re-visit the Fancies of my Youth, which my judgement tells me, are all too green, and my Glas tells me, that my self am gray. Till my next, let me trouble you no farther. The love of God be with us, and we are well.

From the College  
at midnight, the  
12. of *August*, 1628.

*Your poor true Friend,*

H. WOTTON.

I hear that one hath offered to the Prince of *Orange* an Invention of discoursing at a great distance by Lights: It is true.

A Noble Lady who is desirous to bestow her Son at *Leyden*, would fain be first informed, what commodity for education the place doth yield: wherein you shall do me and her a great favor.



*To my very worthy and ever dear Friend, Mr. John Dinely, at the Hague.*

*My ever dear Jack Dinely,*

**Y**OUR last of the 6<sup>th</sup>. of October were welcome beyond all expression: intimating a hope that I shall see your self shortly; which will be *mille Epistolæ*. I do not see how you can fail of the thing whereof you write, if you come quickly. The Letter in your behalf from our Royal Mistress to his Majesty here, is too faint, being moulded in your own modesty: Therefore, I have a little invaded it, with some violence unto you. When you consult with me about the Personage that should First, or Second, or Tertiate your business with the King, I must answer as *Demosthenes* did of Action; My Lord Thresorer, My Lord Thresorer, and so again. We contemplate him, not only in the Quality of his Place, but already in some degree of a Privado; and even the fresh introduction of Sir *F. Cottington* to the Council-Table, is no small Argument of his Strength, though otherwise a Subject of Merit.

I hear likewise, that his own Foreign Employments have given him a great taste of things abroad: So as you will not find him incurious to discourse with you: And I verily believe, that he will take an Address of you from the Queen unto him, as the principal Personage, to the Heart; wherein, methinks, it were fit and proper, that her Majesty would be pleased likewise to favor you with some lines to my Lord *Conaway*, because they were joyned in Ambassage unto Her at *Prage*. This is



all that I shall need to say, till your own coming. Your little *Anthony* prospers extreamly well; and I dare now say, he will prove a good Scholar. And so being in truth in no very chearful Disposition at the present, but newly come out of two or three fits of an Ague, I will trouble neither of us both any further: ever resting,

From *London*, ready  
to return to my  
Coll. at *Eton*, this  
13. of Nov. 1628.

*Your poor professed Friend,*

HENRY WOTTON.

If the Queen have not heard the Epitaph of *Albertus Morton* and his Lady, it is worth her hearing, for the passionate plainness: *Authoris Incerti.*

He first deceased. She for a little tryed  
To live without him: liked it not and dyed,

#### POSTSCRIPT.

In a Letter under this date to her Majesty, I conclude with a Supplication, that she will be pleased to receive a Page, at the joynt suit of the House of *Bacons*: A Boy of singular Spirits, without aggravation of her charge; for he shall want, no means to maintain himself in good Fashion about so Royal a Mistress. I pray heartily further this motion, and be in it your self, *Nuncius lætitiarum,*



*Part of a Letter to the Lord Treasurer, Earl of Portland*  
(ut videtur.)

**T**His is the reckoning of my unpleasant time, whereby your Lordship sees, that my silence hath been a symptom (as I may term it) of my infirmity, from all outward respects and duties, contracting my thoughts about my self. But can that serve my turn? No in troth (my good Lord:) For I should while my self was in Contemplation, have remembred, that I was bound to congratulate with your Lordship even for mine own sake, especially when I found by the long use of two or three Physicians, the exhaustion of my Purse, as great as other evacuations. It would breed Wrinckles in my Face, if I should stay any longer upon this point. I will chear my self, that your Lordship did love me, even before I was so worthy of your Compassion. I have tasted the benefit of your discourse, I have enjoyed your hospitality, I have been by your favor one of your familiar Guests, I have had leave to interchange some good tales and stories in your company, and to exercise my natural freedom. Besides, we have been conjoyned in a serious business, wherein, I do even yet hope for some good by your means: So as I have had in your Lordship the interests both of earnest, and of pleasant Conversation, which gives me the boldness to assure my self, that I am still not only within your Lordship's Remembrance, but likewise within your loving care.

But I dig in a Rock of Diamonds.



## To the King, 1628.

*May it please your most Sacred Majesty,*

**I**T is more to be bound to your Majesty's judgement, than to be bound to your Favor. Therefore, I do not only joy, but glory (though still with humble acknowledgement and feeling what my self am) that you have been pleased (as I understand from my Lord of Dorchester) to apply my Pen to so Noble an end: being confident, that the very care, not to disgrace your Majesty's good pleasure, and indulgent choice of me, will invigorate my weakness. But before I enter into the Description of others Actions and Fortunes (which require a free Spirit) I must present at your Royal Feet, and even claim from your natural equity and goodness, such Compensation, (as it shall please you) in that which followeth.

I served the King your Father of most blessed memory, from the time he sent for me, at the beginning of his Reign, out of France, (retaining then some gracious Remembrance of my Service with him in Scotland) twenty years, that is, almost now a third part of my Life, in ordinary and extraordinary Employments abroad. I had many comfortable Letters of his contentment, or at least, of his gracious Toleration of my poor endeavors: And I had under his own Royal Hand, two hopes in Reversion. The first, a moiety of a six Clerks place in Chancery. The next, of the Office of the Rolls it self. The first of these, I was forced to yield to Sir William Beecher, upon the late Duke of Buckingham's former engagement unto him by promise, even after your Majesty had been pleased to

in.



intercede for me, with your said ever blessed Father. And that was as much in value, as my Provostship were worth at a Market. The other of the Reversen of the Rolls, I surrendered to the said Duke in the Gallery at Willingford House, upon his own very instant motion (the said Duke then intending it, upon the now Attorney, Sir Robert Heath) though with serious promise, upon his Honor, that he would procure me some equivalent recompence, before any other should be settled in the place.

The truth of my humble claim, and of his sincere Intentions towards me, I present herewith unto your Majesty, in a Letter all under his own hand.

I could likewise remember unto your Majesty, the losses I have sustained abroad, by taking up Moneys, for my urgent use, at more than twenty in the hundred; by casualty of fire, to the damage of near four hundred pounds in my particular; by the raising of Moneys in Germany, whereby my small allowance (when I was sent to the Emperer's Court) fell short five hundred pounds, as Seignor Burlamachi too well knoweth; and other ways.

Now for all this (that I may not press your Majesty with immoderate desires) I most humbly beg from your Royal Equity, and I may say, from your very compassion, but two things; First, that your Majesty will be pleased, in disposing of the Rolls (to which I was assigned) to reserve for me some small proportion, towards the discharge of such debts as I contracted in publick service, yet remaining upon Interest. Next, That you will be likewise pleased to promise me, the next good Deanry, that shall be vacant by death or remove: whereof I also had a promise from your blessed Father then at Newmarket, and am now more capable thereof in my present Condition. And thus shall your Majesty restore me, both to the freedom of my thoughts, and of my life; otherwise so intri-



cated, that I know not how to unfold it. And so with my continual Prayers to the Almighty, for His dearest and largest Blessings upon Your Royal Person; I ever rest,

White Hall,  
Feb. 12  
Styl vet.  
1628.

Your Majesty's most faithful  
poor Subject and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

*To my most Worthy Friend Mr.  
John Dinely Esq; at Boston  
in Lincolnshire.*

*My dear Jack Dinely,*

**Y**OU see I keep my familiarity, though you be the Governor of Princes: And I see by your Letter, that I am every where in your remembrance, even where so many natural pledges divide you. The Parliament is since your going, dissolved by the King upon such reason, as in good faith, all sober minds must approve, even while they wish it otherwise. Never was there such a morning, as that which occasioned the dissolution, since *Phaeton* did guide his Fathers Charot.

We are now cheared with some Foreign News: but I am still sorry, that we must fetch our comfort from abroad, and from the discords of *Italy*,  
instead



instead of the harmony of *England*. Our Lords sit often, and were never more close : insomuch as it is as hard to get any thing out of the Counsel-Chamber as out of the Exchequer.

Sir *Henry Vane* is suddenly sent extraordinary Ambassador to the *Hague* ; with the more wonder, because Sir *Robert Carr* is yet there, *omni par negotio*. The others having been Cofferer, breeds some conjecture that the business is pecuniary. Nothing is yet done about the *Rolls*, and those other places in sequence: And my Lord of *Bristol's* re-entry into the Court (who the last week carried the Sword before the King) filleth us with new discourse, as if he should be restored to the Vice-Chamberlainship, which yet lyeth amortized in your Noble Friend.

Mine own businesses stand as they did : And the best is, they are rather stationary then retrograde. I pray remember my hearty Affection to your worthy Brother, and give him the best hope of his *Anthony*. And so languishing for you again, I commit you all to Gods dear love.

March 11.  
1628.

Your faithfullest poor Friend,

H. WOTTON.

---

To the same.

My sweet and dear Jack Dinely,

I Am come newly from those Ladies, who think themselves more lovely than before, and perhaps than they are, ever since I shewed them your  
Cha-



Character of their Beauties, in your Letter from the *Gally-Gravesend*. Never was a Town better Epitheted. They all remember themselves extream kindly unto you. While I was there, I should have written Letters provisionally to go with Mr. *Griffith* : But my Brains are even yet in some distraction among good *Ideas*, whereby I am put now to write these, and other that go with them, in hast : For my said Friend hath given me warning that he shall be gone to morrow morning from *London*.

I have written to our Royal Myfstress, upon a touch in your last, (which found me at *Bocton*) that I had now sent her my Niece *Stanbop's* Picture in little, if an expresse Messenger sent for it, the very night before I came away, by my Lord of *Chesterfield* (to whom it was promised) had not ravished it out of my Pocket. But I shall have it in a greater form at my return thither immediately after our Election ; which will begin to morrow seven-night : And the *Friday* morning following Sir *George Kever's* Son is in the head of our List ; For *Lentum est*, to say he shall be, after your late refreshment of the Queens Commands. Sir *Edmund Bacon* was likewise with me at *Bocton* : when your Letter so over-joyed him, that he called in the very instant for some Paper to send for the spiritous *Frank Bacon* from *Redgrave*. And *Seneviene volando*, as fast as he can trick him up for the Souldier. Of whom I will write more by himself. For to discharge the thanks that are due for him, is no sudden business. To return to Mr *Griffith* ; No man living ever took a kinder impresson than he hath done of his Obligations towards you : And it is indeed a piece of his Character, to take the least kind-



kindness to heart. He knows all news. You have him now in your Hands. And God be between you both.

*Your poor Friend visceratissimamente,*

H. WOTTON.

To my most worthy dear Friend Mr. *John Dinely* Attendant on the young Prince at *Leyden*.

From the College the 16. of *August*, 1629.

My sweet *Jack Dinely*,

**W**E have newly concluded our Anniversary business, which hath been the most distracted Election that I verily believe had ever before been seen, since this Nurse first gave Milk, through no less than four recommendatory, and one mandatory Letter from the King himself; besides Intercessions and Messengers from divers great Personages for Boys both in and out; enough to make us think our selves shortly Electors of the Empire, if it hold on. Among which Confusions, I did not forget (as I have written to your Royal Mistress) to put Sir G. Kevet's Son in the head of our List.

After this, which I have truly told you, you cannot well expect many lines from me: for as the Seas require some time to settle, even when the winds are ceased, so need our brains after such an Agitation; yet somewhat I must say by this Bearer. You have gotten a great interest in the whole



whole Family, and in all that touch upon it; by the pains which you have taken, and yet they reserve themselves not to be more beholden to you for the Introduction, than they hope to be for your Direction of him there; though he comes, I can tell you, with severe advice from his Uncle, that if ever he be an inch from the Eye of the Prince, (unless with the Queen) either in time of security or danger; Actum est; between them. We leave him now to your moulding, as if he were (as he is indeed) to be melt in a new furnace: there is spirit enough to work upon, though perchance overshadowed with some rural modesty; but that among Camps and Courts is now and then too soon divested. I shall be glad to hear how he appeareth di prima villa; as likewise of little Griffith, after whom I hearken with no less Affection.

Dum verſer in hac materia: I could wiſh you at ſome times to quicken your Anthony here with a line or two; which in Perſius phraſe, Patruum ſapiant: Not truly that I perceive any ſlackneſs in him, but you know what our Italian Horſemen ſay, Un Caval del Reguo vuol anche gli ſpronſi.

We are divided by ſundry reports from you, between hopes and fears, both great; your next will eaſe us: which will find in Kent, whether I am turning my Head again for a while, that I may be preſent at my Niece Stanhop's in good time.

My Niece Heſter is abſolutely reclaimed from thoſe fooliſh Impreſſions which ſhe had taken, God's Name be ever bleſſed for it; and it is none of the leaſt ends of my going to rivet that buſineſs. I hope at the next Term to do ſome wonders for my ſelf; ſo I call them, and ſo they muſt be if I do them: for among Courtiers I am a wonder, as Owls are among gay Birds. Now farewel for the preſent: let us ſtill love one another, and our dear God loves us both.

Your trueſt poor Friend, H. W.



*I had made it a Resolution to my self never to write to the Queen, without somewhat likewise to the King; but understanding that they are now separated, I have this time forbore to trouble him in so noble an Action.*

*To my most dear and worthy Friend Mr. John Dinely,  
Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia.*

*My dear J. Dinely,*

**F**OR I am loth to lose the possession of our familiarity; you left me here your Letters and your Love in deposit, and I have since received other from you, somewhat of a sad Complexion, touching the Affairs of Germany as then they stood: But more newly we hear, that *Barbard of Weinmer* doth miracles upon the *Danuby*, the River sometimes of our merry passage.

We wish in this House (where you have placed me with much contentment) that every Mole hill that he takes were a Province; and that the Duke of *Bavaria* were not only fled to *Saltzburg* (as is voiced) but even to the Capital of *Rome*, and all others with him, that adore the purple Beast.

Here we live in dayly (*sed hoc lentum est*) let me say, in hourly (*quin & illud frigidum*) nay in continual remembrance of our Royal Mistress, the very Triumph of Virtue. I have at the present written to her Majesty, as I shall do often, being now in the proper place of her Addressees, and of such opportunity to express our Zeals, as hath left a lazy Pen no imaginable excuse hereafter.

Through your hand I now send her my late *Panegyrick*, which I blush to tell you how well it  
takes



takes here with some indulgent and merciful Readers.

The Interpretation to her Majesty of as much therein as concerneth her self, I can commit to no spirit more sweetly, than to yours, who are so conversant with her vertues.

With us here things stand as you left them. Most indubitably an infinite Affection in the King towards so precious an only Sister: But I know not well how our Times will sort with your Propositions. Yet I hope well, as *Abraham* did, when he wanted a Sacrifice, *Deus providebit*. And so for this time, in confused haste I rest,

From you know  
where, Dec. 10.  
1633.

*Your ever vowed poor Friend,*

HENRY WOTTON.

I have written to the Queen touching *James Vary*, who commits himself to your Affectionate Memory: And we languish for a return from you.

I pray remember my humble Service to his Majesty's most worthy Resident with you, to whom and to my Noble Secretary I will write by the next Occasion.

S I R,

I Am glad of this opportunity to acquaint you, before your going, with the cause why Mr. *Avery's* Son did fail at our late Election.

When the Boy came before us, being asked the ordinary Questions, *Quod est tibi Nomen? Quot Annos natus es? Quo Anni tempore? Quo Comitatu?*  
Quo



*Quo Oppido? Quare Villa?* (To all which his Answers must remain upon Record in our Indentures of that year, if he be chosen) he stopped a little at the two last; and then (as if he had meant to suffer like a Martyr for the Truth) he told us flatly, That he was born in the Low-Countreys at *Delft*. This retrenched all farther Examination of him; for thereby he was intelligible, our Statutes only admitting the *English* Shires, with exclusion, not only of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, but even of *Wales*; and much more of any Foreign Province. Hereupon we called in his Father, who handsomely skirmished in his behalf, That Children born of *English* Parents in the Staples of Merchants abroad, were by an Act of *Edward* the third, habilited to all purposes at home, as well as the inward Natives. And thereupon he went and took Council of Mr. *Newbury*, Steward of *Windsor*, and no obscure Lawyer, who did set down his Judgment in writing clearly for him, That all Local Statutes are void which are either against the Common Law, or against a general precedent Statute, as he said this was. Now although we could have been glad all to be left as free as your *Armenians* leave our Will; yet considering that our Local Statutes were long after the foresaid Act of Habilities, and that how invalid soever they may appear to some other man, yet that they bind us at least in Conscience, especially after so long Custom. These points I say considered, the last good will we could express towards the Father, was to offer him (as I did) to propound the Case to my Lord of *Canterbury*, our Visitor Paramount, and now in Ordinary (the Bishop of *Lincoln* being in an unvisitable Case himself) that so his Grace might relieve him with his Inter-



pretation: wherein I got the Provost of *Kings* to concur with me; and so I drew a Letter with all possible advantage on his side, inclosing therein the favorablest Branch of our Statutes. This Letter Mr. *Avery* carried to *Croyden* with paternal Affection and Hast, and brought us back an Answer to this substance; That though his Grace should be heartily willing in respect of the Fathers relation to her Majesty of *Bohemia* (as I had represented him) to do any thing for the Child: yet being a binding Precedent against Custom he could not suddenly determine the Point, being at that time without Civil Lawyers, by whose advice his Court was guided: And therefore if we would defer our Election till *Michaelmas*, he would then orderly decide it. But we being by other Statutes bound not to prolong our Election an hour after such a time as was already near spent, and to tell you *in Sinu*, being loth to leave our selves so long upon Interpretation, we gave it over. I understand since a circumstance that must needs trouble Mr. *Avery* more than the Business it self: That it failed by his fault, and not the Boys. For after our Usher (the Childs Tutor) had instructed him, That by no means he should confess his Foreign Birth, his Father, whom the Boy had not acquainted with his Tutors Instruction, not knowing our Statutes, bad his Son answer, when he should be asked the last Question, That he was born *in Comitatu Hollandiæ*; and so the Child trusting his Father more than his Tutor, fell through the Basket.

With this Story I have entertained you at large, because, besides my zeal towards any thing that our Royal Mistress can wish to be done, I was engaged



gaged in a promise to your self, whom I will follow with Letters to her Majesty by the conveyance of Sir *Abra. Williams*, and with a little Nuptial Present to your self, which you had had with you, if a Friend of mine, who should have made it ready, had not been skared from *London*. And yet (to shew you my poverty) it is only a pair of Sheets which I mean to send, with this Mark at the corners, *PRODINLEIANIS*. In the mean while, God hold you and your Love in his Love, wherein after the uncertain Traverses of Courts below, dwelleth all Abundance and Infallibility above.

Dictated from  
my Bed, *August* 18.

*By your ever the same*

*affectionate poor Friend,*

HENRY WOTTON.



To Mr. John Dinely, at Westminster.

SIR,

I Understand by your last kind lines that you were to be at Court as to morrow ; so as I hope by our next Foot-Post to hear the Crisis of that day : and am sorry to hear in the mean time that your dreams were improptious. We had here taken a voice and strong belief coming from a Recusant, (who know many things, and quickly) that the Infanta Queen of France was brought to bed of a Dolphin, and not of a Distaff. But your Letter saying nothing either of the one or of the other, I have suspended my faith.

London is the Ocean of Novelties : Here we speak of nothing but a certain new Aguish disease, which invadeth many Families, but with little mortality.

The Plague at Dover is by Gods blessing ceased, and their Tents taken down. At Boughton the Small Pox fallen first upon a Chaplain, and after, upon one of the fair Faces, but a Deering ; will keep me, I doubt, from that place : Not that I apprehend any Contagions whatsoever (as I think you know) but the Winter coming on, and the Place bleat, a small excuse will serve my turn. God send you all comfort in your first and second self : To whose goodness I leave you, resting,

From the Palace  
by Canterbury,  
August last, 1638.

Your most affectionate  
Alla Suiscerata,

HENRY WOTTON.

Sir,



S I R,

NEXT your own and your dear Conforts health, I languish to hear of your first reception at Court. For though I suppose it was short, yet we Philosophers say, that *Principia plus valent virtute quam mole*. Next that I pray let me know your opinion of the prodigious escape of the Queen Mother of *France*, out of the *Spanish* clutches to the *Hague*: And whether she be *trajectura*, as our right worthy Friend Dr. *Doriflaus* writeth me. I am come hither in a very benign Constellation, and silent conspiracy of my chiefest Friends that have met here at the same time; Sir *Edmund Bacon*, Sir *Francis Barnham*, and Sir *Thomas Culpepper*: All, men of singular conversation; and some of them, though of the same County, yet that had not been here in seven years before. Of which, my Nephew, Sir *Edmund*, and my self are to pass this next week under the Roof of my Lord Chief Justice *Finch*, at his House of *Mote* close by, through his Noble and unresistable Importunity. God keep us in his Love, wherein is all joy and abundance,

From the Palace by  
Canterbury, this St.  
Bartholomew's day  
1638.

Your ever most affectionate,

HENRY WOTTON.



SIR,

I Send you inclosed the preparation of *Guajacum*, as I have found incomparable benefit thereby. I expect in exchange the Letter touching the Dutcheſs de Chereuſe. I am in great perplexity by hearing no News of *Nicholas Oudard* ſince the firſt of *September Stylo novo* from *Bruxels*: being that afternoon to go to *Mechelen* with a Letter of Authority for his preſent diſpatch; ſo as he wrote, he would either ſend me word, if any impediment ſhould intervene; or bring the firſt News himſelf. Beſides, *Monſieur Gerbier* thought his buſineſs in ſo fair a way, as he left a Maid there to come over in the company of himſelf, and his Mother. When I lay theſe things together, I can make no good interpretation of it: Yet I will not anticipate and prejudge mine own miſhaps, as I ſhould account the loſs of him, whom I have trained from a Child. God grant all be well. If you could meet with *Monſieur Gerbier* and enquire whether he hath heard any thing, it would much eaſe my heart one way or other. And ſo leaving you in the Lord's protection, I reſt,

From the College,  
Septemb. 26. 1638.

Your true Friend,

in omni fortuna,

HENRY WOTTON.

Sir,



SIR,

**I** Was glad for all the private in a late Letter from you, and sorry for the publick, both Foreign, and inward: But I like Plato's Counsel well; In adversities to compress murmur: For our Providence (saith he) is too short to judge, whether there may not lye under the outside of an apparent evil some in-imaginable good. The last Philosophy is, Voluntas tua fiat Domine. Upon bearing, some good while since, of the misadventures in the Palatine House; his loss of Meppen, before he had it; the defeat of his Troops, as soon as he had gathered them, the taking of his Brother, &c. I fell upon a conceit, that perchance these unpleasant things might call over Sir R. Cave; the Prince being destitute of Counsel, and of proper Instruments of Action, (for they say, Ferentz is likewise Prisoner.) And so there would be room here for your Employment: which I would wish you to press extremely. But of this more in my next. I now send you an Hogshead of more than Soror Tonantis, and very willingly, though so long after March you take us Sul basso. But one thing I must tell you, that for your Wives Splenetique Infirmary, there is nothing worse in the World than either strong or stale Beer. Now, that we have you out of the Streights and in the Ocean (as you call it) both of Novelties as well as of other things, Matthew Saye shall have order to call upon you at least once a week. And for the present I leave you in his Love that never faileth: remaining,

From the College  
this Thursday  
morning, 1638.

Your very truly affectionate,

HENRY WOTTON



SIR,

**B**etween you and me Complemental Letters are as needless and improper, as I hope, the provisions of Armour in the Tower will be. As for Novelties of State, you are in the Center, and we rural Weights in the Circumference, and Skirts, entertained with nothing but some cold icesickles and droppings from you *Londoners*: Imagine us therefore to stand gaping for the return of the Lord Marquess. In the mean while I should be glad to know in what quality my Nephew Colonel *Morton* is imployed towards the North; for I hear of one Serjeant Major *Thebwell* in more noise. And so intending (as soon as it can be ready) to entertain you with a strange Collar of Brawn, I rest,

This Epiphany,  
1638.

Ever your own,

HENRY WOTTON,

Sir,



SIR,

MY Pen hath not conversed with you for *certe*  
*Gite* of our Boat a pretty while; not want-  
 ing affection, but matter. You are in the Center  
 of Novelties. God send all well, as I have no  
 doubt it will be at last. I am within some few  
 weeks tending to my *Genial* Soyl at *Boughton Mal-*  
*herb*; and thence about by *Redgrave* I shall make a  
 Circle hither again, taking perchance both Uni-  
 versities in my Line homewards. You married  
 men are deprived of these evagations. While we  
 stand in a little suspense touching the event of in-  
 ward Affairs; I am glad to hear from abroad in the  
 High *Dutch* Gazette, that there is a Treaty of Ex-  
 change in hand between Prince *Rupert*, and Prince  
*Casimer* of *Poland*, whom the *Swedes* have in custo-  
 dy. Methinks, it is a pretty balanced intention,  
 and of no improbable issue; the King of *Hungaria*  
 (*alias* Emperor) growing every day lower, and lo-  
 wer. I desire much to know how your vertuous  
 Consort standeth in her health, and how your self  
 proceedeth in your hopes; resting,

From the College,  
 Feb. 21. 1638.

*Semper, Semper Tuus,*

HENRY WOTTON.



*Charissime,*

**I** Am forry to hear of new Oaths in *Scotland* between the Covenanters, who they say will have none but *Jesus Christ* to Reign over them: A Sacred Cover of the deepest Impiety. God open their eyes, and soften their hearts. I have read a good part of the *Declaration*, wherein the Dean of *Durham's* Pen doth well appear: and the whole business is very black. Never was there such a stamping and blending of Rebellion and Religion together. I thank you for your news touching Prince *Rupert*; but I fear the *Hungarian* King will hold him too fast. To your Question about mine own Remove, it will be towards the ending of this week for a night or two to *London*; so as I hope to save you the Labour of journeying hither. My Lodging, if it be not prepossest, will be at Mr. *Alkind's* House in the *Strand*, or otherwise peradventure with your Friend in *Lombard-street*, whereof you shall have notice in time.

*I am yours every where,*

From the College  
April 21. 1639.

H. WOTTON.

SIR,



SIR,

I should be sorry for your departure towards our Royal Mistress, before some short meeting at least between us : for I have much discourse to unload in your honest brest ; and I can tell you, we had need lay up discourse safely ; which I hope you will take for some excuse of my seldom writing unto you : for I suspect a certain natural freedom in mine own Pen.

In the *Scottish* Affairs, it is one mystery, that we know not what to believe. Only this we can say, That there is nothing to be praised in it on their part ; and I could wish, there were as little to be feared on ours. *Deus operatur omnia suaviter* : And to his Power and Mercy we must leave our selves.

*Your ever faithful poor Friend,*

From the College

April 17. 1639.

H. WOTTON.

Sir, My Coach-man is yet crazy, from a late great sickness ; but if it please you to specify the time of your conveniency, my Geldin shall wait upon you at *Branford* ; *Apoinct nommé*.

SIR,



SIR,

**I** long now to hear of nothing more than a little *Deynleiolus*; and if it prove of another Gender in Grammar, then let Philosophy comfort you, that says, It is Nature's method to begin *ab Imperfectiori*: But by my contemplation of your own, and your Wife's complexion, and of her late sickness, I should imagine that *Fortior pars trahet sexum*.

We are sorry to hear that the *Scotish* Gentlemen, who have been lately sent to that King, found (as they say) but a bruske welcome; which makes all fear; that there may be a rebullition in that business.

We have a new strange voice flying here, that the Prince *Palatine* is towards a Marriage.

I apprehend much the event of your new Ambassage from the States, being carried by a man who hath had his whole fortune out of *France*; but the wisdom of the Instrument may mollifie all. I should be glad to know, whether his Son-in-law *Constantinus Hugenius* be in his company. Lastly, I should be glad to hear that you are *un tantino* promoted in your own ends; for when the first way is plained, all will go smoothly. Let us howsoever love one another, and God love us both.

Your poor Friend,

H. WOTTON.





A

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Sir *HENRY WOTTON*'s

# LETTERS

TO THE

# Lord Zouch.

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Collected from the Originals, and Never published till this present year, 1685.

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Printed for *Benj. Tooke* at the Ship in *St. Paul's* Church-yard, and *Tho. Sawbridge*, at three *Flower-de-luces* in *Little Britain*. 1685.



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To the most Honourable Lord, the  
Lord Zouch, at Altorph.

October 27. 1590. Ingolstade.

Most Honourable,

**I**N the first beginning of this Duty unto Your Honour, I crave Pardon to intreat thus much; That whatsoever I shall be bold by the like means at any time to utter unto your Honour, it may please you to accept no otherwise than spoken with unfeigned Troth and Faith toward you. You have (My Lord) so far above mine own Deserts, held me worthy of your Honours Love, and charg'd your self so much with shewing it, as wheresoever I am, I must ever live in the dear remembrance of your good Favour, and be glad with all Service to testifie my regard of it.

I have deliver'd your Honour's Letters, and for their sake have been right friendly entertained. The Doctor to whom they were directed, I found in his Lodging, plac'd very fitly and well in my Opinion, and the day of my coming was the third of his reading. *Manner*ing return'd the Evening before to his Master. They are both preparing for *England*. The man sent for them I was acquainted with before at *Brownswick*, when I came up the Country, where he gave himself forth for a Merchant, and his Trade at *Venice*. Now he tells me that his farthest Journey then was to this Town. *Oportet Mendacem esse memorem*. I assure your Honour, he brought Letters of dangerous advice to the Son, from the Father then; and not much better in the purpose of his



coming now; otherwise the Gentleman might be sent for by a less chargeable means, than a man over the Country. The Students tell me he never spares our *Queen* in his common Table Discourse, but rails impatiently upon her, as having detain'd from his Father, without any Cause but her own Pleasure, the use of his Goods and Livings, no doubt upon this ground, giving himself forth for a *Baron*; (which I understand here of him) some cause must be alleged why he maintains not the state of it; which Objection is very thoroughly answered, that the *Queen* detains the Money that should do it. He invited me to Supper, and as I came at five to his Chamber to inquire him out, he sent me down word by the Maid that he was not above. The Cardinal *di Santa Severina* is Pope, and surnamed *Julius* the fourth. The Jesuit Colledge here is advertis'd the News from *Rome*, where their Rector is at this present to salute him in the Name of the whole *Society*.

Other Occurrences, worthy your Honours hearing, we have none. The particulars of the Election, if the Town afford it, your Honour shall be advertis'd from *Vienna*. And thus (My Lord) commending my self with all Duty to your honourable good Favour and Opinion of me; I beseech God to accomplish unto your Honour, in their best time, the noble Desires of your own Heart, and so in haste most humbly take my leave.

*Written in thankfullest Duty and Regard  
toward your Honour at Engolstade this  
27 of October 1590. Style of Rome.*

Your Honours in all Service,  
**HENRY WOTTON.**

*Novem-*



November 20. 1590. *Vienna.*

Most Honoured Lord,

**H**AVING from *Engolstade* advertis'd your Honour the State I found the Town in, after my rude manner then; it is my Duty to continue the like service from hence in some little better sort. I came to *Vienna* the eleventh of this Month, being *St. Martins* Day. Your Honour understands well the course of the Journey with your own experience; for our parts that travell'd it now, we saw nothing more than ordinary. The second day after my landing here, I delt with *Petching* concerning fit room to lodge your Honour in his House, and received answer, he had lately entertained a Stranger in the Chamber he made promise of; to provide your Honour as well otherwise, if that place be not void at your coming, he will take the care upon him. The first man in *England* he asked me for was my Father, to whose House he often resorted, being then in the service of my Uncle; by that means I can do something with him, but have——him so far, as I dare affirm unto your Honour, he is no——man. How I shall find this Town for charges of Table, I can say nothing, being as yet come to no certainty that way. Thus I have learnt, that Students are forc'd here to live with better fare than they would. The Reason is manifest, because, as the times are, a man may with more gain keep an Ordinary of seven Messes at a Duckat a Person weekly, than of four at a *Floryn*: for the *Dutch* will drink the like at both, and Meat is cheap with us, but the Wine dear; so, though in these East-parts there be



more plenty of all things generally than in the Center of the Realm, where your Honour lives, yet am I likely to find little help in that; unless I would imitate my self after the manner of *Italy*, which I stand yet in some question upon. I had to this Town eight Letters of commendation, which signifie unto your Honour, because one of them was from *D. Gifanins* to the Master of the Imperial Library, and one effect of your Honours Favour to him in my behalf; two other were directed to Persons of more Authority, the one to the Emperors Receiver, the other to a principal Man in his Majesties Favour, and chief in the———chosen unto it upon his sufficiency in Matters of State and Government, though his Religion be contrary. With this Gentleman I have remained ever since, free from all Expences, and have friendly Liberty granted me to continue it, all he hath provided me with some Learned man—— that I may apply my self to my Study. Of my Estate otherwise I have nothing more to advertise your Honour, save that I live right well contented, and (as I am with your most favourable Love shew'd towards me bound ever) at your Honours Service and commandment. The Estate and Occurrences of the present are thus. *Matthias*, one of the *Arch-Dukes of Austria*, hath been Governour of this Town some six Weeks. He was call'd hither from his Court at *Lintz*, at the departure of *Ernestus*, who yet remains a Mourner at *Gratz* for the Death of *Charles* his Uncle. We look not for his return. I was yesterday presented before him as he sat at his Table — I stood a Mans length from him, the half dinner time, where I had the leave and Honour given me to behold the Service of the Court, and of every thing was worth the noting. The *Arch-Dukes* drink



drink but twice or thrice at the most in their Meals, which I have learnt to be the difference of State from the other *Almaigne Princes*; That which I have often heard the *Dutch* say, that our *Queen* was in some mind toward him, and swore him her Servant by order of her Garter, is merely false; for I find that he travelled *England* disguisedly, and concealed his State there; which, since my departure from your Honour, was objected unto me as a point of Wisdom in him, to be able to deceive a whole Nation. He is a man of a slight Presence, rather modest than courtly; of all the Brothers, as they say, the nearest natured to the Emperour; as Catholic as any of them, but not so hot in it as *Ernestus*; more of him I know not. His Majesties Embassador to the *Grand Signior* is not returned. The *Basha* of *Buda* (a Town in *Hungaria* on the *Danube*) was slain by the *Turks* Souldiers, for letting of him pass. The reason of it is received at *Prague*, to have been, because the *Turk* being much behind-hand with them for Service-money, they would have paid themselves with the *Tribute*. There was speech he would return by the way of *Venice*, as not daring otherwise; but we hear the contrary, and he is likely to find it an heavy Journey. The Christian Souldiers that lye in Garrison on the Borders, are at the like terms with their Emperour. There was a great stir lately at *Prague* among the Posts of the Court, about refusing to wear the *Spread-Eagle*, because they had not their *Badge gilt*. *D. Blotius*, the Master of the Imperial Library, and sometime Professor of the Law in this University, can get no Letter, either for his Annual Stipend then, or charge now. Money is wanting of all hands, and the Emperour poor. Here is discouraging and Rumor of a Marriage between his



Majesty and the *King of Spains* Daughter, and the  
 seventeen Provinces for her Dowry. Reasons are al-  
 leged, it would be a means to enrich the *Empire*,  
 and to draw the *German Princes* into the *Catholick*  
*Cause*, which is now weak in *France*. Some say the  
*P. of Parma* hath a great Voice in it, so the People  
 talk, whom the Politicks note to be the first makers  
 of great Matches commonly. The News I writ your  
 Honour from *Engolstade*, that *Cardinal Sanctseverin-*  
*us* was Pope, received at the *Jesuits House* there,  
 from their *Rector* at *Rome*, and confirm'd unto me  
 afterward by *Gregory de Valentia*, I find untrue. We  
 have yet the Chair empty since the Death of *Co-*  
*stagni*. I confer'd Catholick-wise with a Merchant  
 that came directly out of *Italy*, how he left the State  
 there. He told me the *King of Spain* hinders the  
 Election, because, having many *Stipendiary Cardi-*  
*nals*, they all suspend their Voices till they hear his  
 Pleasure. By that means he is likely to be a *Spaniard*,  
 and *Sanctseverino* hath good hopes of the *Italian*  
 side. *Colonna* is the probablest. No man speaks of  
*Mendosa* now, that was great before. How it will go  
 there, is yet utterly uncertain: as it falls out, your  
 Honour shall be signified it. The *D. of Ferrara* is  
 not dead, but his Nephew, which gave cause to the  
 Report. It is strange to hear how the *Catholicks* dis-  
 able the *P. of Parma*, in respect of the *French King*:  
 some because he is meerly ignorant in the Opportu-  
 nities of the Land, which are great Advantages in  
 Service, and must do all out of the Map; whereas  
 the King is naturally beaten in the Paths of his own  
 Country. Others say, he hath yet been in no Trou-  
 bles; but hath got all by looking on, and command-  
 ing; or by Treason, and will now find it hard to deal  
 where he must take pains. I hear them discourse  
 thus



thus gladly, for their Doubts are our Hopes; We receive Advertisement here by the Letters of *Antwerp* at three Weeks date, that the *Queen* hath sent 6000 *l.* over into the *Low-Countries*, upon News receiv'd of the Prince his Absence. Mine out of *England* make mention of no such Matter, intended or performed. I am of Opinion it will prove nothing else than the old Cardinal of *Lorrains* Rule; To call him back with a Report. In the *Dukes* Journey toward *Paris*, I hear nothing worthy the signifying your Honour, save that when he came to *Cambray* they would not admit him entrance; The Reason pleases me, because the Town lying so commodiously upon his Provinces, there was no trusting of him, especially being in one of the Seventeen: and consequently within the compass of his Commission; so received he at the Gates, that either he should march forward, if it pleased him, or if not, return to *Brussels*. The Assembly at *Franckfordt* is dissolved without any thing done, and much disagreement between the *Palatine* Agent and the Bishop of *Wirtsburg*. I heard the *Venice* Ambassadors Secretary tell an *Italian* so much with wonderful Joy. Other important Matter we have none; As the times alter, this my plain kind of Service shall be very ready to let your Honour know it. The secretest Debates about the *Empire*, I have good means to learn by the Gentleman with whom I live yet, and he hath given me promise of meeting in half way, for exchange of the like out of *England*. I will alwayes take care to write that, which I think is least known unto your Honour. What the Intelligentiary Letters of *Ausburg*, *Lyons* and *Venice* bring, Mr. *Osborn*, I know, fails not to advertise. My Duty and best Diligence shall be bestowed upon that which no Money,



Money or Charges can come unto. Otherwise I could enlarge this now with much more, as of the P. of Parma's entrenching himself in a Wood by *Maese*, and his Fortune there, of the besieging of *Corbel*, of the Kings Army divided in *Picardy*, *Normandy*, and *Champagne*, of the Money sent out of the *Low-Countries* toward the *Dukes* Camp, that yet lies in *Kennew*; but I have held your honour long. Concerning the *Model* of the Emperours *Lust-house*, your honour may trust me with it. I hope to send withall a view of all the present *Almaigne* Princes, their Courts, chief Affinity, Riches and Strength, and their Inclinations, as they lean to this, or to that Extremity, no otherwise than they are found this year 1590. I have lighted upon a notable Man, and good Books in that kind of Argument; what else I can with Labour come unto, that belongs to the State-Life, or may any way delight your honour, I am bound to be right willing and glad to perform. There are certain *Mathematical* Authors to be sold here, in my Opinion wonderful good cheap, whose names and price, I have thought good to set down a *bassa delle Lettere*. If it please your honour to have them, upon conference with *Pretorius*, how he finds them priz'd elsewhere, I will upon Word receiv'd, lay out the Money, and take order for the conveyance; If not, there is no harm done. The Books rest till I hear from your honour. And thus ( my good Lord ) having with many Words done nothing else then shew'd how glad I would be to do something. I will commit your Honour now to the living God, whom I beseech to bring you to the end of all your Journeys in perfect Health and Happiness; and so most humbly I take my leave.

Written



Written in my regardful Duty and Service toward your Honour at *Vienna Austria*, this 20th of November, 1590. Style of *Rome*.

*Carolus Clusius* remembers his Duty to your Honour, in his Letter unto me from *Frankfort*.

Your Honours Servant,

HENRY WOTTON

*Vienna, Decemb. 9. 1580.*

*My most Honoured Lord,*

THE last Duty unto your Honour is I hope receiv'd; wherein I was bold, after my plain manner, to advertise the course and state of these Parts, as I found them then. If it might be no trouble to your Honour's better Cares, I am bound to do it often, and to hold no pains or time so well bestow'd, as when with many such slight Services I may shew how right glad I will be to wait upon your Honour in greater. Since that 19th of November, we find here, for matter of News, not much alteration; save that concerning the Popedom, we are assur'd from *Rome*, *Sanseverin* had clearly carried it, but that certain *Cardinals*, unlook'd for, enter'd the Parlor as the Voices were dispensing. *Cajetane* is named out of *France*, *Ferdinando* his Son, the Cardinal



dinal d' *Austria*, and Cardinal *Madruzza* out of *Germany*, who passing all against him, so rais'd the other side, as a division falling between them, there was nothing determined. *Sanseverin's* strength lies in two points, that of all the Apostolick Senate he is the ancientest and poorest. His Age helps him, because those that are now next in hope, are not likely to wait long for a new Election, and after his death their *cardes* are certain. By his Poverty, he hath all those *Cardinals* dealers for him, that receive stipend from the Crown of *Spain*; for the King, (having a great stroke in the matter) is observ'd to go wholly with the unablest. The reason we understand to be this, that by lending of him money to win the other Voices, he handles the point so, as he hath him ever after at his commandment. By this means we hear that *Costagni* died roundly in his debt. We receiv'd Letters of the Thirteenth of *November*, that the Duke of *Arscott's* Son, Prince of *Semeis*, is dead of the Pleurisie in *France*, and so no *Flemish* Prince, Protestant or Catholick, left in the *Low-Countreys*. The News of the Queens sending 6000 into *Holland*, upon hearing of the Duke's absence, is corrected in our last from *Antwerp*: I dreamt of such a thing in mine to your Honour, but whosoever he was that had the handling of it, he put out the Report very soundly, and I am of opinion there was some *mustering* of men in *England* to colour it the better, otherwise it is strange we should have it in two Letters confirm'd from a Town so near unto it, in a matter so easie to be known, and revers'd in the third. We hear now there are new Aids sent into *France* out of *England*, and landed at *Boloigne*. Perhaps some thought they were in preparation for the *Low-Countreys*, and so caus'd the error in the



*Antwerp* Letters. Here is much discoursing upon the Queen, whether it were better, as the circumstances of the time stand, to have transported her men into *Holland* or *France*. I would gladly hear from your Honour, who is the Leader, if any of both be true : Although my Lord *Willoughby* be the man, yet I make my account the Prince his lying between, will keep your Honour from him. I am half of a mind that the *Queen* will be easily intreated to send the Earl of *Essex* in that Service, upon his new Marriage. You know well ( my Lord ) the course of the Court. *Ferdinando's* Son, the Marquess of *Isenbruck*, shall be sent Ambassadour from the House of *Austria* to both Parties in the *Low-Countreys*, to talk of a Peace, as they say. The Widow of *Charles* Arch-Duke of *Austria* deceased, and *Ernestus*, the Emperour's Brother, are at a difference who shall tutor the Land and Children in their Minority. By Will, *Ferdinando* and the Emperour are design'd unto it, but no man can get her out of the possession. The state of Religion stands in dangerous terms with us. After the division of *Oostreich*, we have four degrees, *Prelaten*, *Boerin*, *Kittern*, and *Bürgern*. The two extreme are constrain'd to the Catholick Faith. The middle two are free, and have not far from this Town a *peculiar charge*; to which certain of the Burghers resorting, the Complaint was brought to the Bishop of *Vienna*, who upon it put up this Suit to the Regents ; That either the two *Free States* should keep these two forbidden out of their Assembly, or that the *Prohibitorium Edictum* should henceforth have vertue against all four, and consequently a general Inquisition allowed in the Land. In the Regency he was denied both parts at the first instance, but is very stiff in it yet. It holds him short  
that



that the *Cammer Procurator*, or (after our Commonwealth term) the Emperour's Attorney, is a Protestant. What will come of it we know not. Other important matter we have none to draw on this Duty longer, save the commending of it and my self to your Honour's Love and Favour, which I do most humbly. If any Service of my Life may stand your Honour in use here or any where else, I will very faithfully perform it. The *Plot* of His Majesties *Pleasure-house* shall in convenient time be provided. I am come now to a certainty for Table and Chamber with Doctor *Blotius*, Master of the *Imperial Library*, which I have gotten by great means made unto him, and am the only Person in his house besides his own Family. My Study joyns upon the Library, and I have that to my free Use, besides such Discourses of State, and Observations of his own, as he hath in his Travel and Service of the Emperour gather'd together. There is as much good to be done in *Germany* for matters of *Right* and *State* as in the best grounded Government of *Europe*, I except not the Signiory of *Venice*. Your Honour sees how unwilling I am to end. The merciful God keep you, and bring you (my good Lord) to the happy end of all your Journeys, and help us together in a joyful time and state.

Written in most regardful Duty and acknowledgment of my Service unto your Honour, this Ninth of December, at *Vienna Danubii*, CLD. LXXC. style of *Rome*.

Your Honour's Servant

HENRY WOTTON.

*Vienna,*



*Vienna, Decemb. 19. 1590.*

*My most Honoured Lord,*

**T**HIS is the third Duty remembred to your Honour since I arrived at *Vienna*. As I had sealed up my second, and delivered it to the *Merchant* whose means I use in the conveyance, I found with him one from your Honour, of the 10th of *November*, wherein it pleased you to answer my poor Service from *Engolstade* with a far greater Labour. If certain points had not requir'd further talk with *Petching*, I had then notwithstanding the Carriers hasty departure, sent this with it; but upon that Occasion I was forc'd to satisfie the Commands of your Honour's Letters by the next Post. Concerning the Occurrences of *Nuremburg*, as the relieving of *France* and the *Low-Countries* with Men and Money, the not winning of *Corbel*, the Misery of *Paris*, the revolting in the *Dukes* Absence, the *Princes* meeting at *Franckfordt*, after the *Dutch* manner, to no purpose, the Death of his Majesties *Embassador* to the *Grand Signior*, with the rest; I find by your Honour's Advertisement, that the News comes to that Town, like the Nature of all Reports, some too much, others too little; It goes no otherwise with us here in the ordinary Letters of *Antwerp*, *Lions*, *Venice*, and *Rome*, wherein Tales are brought us as their Humours inclin'd that first told them, for as they love or hate, so they speak; My assurdest means to certifie your Honour, from time to time, some truth in these Matters, is out of those Letters which the *German Travellers* in *Italy* send



to their Fathers, and Friends here, of which we have reasonable store, and my self indifferently acquainted. In my first and second, your Honour hath, I hope received as I was then able to signify, and I am right glad that my fortune was to meet before-hand with some such Circumstances as your Letters leave in uncertainty. To acquaint your Honour with all Particulars in the rest, is the one of these. *Petching's* first answer unto me, that he had entertained a *Franckfordt* Merchant in the Chamber he promised, I wrote your Honour before. Since the receipt of your Letter, I dealt with him, whether he thought the Man would depart before your coming, that we might grow to some surety; He held *absolutely* no. I think it folly upon that second Answer to talk further with him for charges of Table, being very unfit to provide your Honour a Table in one place, and Lodging in another; especially in *Vienna*, where the walking in the Streets by Night, or any thing late, is as dangerous, as in the wantonest Town of *Italy*. The seeking of a convenient place, we have defer'd, till we receive the certain determination of your coming, which if it please your Honour to assist us some two months before, you shall not need to doubt of your provision here, and our care in it. The state of *Altorph*, for dearness of Victuals, in respect of this Town, I find generally almost double, and yet great complaint with us of Scarcity. The pound of Beef with us seven *Pfenning*, at *Altorph* 12, and 13, as I remember. The measure of Wine here at my coming 6 *Rrenz*, fallen since to five; at *Altorph* 3, and yet our *most* a fourth part larger than yours. And the like rate in the rest. For charges of Horse, the matter is reasonable, a man being able to keep one in any part  
of



of the nether *Austria*, for less than half the expences they stand your *Honour* in the heart of the Realm. And in that part we desire to be certified, whether you intend to retain the Horses you have, or dispose them otherwise, and furnish your self newly at *Vienna* ? because if that be your Honour's purpose, we shall not need to employ our Service in providing Stable-room. The short of all is, that for Board, Chamber, Stable, and the like, you are likely to find these Parts very good to live in, and especially if it stands with your Honour's liking, as you conveniently may, to table your self after the manner of *Italy*, which course I had taken, but then I must have been forc'd to prepare mine own meats, or live at the charge of a Servant, and my time for that was not yet come. I am now at two *Florins* a week Chamber, Stove, and Table : Lights he finds me ; Wood I buy my self ; in which respect I hold your *Honour* right happy, that you come in the Summer, for we can hardly come by them here without two *Dollers* the *Closter*, though we border upon *Bohemia*. Wine I have as much as it pleaseth me, for my Friend and self, and not at a stint, as the Students of *Altorph*. All circumstances consider'd, I make my account that I spend more at this reckoning by five pound four shillings yearly, than a good careful Scholar in the *Universities* of *England*. The reason why Travellers receive no great benefit by the cheapness of *Austria*, that live at a hir'd Table, I wrote your *Honour* in my first from this Town ; the state of our East-country for living, is so. News goes thus with us ; His *Majesties Ambassadour* we hear nothing of, since his hard escape at *Buda* : what hapned there I advertis'd before. There is some little rumour of sending another for his release ; not

S f

that



that we receive news he is taken, but that upon the *Turks* commandment the way may be made clear for him; some stick not to say, that the *Emperour's* Poverty makes him negligent of his *Agent's* Life. *Maximilian*, the elected King of *Poland*, (so he styles himself, and will read no Letters unless they come with that Title) is lately marvellous discontent, and a great Reader of *Magick* Books. There is something fear'd in him; this is very secret, and dangerous to speak, but that I know to whom I write. The King of *Poland* that possesses the Government, we are certified will surrender his Crown upon the Death of the old King in *Suecia*, and retire home, being wise in this, that he had rather reign among his Native People, after *Henry* the Third's Example, King of *France*, though the comparison in the Kingdoms be unequal. The *Emperour* is said within these three dayes to have directed a Letter in secret to *Ernestus* at *Gratz*, to wish him that he cast about for the Crown, as loving him more entirely than *Maximilian*. We are likely very speedily to have a great stir in the House of *Austria*. I have much more worth the advertising, but want time, so as I must desire your Honour it may serve for my excuse. And so wishing your Honour all happiness and health, I most humbly take my leave.

*Written at Vienna in Austria*  
*the 19th of December 1590.*  
*Style of Rome.*

Your Honour's Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.



I have herein included one to *Gontrius*, with the Epitaph of *Urbane* the Seventh. It is no great matter worth your Honours seeing, but will please him well enough, because 'tis his Vcyn, and the better in that he receives it with Glory: for which I crave Pardon. The next *Wednesday* I will advertise the whole State of this Country more perfectly. And of the process in *Rome* at the Popes Election, whom we hear to be a *Milanez* born, and of a great Family. I assure your Honour this is written in great haste.

*Vienna, January 9. 1591.*

*My most Honoured Lord,*

THE Answer which it pleased your Honour to make to mine of the 20th of *November*, dated *Altorph*, the 6th of *Decemb.* I received at *Vienna*, the last of the same Month, in our Style. The odds of time being fifteen dayes.

The continuance of your favourable love towards me, I read in it most gladly; and my poor Service (which I find so well accepted) is encourag'd to this further troubling of your Honour, which I wish to come secretly unto your hands, because it contains some points of dangerous Advertisement. The four Books I have trust up safely, and delivered to *Dayner* this day, who will convey them to another Merchant of the same name in *Nuremburg*, whose means I have likewise us'd in my Letters to your Honour. I have joyn'd one with them to Mr. *Hun-*



*nings*, to whose Lodging they shall presently be carried upon the receipt. They will come at the least eight dayes slower than this, because occasions of carriage by *Land*, are not ever so convenient, as by the *River* to us. The Learning, not the Beauty of the Books, must commend the Bargain, though the *Schoonen opera* are very well worth——Judgment is mean.

To get the Plots of both the *Lust-houses*, the foundation is laid: and I stay only upon the breaking up of the Weather with us. The next fit day for it, it shall be done in, and those Circumstances of length, height, and breadth be regarded.

*Petching's* House being not able to receive your Honour, I went two dayes since to view another Room, belonging to the Master of the Emperours Library, in a House of his that came unto him by Marriage. The Lord *Diveit*, one of the ancientest Families of *Austria*, is yet in possession, but departs shortly. There are altogether in the same place, Stoves, Chambers for your self and Servants, Kitching, Seller, Stable, and a kind of Gallery, with a pleasant prospect into the *Danube*, and well retir'd from the trouble of the Town; which is the fitter, because your *Honour* intends to come unknown. The inconveniencies are these. First, the price high, after 100 *Dollers* the year. Next, your *Honour* must be sure to keep House your self, and consequently want the conversing with the *Dutch*, which I know you desire. Thirdly, the Solemnity of so many Rooms, your meaning being not to stay long, is to little purpose. The Commodities and Discommodities are so, which it is my part to signify; the Election is your *Honours*. If this displease, there is no fear but your *Honour* will find other fit places: and



and I will not be idle. The occurrences of *Vienna* I hasten unto, which ( after the Style of *Rome* in all dates ) are thus.

The Danger that the Emperour hath escaped we cannot hear the ground of; those circumstances advertis'd your *Honour* before, are right. A *Flemish* Priest he was, found in the privy Chamber, with an Instrument in a wide sleeve, after the form of a *Cross-bow*. It is so strange that a *Papist* should seek the life of the Temporal head of all *Papists*, as great things are fear'd, and no man dares speak much; yet some even of great Place, spare not to say, that his *Majesty* is lately half converted in *Religion*. So far is certain, that a *Lutheran* having leave from him to preach in *Prague*, but limited to one *Church*, was found after his first *Sermon*, himself and Servant slain in his *Chamber*. Whether the same cause wrought a like effect toward the *Emperour*, we are not hasty to affirm: many think shrewdly that way.

*Maximilian*, the fourth brother of the *House of Austria*, had since my last unto your *Honour* a strange *Vision* at *Neustad*. A terrible shape appearing the first night unto his *Chamber-gentleman* in the next Room, and shaking him out of sleep on both arms, beheld him a while and departed. The next night in like sort unto him again. The third to the *Duke himself*, who having the Curtains of his Bed drawn, this *Genius* tore one of them in two equal parts, and so standing in the place, look'd stedfastly on the *Duke*, afterward growing higher and higher ( at last ) as the *Duke* imagin'd, ( whom I conceive in that case able to imagine any thing ) seem'd to offer to fall upon him in his Bed; and so suddenly went away. He hath in like sort of late escaped another of no



less danger than the *Emperour* his Brother. A *Polonian* having conspir'd with his *Secretary* of State to poison him, and the *Secretary* behaving himself so as the other had some suspicion he would open all, the *Polonian* gave him the Poison in a Cup, otherwise prepar'd for the *Duke*, who finding it in his Body, ran presently, and discovered the whole, and afterward took his Horse in haste, and rid to our *Ladies Church* in *Styremarke*, thinking by the virtue of a *Relique* there, to stop the Operation; such was his vainness. The *Polonian* escap'd into his Country in the mean time, and the *Secretary* the next morning was found dead on the way by a water side. They fear he will come to be their *King*, and whatsoever the matter is, have no mind to this house of *Austria*. Our *Lawyers* and *States-men* say they have great reason, lest in few years the free *Crown* of *Poland* come to be an investment of the *Empire*, as *Bohemia*.

The *Emperors* *Ambassador* to the *Grand Signior* return'd to *Vienna* the last *Saturday*, being the fifth of this Month. The *Turk* looks strangely upon him, and he complains of his Entertainment; eleven Gentlemen he hath lost of the *Plague*, and otherwise, and lies himself sick in this Town, what Disease no man knows; for my part I mean not to visit him. His *Majesties* Truce with the *Turks* is renewed till the year 1600, which is enlarg'd eight years, because it came not forth till 92, but with this Condition, that the *Emperour* must presently call the *Orator* home, and send him no more *Doctors* into the place, but *Gentlemen*, or *Lords* of the *Empire*; One *Crekwitz* goes to supply the room in the beginning of *March*. He should not have been sent till the next with *Tribute*, because of double charges, but that his *Majesty*



jeſty muſt obey, and that word ſounds hardly in an Emperours Ear. *Erneſtus*, the ſecond Brother, retir'd to the Court here the laſt of *December* from *Gratz*, and hath done nothing. The Widow of *Charles* deceaſed, reſiſteth her Huſbands Will, who hath appointed the Emperour his Nephew, *Ferdinando* his Brother, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, Tutor of the Land and Children, with *caveat*, that the young Duke be brought up at *Engolſtadt*: the Mother keeps the Poſſeſſion. The Emperour wrote her a Letter three dayes ſince, that if ſhe will not yield to the Juſtice of the Land, he will do it *Militari Manu*. *Erneſtus* goes to *Gratz* the next week again. Some think the News of *Sigismond's* ſurrendring the Crown in *Poland*, haſtened him hither; but now all the three Brothers are quiet, ſave *Maximilian*, who muſters men privily: towards what ſervice, he keeps ſecret. The News of *England* and *France*, with your Honours pardon, I will defer untill our next Poſt, fearing I have made this too long. I hope then to ſignifie, that *Paris* is taken, becauſe the two Dukes of the League are long ſince parted, and the Duke of *Parma* came to *Bruffels* the 6th of *December* with two thirds of his Souldiers ſick; he might have profited much better at home.

I have herein included a ſimple Diſcourſe of mine own, which I ended at *Altorph*, and am bold to preſent it unto your Honour for the poor Pledge of my Service. I crave of your Honour the keeping of it ſecret, becauſe it concerns ſome Gentlemen of Eſtate, though the Theam be general, and I hope I have kept my ſelf within the compaſs of my Promiſe, if not, I beſeech thoſe that love me, to blame me for it; I live here daily at the charges of two Servants, which I maintain only to write out ſuch manuſcript Books



as I have found of this *State*, and other matters of weight. Some things I have very worthy the seeing, as two written Books of the whole worth of the *Empire*, the Names of the Officers, *Charges* of the Court, their *Stipend*, and the like, and another of the Import of *Venice*. As for the Discourse of all the *Princes* in *Germany*, their Livings and Strength, (which I promised your *Honour* before) I will make perfect. And both that, and the rest, and my self ever shall be at your *Honour's Commandment*. The Lord keep your *Honour* in all Happiness.

Written in most dutiful Regard of your Honour, this 9th of *January* 1591, at *Vienna* in *Austria*, style of *Rome*.

Your Honours Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

The Prices of the Books are trust up with them. As for conveying your *Honour's* Letters unto me, you hit the right course in your last.

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*Vienna, January* 15. 1591.

*My most Honoured Lord,*

I Have since my coming to this Town, receiv'd from your *Honour* three Letters of the 10th of *November*, 6th and 18th of *December*; the last superscrib'd



perſcrib'd unto me in *Latin*, which I take the reaſon to have been, becauſe you doubted the delivery of the reſt, being directed in an *unknown Tongue*.

I cannot but aſſure you ( my good Lord ) that they have all been read with eſpecial comfort unto me, to be ſo far regarded by your *Honour*, and to find in them the performance of my Service ſo well accepted, that am witneſs unto my ſelf of mine own meannels. To advertiſe your *Honour* the alterations of each week with us, I will faithfully continue, and crave pardon in this, for ſuch as want of leiſure hath made me uſe leſs care in than might well beſeem me.

Since my laſt ( wherein I ſignified the return of his *Majeſties* Ambaſſador from the *Grand Signior*, the compositions between them, ſtate of his Journey, and the like ) the time hath been ſtill, becauſe upon the quieting of the report concerning *Sigismund's* ſurrendring his Crown in *Poland*, the three Brothers of the *House of Austria* are down. *Erneſtus* returns this next week to *Gratz* again to ſettle thoſe matters. *Matthias* we look for again in five dayes. *Maximilian* is at his Court at *Neuſtadt*, nothing terrified with his late Viſion, which in all Circumſtances was as I wrote; ſome ſay it was an experiment of the Study he gives himſelf unto, being a known dealer in *Magick*, and thoſe dangerous *Arts* which malecontentedneſs hath brought him to follow. The *Emperour* himſelf is not utterly unſpoken of that way, and between them both there is no book of that argument left in the *Library*; we ſhall ſee the end of it. His *Majeſty* ſends very ſhortly a preſent to the new *Pope* by *Ludovico Abbois*, a *Spaniſh Prieſt*, brought up at *Engolſtadt*; he enclines much to that Nation, but the Marriage goes not forward, whatſoever the matter



ter is ; I am half of Opinion he will die a *Virgin* for the *House of Spain*, but *God* hath the working of his own causes in his own hands ; There is News received at the *Court*, that the *Empress, Maximilian's* Widdow is lately dead there, but no certainty, and therefore no *Mourning* yet. Some of those return'd from *Constantinople* certifie me of a great emulation fallen between the *Queens Agent*, and the *Polish Orator* there : *Mr. Bainton* hath behaved himself very roundly in his matters to his good commendation. If your *Honour* please to write unto him, I will convey your Letters by some of *Reckwits* his Gentlemen, who is appointed *Orator* of the *Empire*, and departs about the 10th of *March*. I have, by my *Lord of Indeshames* and the *Earl Unguads* procurement, means to go conveniently with him, if I will, *sed considerandum sentio* ; since my coming into *Austria* I have found some such matters as make me think my next *Journey* shall be to *Spyre*. The reasons I will write your *Honour* hereafter, from whom I am bold not to conceal mine own state : and I crave most earnestly of your *Honour* the keeping of it from the *English Merchants*, for though they are my honest friends, and Countrymen, yet have I cause to hold my removings close from them, in some respects of *Italy*. I have herein sent your *Honour* a supplication written by *Johannes Sturmius*, under the name and in the cause of *Gifanius*, to *Maximilian the Emperour*, very worthy the sight in a dangerous matter, of high prejudice, which I have added on the back side. If I had writ it in *Latin*, my Letter intercepted might bring me into the like Peril. Your *Honour* likewise receives included *Johannes Trithemius* his *Preface* to his Book of *Steganography*, which I have caus'd to be written out of a Book in  
his



his *Majesties Library*. I came a little too late, or had lighted upon the work it self; which yet I despair not to help your *Honour* unto; It is a notable piece of work for a *States-man*, but an Instrument of great ill, if the hand be not good that holds it: as the *Author* disputes in his Preface; I promise nothing, because your *Honour* shall, I hope, not find me false. If I chance to send it, you are wise (My Lord) to keep it secret: otherwise the bare having of the Book is to call in our *State* many Eyes about us, to observe our Actions, which is needless to tell you; we have no other News, save of the taking of *Paris*, which till better grounds I affirm not. The *All-merciful God* keep my good Lord in all Health and Happiness, and help us together in a joyful time and state.

Written in most dutiful Regard of your *Honour* at *Vienna* in *Austria*, this 15<sup>th</sup> of *January*, 1591. Style of *Rome*.

Your Honour's Servant

HENRY WOTTON.

February 6. 1591. *Vienna*.

My most Honoured Lord,

I received in *Vienna* your last of the 12<sup>th</sup> of *January* the 14<sup>th</sup> of this. Wherein I find that mine unto your Honour, with *Trithemius's* Preface, and  
*Gifanius's*



*Gifanius's* Supplication included in it, was yet on the way, and my poor Discourse ( that shews your Honour my vanity ) read, and far better accepted than the quality of it deserves.

That I advertis'd nothing this last week I crave pardon, the Posts more sudden departure than ordinary on *Thursday* Morning deceiv'd me, and by that reason I was forc'd to leave it in the *Merchants* hands till the next occasion. It were my great shame to be taken in the like fault again, your Honour so often, and with such favour remembering me, who am able to do nothing that comes not far short of my Duty. Your Honour's Books which I deliver'd very safely, trust up to the Merchant, upon conference with him, I thought convenient to stay a while, till his next sending of certain Wares upon the River towards *Nuremburg*, because I understand it to be somewhat dangerous to venture a little packet with the *Suralauf*, few being willing to trust them further, than with such great Carriages as they cannot well forget. No haste being upon the matter, I hope I have not done ill. The safest Counsels seem to me the best. As for the price, they cost all four two *Florins*, which is far under my first note unto your Honour, and I should not have got them so good cheap, if it were not a *Town* with us rather of *Traffick*, than Learning, which yet perhaps I foolishly persuade my self. The sum is not great, and if your Honour would allow me leave to be so bold, I would crave the imploring of it in a better use for me there, because here ( I thank God ) I want no Money, for as far as my Affairs go. At my being in *Altorph*, I remember my self to have dealt with *Glasianus* for a *Polybius* in *Greek*, which he signified unto me he could well help me unto : if by his means



means I might procure me a Copy of that Author ancienter than MDXXX ( because I have *Perots* Edition of that year already ) I should be very glad, and most earnestly entreat your *Honour* at his visiting of you, to motion it unto him in my behalf. I desire the bare *Greek* without the *Latin* Version, if it be possible. You see ( my good Lord ) how bold your favourable words make me beyond my Duty.

The going forward with providing of your lodging, I have upon receipt of your Letters, let alone, till certainer commandment from your *Honour* that way. That service shall upon your first pleasure, be regarded carefully, and in the mean time the Commodities of the Town look'd unto ; so you counsel in your last.

We have here in his *Majesties Library* notable Discourses of *Military Matters*, and in that sort a Book of especial estimation, written in *Italian*, having many experiences of *Fortification* in it, and the like. If your *Honour* have a fancy to it, I will cause it to be written out, which I desire to hear in the next, because the Book is in quarto of a reasonable quantity. If in any other particular *State-point* you crave the like, no doubt whatsoever the Argument be, amongst 9000 Volumes ( whereof the most part are *manuscript* ) we shall find some Author to please your *Honour*. For my part my chief care and charges are bestowed in *Greek* and *Dutch* Writers and *secret* Letters of the *Empire*, of which, in my Profession, I have some that might make a great man beholding to me, but I will not flatter my self so far, whatsoever it be, or can be come unto by exchange of those I have, or gain otherwise, shall ever be, and most worthily are only at your *Honours* Commandment:

Concerning



Concerning *Constantinople*, I had never any Thoughts or Inclination that way, but gave it forth among the *English Merchants* in *Nuremburg* upon this reason, that they might satisfie themselves with opinion, that I was gon that way, and I in the mean time cross up the Country in secret, and my intent is not to be seen by them again till I come into *Italy*, because it might much endanger me, to have any know the time of my going thither, as the circumstances and grounds of my travel have ( before I came forth ) been laid at home ; so far your last hath made me confess, which I did not at any time before, either in your presence, or by Letter, but have rather both spoken and written the contrary ; and I most humbly commend this to your *Honours* Wisdom, and Love, as a secrecie of my private estate, which ( I faithfully vow unto your Honour ) was never yet utter'd, but in this Letter, and may far hinder me, if others hear it ; I hope the *Merchants* are in that mind yet, or otherwise I will trust the old *Cardinals* Rule no more. The Occurrences are thus: Victuals are arisen in price at *Vienna* a penny in the pound, flesh ; and after the like rate in the rest ; the nearness of Lent, thought to be the cause. Wine continues as before, 6 and 5 *Kreitz* the best.

*Ernestus* departed the 28<sup>th</sup> of *January* toward *Gratz*. The state of that question is somewhat alter'd, and the three *Tutors*, *Emperour*, D. of *Bavaria*, and *Ferdinando*, at a difference ; *Ferdinando* maintains in the *Tutorship* of the Land and Children the Widow his Sister. The *Emperour*, and the Duke are for *Ernestus*. It would well help his Poverty, and be a good relief to the poor *House of Austria* if he could come unto it : but some doubt it, others say he shall, by consent of all three, be plac'd in the Possession



at our next *Land-day*, which we look for about the first week in *Lent*. Howsoever it go, so far is already determin'd, that if he be actor of the *Lordship*, yet must he continue his *Seat* in *Vienna*, and *Matthias* retire to *Lintz*, and in case that some great controverſie happen touching the *Dukes Patrimony* in time of his *Minority*, it must be decided in the principal Town of his Inheritance, which is *Gratz*. The last week was buried with us the *Earl of Taros*, one of the *Spanish Order*, in great Solemnity, which he left by *Will*, appointing to the *Prelacy* of the Town a third, for the purpose of long white *Robes*, strip'd with *Silver*. There is none left in *Austria* of that Order, under a *Duke*, nor any before him. The golden *Fleece* of *Charles Arch-Duke*, and this, shall be both together sent into *Spain* in *Lent*; as yet no man is appointed to that *Service*. The Letters of *Italy* advise us, that all the Towns there under the *Spanish Regiment*, are double Garrison'd, and principally *Naples*, because it frontiers the Sea so dangerously. The reason is added, that they have certain intelligence of their *Kings Death*. *Gregorius XIII* is quiet. It is much wonder'd how he came to the *Popedom*, being half a *Fool*, as they say that know him, and have long convers'd with him; and he hath a quality different from all others, that he continually laughs, whereby his *Humour* is soon gueſt at. There are certain *Pasquils* in *Dutch* written against him, in the time of his *Cardinalship*, that touch'd that quality. We hear of great preparation in *Spain* against *England*, and our *Ferdinando* will venture something again, but no more Sons, lest he break another *Widdow*; I write your *Honour* that story before. Our *Dukes* name is terrible in *Austria*, though I think it waxes cold at home. The *Turks Gallies* should lately have kept  
some



some stir about *Florence*, but to no purpose ; of those parts we have no more. Concerning the *Low-Country* matter we hear thus. The Duke hath since his return out of *France* beheaded *Dentii* Governour of *Venloc* in *Brussels*, put *Longsawc*, a Captain in the *Dukes* Regiment, with his sentence of Death to *Gent*, put the *Marquess* of *Antwerp* from his Office, banish'd Mr. *Balion* from the Court, and Mr. *de Lequies* his Son-in-law. As for *Grave Peter Ernest van Mansfield*, and *Charles* his Son, they are both restored to the Court, after they had held themselves a while upon their own charges at *Zemps*.

The *Bishop* of *Lutich* is sent for to *Brussels* to make his defence for something done in his *Land*, while the Duke was absent ; our Letters say, it will go hard with him. The *Marques de Rents*, is, since his return on the 29th of *December*, about three in the Afternoon, dead ; who shall be *Governour* next of *Hannonia* is uncertain. *Lamot* is extream sick, otherwise were likely to come unto it. If *Lamot* dye, *Grave Carle van Mansfield* hath the promise of *Graveling*. The *Prince* of *Parma* loses daily the best Flowers in the Garden, but we win nothing in the mean time there. Of *France* this ; the *King* hath licens'd certain Victuals into the Town, and Wood upon intreaty of the *Cardinal Gondii* at twenty five Crowns the Cartfull, and a Cow eight : *Vereor ne hæc misericordia in miseriam cadat*, foolish pity hurts men much now adays. Duke *D' Espernon* ( the — of *France* ) — with the king about *Paris*, is upon hearing that Duke *de Nemours* had taken in *St. Clou's*. *Barnardino Mando* — of *Paris* to *Lions* — the Circumstances and the Town — him no more, which we are glad to hear. *Cambray* is fallen from the neutrality to the Kings part, and

*Boloigne*



*Bologne* as we hear, is invested Duke. The Vicount *Turrin*—*Horatio Palavicino*, being beaten back by the Weather, as your Honour writ, would venture no more out on that cold Element, but were convoy'd by the States 2600 strong,—as your Letter saith, as take it through——

February 10. 1591. *Vienna*.

*My most Honoured Lord,*

**B**Y our last Post I held your Honour with many Words, I fear too long, and so recompens'd the failing in my Duty the Week before with a new Fault. The occurrences of our Town were somewhat more than ordinary, and your Honour's most favourable Letter to me requir'd, in some points, large answer, otherwise Matter, and not Words, is that which both I know you desire to hear, and my self travel to learn; and though your Honour might receive it pen'd with greater Wisdom from others, yet none that acknowledges himself more bound to take this little pains, nor that with greater care will look in the House of *Austria*, to be able to advertise the ground of our Princes Actions.

The question at *Gratz* is come yet to no other head than was signified in my last. *Ernestus* no less busie in it than before; and we say in these quarters, it is a bad sign when Tutorships are sought for. In the Government of former times every man was glad when he had an excuse for it, as our Law teaches us; now they are come to the same nature



as Wardships, the one striv'd for here, the other in *England*; a better Age will mend both. The Caveat in *Charles* his Will, to have the young Duke brought up at *Engolstadt*, (as being the only fit place of *Germany* for a Catholick Gentleman) is by his Widdow in plain Terms refus'd; her reason this, That whereas the Father left that by Testament upon fear, lest the Boy might be seduced to another Religion, his Mother continuing Catholick, there is no doubt that way, and therefore she will retain him with her. So much I must advertise your Honour further of her, she is a great dealer in State Matters, as in the Intelligences of the League between *France* and *Spain*, the causes of the Empire that touch Religion, and very Wise.

The speech of our *Lantaye* about the first week in *Lent* continues, and never more need: no Souldier being pay'd on the Borders: and farther, his Majesty running in debt with his Brothers concerning their yearly Portions. For the state between them is so, that the Land should remain in the elder Brothers hands, and the rest be allowed out of it their certain Annuities. One told me it amounts to not above 12000 *Fr. Rhenish*, yearly, in bare gelt: upon further Intelligence I will advertise the certainty; that Sum is too childish. Toward part of which payment, every one should have a Lordship to hold his Court upon, as *Ernestus*, *Vienna*; *Mathias*, *Lintz*; *Maximilian*, *Newstadt*; so that the tale (which about *Nureinburg* is currant, and I doubt not but your Honour hath heard it) that the Brothers have by compact agreed not to marry, lest *Austria* come to the division, is meerly false, and as far as I can yet find, there is nothing but poverty keeps them from it.

The



The *Italian* and *Dutch* Letters are not yet come to my hands, and therefore I am able to signifie nothing of fresher advice than my last concerning the matters of *France*, only I heard since, that two Merchants of *Antwerp* have lent the Prince of *Parma* (but for better security under the name of the League) 100000 Crowns, some say upon a new Voyage into *France*: others, to be transported to the Duke de *Mayne*, for all occasions till the Prince can prepare him further ayd: a third, that it is to pay his Souldiers, which in divers places of the *Spanish* Provinces, do for lack of Money keep great stirs; those are the three Opinions, the Judgment is your Honours. I have lately, concerning the state of the Election in *Poland*, when the Princes of *Austria* stood for the Crown, gotten a certain *Pasquil*, (I can call it no better) especially intended against *Maximilian*, but generally against this House. It is very worth your Honours seeing, and the rather, because in it there is no great Person in *Poland* but is touch'd, how he was inclin'd then; but so straight charge is had against the making of it common, as I dare not include it in this, my Letter hath no priviledge not to be open'd on the way, others have found it dangerous, and examples teach me, when I shall see some assured means, your Honour shall not long be kept from it; in the mean time I crave Pardon. Your Honour hath a Book of the Arms of *England* added on the Margent, with a short designment of every Pedigree applied to the Arms, as I take it, in *quarto*. If it please you (my good Lord) to give me leave to be so bold, I most humbly crave the borrowing of it some little Time. The Lord of *Fricdestraime* intreated me to help him to the sight of some of our Coats, as they call them, having a



work in hand of Arms, which he means to set forth; for so it is with us, every Gentleman in *Austria* that is possess'd in the Land ( as the *Dutch* Phrase of their Law speaks ) is a great dealer in these Matters, the reason, because defending themselves to be the best Nobility of *Germany* ( as having some way or other alliance or descent from the House of the Empire ) they all seek to beautifie their own Family. Your Honour knows that the *Dutch* are not behind hand that way in the higher parts, with us much forwarder, and he that will win a Gentleman's love here, must first learn whence he is descended, and work upon that ground with discretion, as occasion shall give. The Book shall ( God willing ) be faithfully restored unto your Honour again.

And so ( my most Honoured Lord ) I beseech God to keep your Honour in all Health and Happiness, and help us together in a joyful time and state.

Written in most respectful Duty the 10th of February 1591. At *Vienna* in *Austria*, Style of Rome.

Your Honours Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

*Vienna*



Vienna, February 19. 1591.

My most Honour'd Lord,

**Y**OUR Letters from Neureinburg the 25<sup>th</sup> of January were receiv'd in Vienna the 18<sup>th</sup> of the next Month, the confirmation of your love ( which I humbly desire ever ) is in all Duty right dear unto me, my unableness to deserve it any way, though it pleaseth your Honour's most friendly nature not to regard in me, I hold it my part to confess. Fortune hath given me little, and my Vertue is less to amend it, and when I have sought all means I can to shew my Service where I owe it, I must then acknowledge, that a younger Brothers best desert is his own Honesty and Faith, of which I make an assured promise unto your Honour, when it shall please you to employ me.

*Tritemius's* Book ( which is the first point in your Letter ) I remember my self to have put your Honour in no further certainty, than that I would go near the getting of it : so far I continue. The Plot of the Emperours Lust-house and that, will, as I guess out of the Circumstances, come to your hands about one time, and if then I find not the ordinary means safe, I will hire some honest man for the purpose, and joyn with the other two, some one of my manuscript Books of the State of *Germany*, to make his carriage worth his hire; but I determine nothing, because I would be very sorry to lose any part of Credit with my good Lord. Charges shall not hinder, for though I plaid the good Husband a little in *Altorph*, dreaming upon some Occasions to spend in *Vienna*, yet ( if I err not in mine own nature ) Mo-



ney is not dearer unto me than Wisdom, nor any other of my foolish Humours able to let my desire to be thankful; always provided a care to keep my self within my own compass, lest I run in debt in a strange Land, which I hold little better than Misery at home. The courses of my Travels I will boldly acquaint your Honour with, and you shall receive the Advertisemens from time to time, though in another Language, as the Circumstances of my state, and the place shall require. He travels with mean consideration in my Opinion, that is ever one Country-man: your Honour knows the rest. Of *Constantinople*, I signified the whole in my last, where you counsel me to go to the Borders. I was beforehand offer'd means unto it by one *Heiberger*, who shall by his Majesty be employ'd in a Commission about the end of *March* that way. I have resolved nothing, but howsoever, I will, in my Letters to *Nuremburg*, give it forth very soundly that I am gone thither, or the other Voyage; The reason I acquainted your Honour with before, and I humbly crave the help of your Honours Wisdom in it, no further to acknowledge to the Merchants of me, than as if I were gone, which you can in better sort help forward than I prescribe. The Occasion your Letter makes mention of, I find not included nor received by the Merchants, peradventure the *Trayner* of *Nuremburg* forgot to put it in his Letter, wherein he transported yours, otherwise I cannot imagine how it hath miscarried on the way. The re-examination of Sir *John Parrat*, my Brother, did not advertise me in my last; some matters are newly discover'd in *Ireland* belike: once suspected and ever nearly look'd into is the custom of *England*. Concerning the blow in the Council Chamber, which your Honour writes  
of



of, (I name him not) it may perhaps cost him dear. The D. of N. gave my L. of L. a box on the Ear, that he paid his Head for. The Story is well known unto you. Mr. Killigrew's Marriage will hinder his rising, I wonder how he was brought unto it; there was some *Italian* device or other in it; no doubt the new Professor in *Altorph* takes the matter at the highest; My Lord of *Essex*, and Sir *Charles Blunt*'s fray will draw many quarrels on, being the only two Gentlemen, whom the younger Brothers, that were not Students, did follow for Preferment. It may be the name was miswritten for Sir *Christopher Blunt*, because your Honour knows of the old quarrels between my Lord and him; it is an easie Error.

The Occurrences of this last Week with us are these. The Question at *Gratz* is in the same state as my last advertis'd, and how it will yet fall out we know not. If *Ernestus* come to it, it will be worth him some 1000 *l. English* yearly, which cannot hurt the House of *Austria*. The young Prince hath six years to come out of the Tutorship, and if *Ernestus* chance to provide for himself somewhat further than he can make just account for, he hath two remedies. The one, an absolution from his Majesty, *de non reddenda ratione tutula*, a known Practice of the Empire since *Charles* the Fifth's time, who allowed many of those Dispensations expressly against all Law and good Government. The other, that if his Brother chance to dye in the mean time, and he come to the Empire (as of all other he is most likely) he can then take order to absolve himself; the *Landstaats* there do wisely suspect these matters, and therefore resist him roundly.

His Majesty hath lately sent for *Serren Antory van Buessam* to *Prague*, with intent to make him



*Lands-Marſhalck*, which is the next Magiſtrate to the Emperour in both *Auſtrias*, and hath for a time ſince——death at the laſt lain void. He is an earneſt Catholick, and may do much harm to the cauſe of Religion, but ſome ſay he refuſes the Office, and will live quiet at home. That which commends him to it is, an Opinion of ſome Learning in him, otherwiſe a man of ordinary experience; ſo well qualified is the Emperours Court in this point, that Students have preferment in *Auſtria*, or *Bohemia*, Soldiers in *Hungary*, and rewards for both lives is held no bad means to make fit men in both. The Chancellour of the Regency died this laſt week, and *Der Gerr Cuſelemar* (another of that place) was depoſ'd from his Office in this ſort: He writ his Maſteſty a ſecret Letter to *Prague*, in manner of a Supplication, that whereas he had ſerv'd him in the Regency many years, it would pleaſe him either now at the length to encrease his living, or give him leave to live ſo, as he might not need to carry any great port, thinking by this means to move the Emperour to conſider him. The Letters being read, are obſerv'd whither they tended: Answer was ſent him to *Vienna*, that his Maſteſty would, as far as lay in him, be no hinderance to any man from a quiet Life, eſpecially thoſe to whom he was beholding unto for long Service; and therefore he ſhould receive that for a Diſcharge from the Regency. There was never man ſo blank'd with an answer, and for ought I can hear or read, the Emperour hath not plaid, ſince his coming to the Crown, a ſubtiler part; but ſo it falls out where we will be too wiſe. Now he is come from one of the Regency to be a common Procurator, which his Wit hath helpt him to. We have had likewise in *Auſtria* this laſt Week the  
greateſt



greatest Marriage that hath in *Germany* been long heard of, between *Septimius van Liecstansteyne*, and the Earl *Van Halmes* Wife's Daughter, by Birth a——Her yearly revenues, ( being only an Inheritance from her Mother ) are at the lowest Survey 80000 *l.* He hath gone about her four years, but had her consent at the first; her Father could not be brought unto it till now. I hear the Reason to have been, because he ever thought her being the Daughter of an Earl too good for a *Freyser*, and therefore would have plac'd her with the *Sertzog vander Lignitz*, who lately came to her Fathers House to fetch her with twelve Coaches. The *Germans* ( as your Honour knows ) carry in their hottest Loves a discretion with them to equal their Titles at the least, if not increase them ; no example to the contrary, save *Ferdinando*, who, by joyning himself with a Citizens Daughter of *Austria*, is, I assure your Honour, held with us here a spot to the whole House, and she maintain'd in the quality of a Concubine, and no Wife. *England* is more light-headed in these cases, and even the greatest Women have the destiny to match with their own Servants. Of *France* and *Italy* I have nothing worthy advertisement. I have herewith sent your Honour a Letter of *Sleydans* to the *French* King, thought worthy to be presented to the Emperour, and reserv'd in his Library. No doubt you shall find in it right worthy Matter, the Author being a man of great Judgment, and the times when he writ it, full of Action. I crave of your Honour to hasten the writing of it out, if you shall hold it worthy, and the sending of it again in your next Letter, with your Judgment of it; It is not to be gotten elsewhere, and besides, no man is privy to my sending of it but my self, in  
which



which respect it requires the greater Secrecy. Other *Dutch* Letters, wherein great matters are contain'd, I will furnish your Honour with, as the occasion gives, or when we meet. I wrote in my last, of a certain *Pasquil* concerning the Election in *Poland*, that touches every mans Inclination, how he was then affected toward the Crown, but dare not send it till you counsel me, because it is perilously look'd unto by the Dukes of *Austria*. If your Honour shall write, that you hold it safe enough, I will transport it with the next after. I have held my most good Lord too long from better Cares. The Almerciful God keep your Honour in health and happiness, and help us together in a joyful time and state.

Written in regard of my Duty toward your Honour, the 19th of February, 1591. at *Vienna*, Style of *Rome*.

Your Honour's Servant

HENRY WOTTON.

As I had written this, I was call'd to the viewing of certain Manuscript Discourses, offer'd to *Maximilian* the Arch Duke, to be bought; wherein I found one of all the Popes Revenues and Expences; another of all the Ports and Fortresses in *England*, and the Queens uttermost strength; a third, the Revenues of the State of *Venice*, of which I had the import before; besides all such Relations as the Ambassadours of *Italy* have made since many years, at their return from *England*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Constantinople*, &c. And the *Conclavi* at many of the Popes Elections,



Elections, with the present Popes Life and Actions hitherto. I have means to come to all these, but with double charges, because I must pay for the writing of such out ( as I will have ) twice, once for him that helps me to them, and for my self, which I will not spare to do, and am half agreed. I thought good to signifie it to your Honour, to whom the benefit of it belongs as well as to my self.

*February 27. 1591. Vienna.*

*My most Honour'd Lord,*

I Receiv'd the 26<sup>th</sup> of *February*, from *Altorph*, your Honour's Letters of the first of *January*, having answer'd one the Week before, dated *Nureinberg* the 25<sup>th</sup> of the same Month. What the cause might be that those which were of twenty five dayes fresher date than the other, should come to my hand eight dayes before, I can no way imagine, unless perhaps being both deliver'd to the *Trayner* of *Nureinberg* about one time, and he not able to include them in one Letter, sent by chance the first dated last away. Howsoever it were, I am right glad they are safely come unto me, because in them I receiv'd two of your Honour's Letters toward *Constantinople*, which I hope shall, without miscarrying, be deliver'd as their directions tend. For my part, I have before faithfully signified unto your Honour my whole purpose in it, and do ( as in all other points ) foolishly perswade my self I have greater matters in hand, at least, more concerning my Studies and State.

Not-



Notwithstanding your Honour's Letters shall carefully be regarded, and I shall no doubt find many that will strive for the charge, if I can handle the cause so as they may be perswaded to have means by it of coming to acquaintance with the *English* Agent, which hope will make them be better look't unto than otherwise. Of *Rreckwitz*, the appointed Orator's Religion, your Honour is misadvertis'd. The last with the Tribute was a Protestant, and that wonder'd at in the Court. As for the Leger Ambassadour, it is a general Rule in *Austria*, that either he must be a *Catholick*, or at least, taken for one: Other Offices, even near the Emperour, and of principal credit in the State, are supply'd for the most part with *Lutherans*, and one *Calvinist*, which is the Master of his Majesties Architecture. I distinguish them unto your Honour after the manner of *Germany*.

Concerning *Trithemius* his Book, and the Plot of the *Lust-house*, I make all possible haste that may be. It were my shame, after so many bountiful friendlinesses receiv'd at your Honour's hands, to be negligent in any thing that might be taken of my Service and Duty, which I hope I shall very shortly shew. The determin'd time of your Honour's departing *Altorph*, I most humbly crave to hear, because of sending a Manuscript Book, with certain other matters of State, unto you, wherein is more to be learn'd in three Weeks study, than in the observation of many Years otherwise, as having the Offices and governing of the Empire, the Princes, free Towns, Religious Orders, Earls and Nobility of the Land, all added in place as their degree is, with every mans Contribution as he was sessed against the *Turk*, after the rate of his living; be-



sides the Salaries of the Magistrates, and Charges of the Empire in all Embassies, and much other good Matter, which I know, both your Honour is delighted withall, and my Duty not to hold it from you. I account it the dearer, because it is written in *Dutch*, other Tongues are more common in our *State*, and for such points as are to be learnt in them, one that hath a care of his time at home shews himself often as well provided as a man of good experience in other *Commonwealths*; whereby the poor younger Brother Traveller loses his Reward; though I must confess, as far as my mean Fortune goes, to have a piece of your honourable Vertue, to deny my Friend nothing. I speak that (my good Lord) without relation to your Honour, because I am unworthy of the name, neither account my self farther than your Servant, and shall be ever right glad, if I may by any possible means deserve a number amongst them.

What it shall please you further to employ me in, I beseech may be done betwixt this date and our *Easter*, because I determine to stay no longer in *Vienna* than till then, waiting daily upon Letters out of *England*, to resolve my self in some points concerning mine own private Estate. For that Book of the Empire, with, I hope, *Trithemius*, and the other, they shall all in the time between, as far as my labour and care can compass, be convey'd unto your Lodging in *Altorph*; and although my self should not be present at your Honour's arrival in this Town, yet will I with *Petching* take such order, as I hope you shall find at your coming some reasonable good provision. How right glad I would be, once again in *Germany*, to see my good Lord in perfect health, nothing can assure your Honour  
more



more than your own most kind and friendly nature towards me, which if it fall not out, my next wish and care shall be to bestow my time, as I may be more worthy of your Love; and wheresoever I am, I will not fail to crave at the hands of my God the prospering of your Honour's Travels and noble desires every way, which I speak unfeignedly.

The Occurrences of this last Week with us are few. I advertis'd your Honour before of the great Marriage between the Earl of *Halm's* Wife's Daughter, and *Septimius Freyserr van Leicstentein*, but forgot, if I misremember not, to add what happen'd there. It was celebrated toward *Hungaria*, not far from the Borders, and the *Turks*, using the advantage of the present occasion, made an assault upon them, in which, a principal Leader of their side was taken by *Septimius*, for an honour of his Marriage. We hear of great matters in reward to the Souldiers, but I dare not affirm any thing. It came to our Town much increas'd, that the Bride was taken and carried away by the *Turks*, so hardly can we trust intelligence in these times. Of our *Landtaye* we hear nothing yet, but the necessity is such as it must be shortly, or the Emperour will feel it. The Question at *Gratz* stands as it did without alteration since my last. It is told me, the *Hungarians* begin to stomach his absence there, because he is his Majesties Lieutenant General in the causes of the Countrey, much after that Quality that my *L. of Leicester* was in *Flanders*, save that he deals not with the War, and can determine nothing finally, without a Post to *Prague*: Not because the Emperour hath not given full Power, but the *Hungarians* will have such Points as nearly concern their Commonwealth, twice confirm'd; a subtle People to handle  
with.



with. Of *France* we have nothing worthy the Advertisement, save that all things are reasonable good cheap in *Paris*. If that be true, it will teach the King the difference between Wisdom and Piety. Those Books which I advertis'd your Honour of in my last, *Maximilian* the Arch Duke hath prevented me in, and bought them all. I assure your Honour, I would double the price to come by them, but great Persons must be first serv'd. Since then I am help'd to a Book, which both is rare to be gotten, and dangerous to keep, if it were known; it is the *Sigl* Book of the *Empire*. Out of which I must only gather Notes, because to write it out my self I have no leisure, and dare not commit it to others.

My good Lord, The God of all Mercy keep your Honour in health and happiness, and help us together in a joyful time and state.

Written in most regardful Duty toward your Honour, the first day in *Lent* with us, which is the 27th of *February* 1591. style of *Rome*:

Your Honour's Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

*March* 1. 1591. *Vienna*.

My most Honoured Lord,

THE Books which you have long look'd for, your Honour doth now, I hope, safely receive. This convenient occasion, offered me by one of *Nureinberg*, whose honesty, I have enquir'd good testimony



ny of in this Town, I could not but use. In the Merchant's Lodging they had layn, since date of that Letter, wherein your Honour was first advertised of their being there, and waited there till his next sending up the River, because to commit them to the *Turlent* was dangerous. The Letter which I joyn'd with the Packet to Mr. *Hunnings*, I now retain, being merely unnecessary, by reason of the direct delivery of them to your Honour's hands. There are some, Treatises *ex abundanti*, more than was signified in my first Note of them, and amongst the rest, a Disputation of the Superiority between the *Pope* and the *Emperour*; a Question look'd more nearly unto in former times than now. It is joyn'd in the end of *Picus Mirandula's* Book against *Astrology*, in a blind Letter. I have likewise herein sent your Honour the *Pasquil* upon the last Election in *Poland*, because the occasion is somewhat safe, and much more to be learn'd in it, than perhaps in a Discourse of many Pages. He hath written it in way of Company, the *Polonians*, and Brothers of the House of *Austria*, with the *Trojans* and *Greeks*, using *Virgil's* Verses, which, in my opinion, hath shew'd his Judgment more than if they had been his own. The Author is unknown, and if I be found out to have acquainted your Honour with it, I shall feel it here; even slight matters are made great, if men have the handling of them. I know, my good Lord, to whom I write, and therefore say no more. Concerning those Books of State which I promis'd in my last, they shall be sent unto you faithfully, between the determin'd time, and my self will ever live in most regardful Duty toward your Honour, as I am bound.



The God of all Mercies bring my good Lord to his Travels end happily and well, in a joyful time and state.

*Written in great haste at Vienna  
in Austria, this March 1. 1591.  
Style of Rome:*

Your Honour's Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

The right understanding of the *Pasquil*, for the several Persons, your Honour cannot fail in, who hath travell'd the State. As for such points which must be interpreted out of our Princes actions, I have added them in the Margent.

*Vienna, March 12. 1591.*

*My most Honoured Lord,*

**H**OPING that your Honour hath, upon your return from *Augusta*, receiv'd both your Mathematical Books, and those other which I sent by a hired Post, safely, I will only in this discharge my Duty concerning the Occurrences of these Parts, which are thus. The Emperour hath not yet sent the Present to the Pope by *Lodovick Aphois*, nor determined the day of *Kreckwitz* departure. There is none likewise appointed toward *Spain* with the two Fleeces of *Charles* the Arch-Duke deceased, and the



Lord of *Haraol*. Even matters of flight charges are stay'd for lack of Money till our *Landay*, which there is great cause to hasten, and yet we hear nothing of it. *Ernestus* hath gotten the Actordship of the Land at *Gratz*, but the Widdow will not have her Son brought up at *Engolstadt*, because she will work him to her own Will. We have receiv'd in the *Dutch* and *Italian* Letters of this last week, news of great importance. The *Turk* is furnishing out 200 Gallies and odd, hath himself been twice Personally in the *Arsenal*, and commanded the *Visier Sinam Bassa* ( as our Letters term him ) to go every day thither. All the Sea Towns, and Parts of *Italy* that lie open, are upon certain intelligence of it double Garison'd, principally *Malta*. This we have good grounds of, the Orator of the Empire having writ it to the Court, and making mention in his Letter of two further circumstances, that the *Turk* hath lately been in Counsel, whereto he call'd the *English* Agent, and hath sent to *Peloponese*, and those parts of *Greece*, to have Provision of Victual ready, if his Gallies come upon those Coasts. The Duke of *Florence* is said to have advertis'd it to the King of *France*. To what purpose so great a Preparation is toward, they talk diversly on. The most part say, that he intends to fall into *Provence*, which peradventure is only given forth for a Terror to the League, and to call the D. of *Savoy* home, whom we hear to keep some stir in those Parts this present.

The Protestant Princes of *Germany* have renewed their Promise to the King of *Navarr*, *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, *Palatine of the Rhyne*, *Wirtemberg*, and the rest.

We are advertis'd of General *Norris* his return unto the *Low-Countries*, and putting of new Souldiers



ers into *Vlissing*, *Brill*, *Bergen aught dein hom*, the old being sent home to serve on the Sea under *Drake*, whom we hear to be furnish'd out toward *Peru* with as many Sayl as your Honour signified. The Pope *Gregorius XIII*, hath in his last Consistory commanded all Cardinals and Bishops to their Residences, by reason of the great Dearth in *Rome*. Of 3633 ( which was the just number of the *Jews* in the Town ) 500 are discharg'd away, but the rest, promising to provide themselves from other Parts, the Bakers are expresly forbidden to sell them Bread. Sir *Petro Vulganco* is sent into *Poland* for Provision of Corn. The Popes *Jubile* is come forth, and was preach'd on by the Bishop of *Vienna* this last Week here, and his Monitory ( which is commonly a Preamble to an Excommunication ) sent into *France* by Sir *Laredriano*, to the Enemies of the League. The Marshal of *Biron* out of *Normandy* with 10000 Foot, Duke of *Espernon* with 1000 Horse, and 4000 Foot. Duke of *Nevers* with 6000 Horse, are joyn'd to the King about *Paris*. The Duke of *Geiosa* hath the Government of *Rodes* granted by the Leaguers. The Duke of *Nemurs*, with *Bernardin Mendoza*, are fled to *Orleance*. Of the Prince of *Parma's* returning into *France* there is great speech, and he will assuredly venture it, if General *Norris* his coming do not somewhat hinder him, whom I make no question to have been sent for that purpose. The *Florentiner* Captain *Nozi*, and certain *Switzers* are fallen into *Savoy*, while the Duke is absent; and some Letters say, that *Don Amadeo*, his base Brother, whom he left Governour of the Land, hath sent for him into *Provence* with Letters of Post. This is all that we have received.



The living God preserve your Honour in Health and Happines, and help us together in a joyful time and state.

Written in most regardful Duty this 12 of March, 1591, at *Vienna in Austria*, style of *Rome*.

Your Honours Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

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*Vienna, March 6. 1591.*

*My most Honoured Lord,*

**Y**Our last Letters of the first of *March*, signifying your safe return from *Augusta*, I received the twenty third of the same Month, and in it, *Sleydan's* Letter to the *French King*, with a Book of our King's Descents, which the Post brought me the next day after receipt of your *Honour's* Letters from the Merchant. Of the four Mathematical Books which I sent by a *Nureinberger*, or the Post, whom I dispatch'd away on the tenth of this, in our Style, toward your *Honour's* Lodging, I find no mention, but hoping that as then they were both almost at their Journeys end (which the first might well have been long before) I can stir no further in it till next advertisement from your *Honour*. The last of them I would be very sorry should miscarry, both because  
his



his Burden I know will be right welcome unto you, and principally in respect that I have by him directly perform'd that which I never durst further than indirectly promise. For the *Polibius*, I have taken order with *Carolus Clusius* in *Franckfordt*, and yet would gladly have as many Copies of that Author as I can possibly come unto, so they be diverse Editions; but I make no haste, being certified from *Jacobus Casaubonus*, a Friend of mine in *Geneva*, that he determines to set forth that Book himself, which I wait for, and hope he hath performed it this Mart. When it shall please your Honour to take your Journey to *Vienna*, your Lodging is ready in *Petchings House*, very convenient, in my Judgment, and you shall not need to turn into any Inn, but in strait course from the Gate that lies open to the *Danube*, along to the corner House, by the Bishops lodging, which Description I have thought not amiss to add, lest your Honour, having forgot where *Petching* dwells, might be troubled in enquiring him out. The *Franckfordt* Merchant which before had taken in the Rooms is departed. The Occurrences with us are thus. His Majesty hath given no audience this ten Weeks, but hath kept his Chamber very secretly, the reason is unknown, some say, he is not well in Body, others that he is malecontented in mind; when all is done that may be, we shall have (as even great men think) an agreement between the Emperour and the Princes, and Religion free to all States, that so a Ruissage may follow; for the *House of Austria* can neither indure as it is without Money, and a *Landtaye* is now come to be a poor help, and yet as poor as it is, we cannot hear of it. *Ernestus* is still upon his charge at *Gratz*, but (as I have before signified) must return hither to his old



Scar, how shortly, we know not; *Matthias* here, and *Maximilian* at *Neustadt* are quiet, no matter of any Action stirring between them. We have a Tale come to our Town, that the elected King despairs to be ever in the actual possession of the Crown of *Poland*, and hath lately, in a slight matter, overseen himself greatly, in giving the very same Robe, which he appointed to wear at the Coronation, to a *Spanish* Jester of the Court here, who wears it on great Feast dayes; and some are of Opinion it will be laid hereafter in his dish. The *Polonians* are apt enough to tell him of it. The Emperour can get no Money of the *Hungarians*. All the Provinces of *Austria* are Pledges, and he maintains himself only out of the Crown of *Bohemia*. The consideration of these, and like points, makes the People speak and discourse of the Prophecy, that as *Rodolphus* the First began the Empire in that House, so *Rodolphus* the Second shall end it; and likely enough. *Ferdinando* the Emperour's Brother, leaves not his practising against our Queen, and handling secretly with *Spain* in those matters. If we had a secret Intelligentiary about his Court, it might perhaps do us more good than in other places, for the King there (I am certainly inform'd) doth do nothing without acquainting him with it, since he ventured his Son among the *Spanish Armadoes*, but this belongs not to me. His other Son, the Cardinal of *Austria*, is not yet returned from *Rome*, where a great and dangerous Emulation fell between him and the Cardinal *Sforza*, insomuch as they strove for the first place in a Consistory, both challenging it by antiquity of their Families, the one from *Austria*, the other from *Milan*. The Pope had reason to be partial, but decided the controversie on the Cardinal of *Austria's* Party, without affection,

and



and our Princes are glad to hear it. Of the preparation in the *Turks* Arsenal, I advertis'd before. No day is yet appointed for the Orator's release there, nor *Kreckwitz* departure here. The speech continues as before of the Prince of *Parma's* return into *France*, who hath since his coming home made his Son Cardinal of *Parma* and *Placentia*. The Duke of *Savoy* is said to have taken in *Marseilles* in *Provence* by a mutiny between the Towns-men and Governours, but no certainty, for others say, that his bastard Brother *Don Amadea*, whom he left Ruler in his Land, hath called him home, upon rising of the *Switzers* in his absence, and Captain *Nozey's* falling in upon certain Towns and Villages in the Borders of *Savoy*; howsoever, it cannot much hurt the King, being a Town of the League. Mr. *Della Nons Sonor* (*Gelluce* they call him) whom the Prince of *Parma* hath held seven years Prisoner, was on the 15<sup>th</sup> of *February* brought from *Dorneck* to *Antwerp*, with a Convoy of Horse, and shall be exchanged for *Don Diego Piemantello* a *Spaniard*. We have strange advertisement, that the Duke d'*Espernon*, which in our last letters had joyn'd with the King about *Paris*, is now by *Cales* with 5000 Foot, and himself receiv'd into the Town, but no Souldier with him, as Mr. *Gordon's* practice hath ever been. Since my last unto your Honour, I have receiv'd from *Dreson*, both *Dutch* and *English* Letters, dated at that time as the *French* Ambassadors were at the Court there; written unto me by reason of the Lord of *Stareinberg*, (a great Family in *Austria*) to whom my Brother shew'd some courtesie in *England*, and at his departure commended his Secretary unto him, that he might a little have the experience of these Countries. They spent three Months on the Journey



from *England* to *Dreson*, and departed from thence toward *France* the 22<sup>th</sup> of *February*. Our Queen (as I hear) hath bestowed *Don Pedro de Vaides* Rapier upon the Vicount *Turein*, and did in such sort entertain him, as few Ambassadors in the like. There is much commending of Gentlemen Strangers from the K. of *Scots* to our Queen, and from her to him, and of both sides great courtesie shew'd, which I am right glad to hear, because it is not amiss for both to have both Crowns agree. Other circumstances there are, but of slight consequence to trouble your Honour longer. The God of all Mercies send my most Honoured Lord to his Travels end, in a happy time and state.

Written in humble regard of my Duty unto your Honour, this 26<sup>th</sup> of *March* at *Vienna* in *Austria*, CL<sup>o</sup> L<sup>o</sup> XCI, Style of *Rome*.

Your Honour's Servant

HENRY WOTTON.

Your Honour's Book of the Descents I will return (God willingly) safely before my departing *Vienna*.

*April*



April 17. 1591. *Vienna.*

*My most Honoured dear Lord,*

I Received your last from *Altorph* the 24 of *March*, the 15<sup>th</sup> of *April* in our style, with the Book safely return'd, and in right convenient time. To make it more perfect than it is ( as I wrote your *Honour* this last Week ) I cannot promise. The man I have sound'd as far as my mean Discretion would give me leave, and think he had not denied it me, if himself had been able to perform it perfect, because I have done him since my coming to *Vienna*, as great a pleasure, in as secret a matter, but I am soon deceiv'd, and all men are not thankful, and I haste not to conclude any thing upon mine own conceit. Concerning the 100 *Crowns*, they perswade far in these times, but the Person is of so great a Living and Authority, as I dare hardly close with him that way. He hath Children, and amongst them a Son of some 23 years, whom I intend to undermine with that golden Instrument, and thorough him the Father, but this very secretly, because if the Son may by chance be drawn to help me to it, without his *Father's* knowledge, I am not likely to refuse it, or if he signifie the offer to his *Father*, and he be content to let his Son receive the Money, ( for *Parents* do now and then things by their Children, which they are ashamed to do by themselves ) I can likewise suffer it; or lastly, if the Son may move the *Father* not to be curious in the receipt, using such Arguments as Youths are wont to do, it will be all one to me, so I get it, I stand not much upon the means, if it be honest. What is done, I will leave  
with



with *Trayner* in a Letter to your Honour, and if I happen upon the desired effect, it shall ( God willing ) be sent withall, if not, yet my hope is, that I shall help your *Honour* to it with a cheaper bayt. I am to travel far, and I will not fail to inquire with good care after it, and in case that either in *Italy*, or *Germany*, or elsewhere, I attain it, let me never return home if I look to keep it from my good Lord; I use that *Imprecation*, because I fear, by a word or two in your last Letter, that your Honour suspects such a matter in me. Whither I intend to go, your Honour hath receiv'd this last Week. If it please you to signifie unto me the course you intend to take at your departing *Altorph*, that so I may find a means to direct my Letters unto your Honour. *Carolus Clusius* at the *French Book-binders House*, *Der Fraven Kirchen* in *Franckfordt* on the main, shall be left order with, to convey them unto me, whither your Honour may conveniently subscribe them; but I beseech your Honour not to convey your Letters by the *English Merchants* means unto him. The reason depends upon mine own private state, as I have only acquainted your Honour with before; for the most favourable and above my deserts, most friendly conclusion of your Honours Letter I humbly acknowledge my self thankful in all Duty ever. As I had written thus far, I was call'd out of my Study to receive another Letter from your Honour of ancients date than the former by 9 dayes, which is only concerning the *Steganographia*. The doubts which your Honour doth cast, are wisely conceiv'd, and are such points, as without considering them, I had most rashly proceeded, but I assure your Honour, that of those, and the like, I spent a good time in discourse with him, and besides your Honours

Objections,



Objections, alleg'd further, that the Copy was unright, because mention was made in the Letter, of using no *Incantations*, or *malignis Spiritibus*, which was unperform'd in the Book. He answered one himself in these Words, *Die warheyt zu rechen, ich halt nicht viel darauf*, to say truth, I esteem it but little. But notwithstanding was of Opinion, that the Author himself had writ it. To prove that true, or false, I took the Book with me into the *Emperour's Library*, where I had before found certain Letters that *Tritemius* had written to *Maximilian the First*. I could observe no difference in the hands, which, as I writ your *Honour*, was my best argument. Out of it I ghest thus far, that it was an unperfect part of the first Copy as it came from the *Author*, in which Sentence I remain, notwithstanding your *Honour's* most probable Conjectures of the contrary. My reason and further confirmation to maintain either mine own *Error* or *Judgment* in it, drawn from the *Style*, which I dare pronounce to be no mans but *Tritemius's*; and to judge whether a Book be the right, or no, it is the means that cannot fail, otherwise there is no greater cousening in these Times, than in these Matters. I will not seek to defend it further than as a part of that Book which your *Honour* desires, how great a part I strive not, neither am I able, as being utterly rude in such cases, of easie belief; too hasty an humour, and soon handled as they please to deal with me. That it was ever printed, I shall hardly think till I talk with him that hath seen it, or light upon the printed Copy my self. What I have done, was done in that Duty which I held my self bound in toward your *Honour*. No further charges concerning that Book, than the seven *Florins* for the Posts hire, and I am right sorry that your *Honour* doth



doth account his carriage not worth so much. My hastiness in discovering mine own want of Discretion upon others cost, either years, or experience, or repentance must teach me to correct mine own nature, being so bad a Master that way. And now because I am leaving of *Austria*, I hold it my part to advertise my dear Lord the Estate of the Country, that he may the better judge of the truth of such Relations as shall come to his hands hereafter, which I desire that I may do with his good leave. The *Emperour's* Condition and Circumstances of his State are this present 1591 strange to consider, being greatly in debt to the Merchants of the Empire, Matters of slight expences hindered for lack of Money, complain'd on generally as owing more than he is able to pay in three years, if he should live as a private Gentleman, and his whole Revenues be put to Interest. Notwithstanding, in the Judgment of many, there are evident reasons that he should have a greater force of present Money than any of his Predecessors, at least, than his Father, as holding the three Crowns, *Roman, Bohemian, Hungarian* in his own hands, which in *Maximilian's* Reign went otherwise, not mingling himself in the Actions of the League, that he might charge the Empire, leading a retir'd Life with slender Expences of his Court, untroubled with Wars either defensive or offensive, save the guarding of the Borders. His three Brothers Annuities discharg'd for 120000, himself 24000 pound sterling, the Sister principally maintain'd out of the Crown of *France*, the remainder his own, two fifths of *Hungaria* ( the rest being the *Turks* ) yielding him more in the sale of Cattel that come to the Market of *Vienna*, than former Emperours have made of three fourths, every Oxe being stinted in former times



at half a Dollar, and now rais'd a Dollar and a half higher, which we may well account to bring him to the Kingdom 90000 Dollars yearly after 60000 to the Market, which number is in some year too scant. Now for Mines of all sorts, import of Merchandise, fruitfulness of the Land, and the like, he hath certainly less to complain than others before him. The consideration of these Circumstances have drawn some into Opinion, that it is rather a feigned poverty in him, than otherwise, and that either he helps the League secretly with Supply of Money, or reserves his Revenues for some great Action in hand; as for his borrowing, it is a known device of latter Times, for great Men to pretend a Poverty, and shadow it with running in Debt. Against this Opinion, I have yet seen no greater grounds than that probably he would not let his Actions at home remain in so loose an Estate, if that were true; especially concerning the sending away of the Orator of the Empire, which should have been done in *March*, and was a Condition of the *Turks* in confirming the League to 1600. not without notable prejudice to the State. The other Party that defends the House of *Austria* to be in no less misery than the appearance is, alledge the seeking to introduce an Inquisition into the Land to have been the principal Cause of weakening the Emperor, as having drawn the Nobility and Gentlemen, and chief Burghers of *Austria* against him, and so disunited the Princes of the Empire from him with the free States, as he rather now seems to bear the Title of Emperor for fashion-sake, than Authority to Command by virtue of it. So that whereas before in time of the States, or his private Necessities a———was wont to be his *Ultimum Refugium*, and best Pawn in borrowing Money,

(be-



(because the manner was to refer his Creditors to the next day) now the Princes maintaining themselves upon Stomach against him at home, will be call'd to no Contribution, every man live upon his own, and revenge private Quarrels with publick Pretences, a known practice of ancient times; which of these two are the truer, I cannot without further intelligence determine. The Emperor may mend the matter when he will, by yielding every man his Conscience at liberty, which either he must do shortly, or peradventure *Rodolph* the Second will end the Empire after Three hundred years continuance in the House of *Austria*. *Ernestus*, the next Brother after him, I find not, besides the Annuity of 40000 ——— to have had any greater means of maintenance, till lately the Actorship of the three Lands, *Steirmarch*, *Bernstein*, and *Brain*; which is likely to bring him for the time of the Dukes minority, as much yearly as the half of his Annuity, if a way may be sought to separate the Dutches from her Children. Before this fell unto him, he was observ'd to have been so busie in Religion, preferring some, disabling others, charging himself, as no doubt his Annuity came short of his Expences, (being a slender Sum to maintain an Arch-Duke, though he retire himself from all Action) whereupon it was certainly concluded, that either he must be greatly in Debt, or secretly annointed by the Spirituality to further the Cause; I hasten not to affirm either of both. The latter is dangerously ghest at by some: And such as had consider'd his Nature quick of dispatch, impatient to be resisted, of eminent inclination to stateliness and Royalty, so bold, as he spar'd not to say, he would rather his Life and Goods ——— than suffer the freedom of Religion



Religion in the Land, did wonder that he sought not a way to increase his living, that so he might make room for his own humour, whereupon it was imagin'd that he staid himself a while upon hope that His Majesty would surrender unto him some of the three Crowns, as his Father had done before, and certainly the State requires it; but the Councellors of the Court being dealt with that way, have made this Answer, The Crown of *Hungaria* must lye in the Emperor's hands, because the *Turk* will hold no Band of Peace with a simple King, and that might indanger whole Christendom; The *Roman*, can be dispos'd of hereafter, His Majesty is yet young; The *Bohemian* is the Emperor's principal maintenance; so retains he all three: and for ought I can observe, in that state they are likely to remain till his Death, which in man's judgment, by reason of the Diseases he is inclin'd unto, is likely to be sudden, and great Peril in that respect. *Matthias*, besides his Annuity, hath no charge of the State, save Regent-General of this Town in his Brother's absence, which is rather a means to increase and raise his Expences than otherwise; yet hath he liv'd well upon it, and with greater Moderation than the other two, meddling so little with Religion, as he hath hardly escap't an opinion that he dissembles his Faith to hold in with the rest. The *Hungarians* have a great Fancy to him, not as exceeding his Brothers in Courage, or other vertues that might enlarge their State; but upon desire to the Name, which of all other hath done them most good; so that *Ernestus* seeking that Crown, *Matthias* being sought, a great and hazardous emulation is likely to arise between them, which is noted never of speedier working than where the

Concur-



Concurrents are Brothers. I cannot find that he is much in debt, save only to the Cloister of *Newburg*, which being founded by *Leopoldus* Marquess of *Austria*, and consequently a ——— the Brothers of that House are bold in borrowing, not hasty in restoring again. *Maximilian*, next the Emperour, of all the Brothers best provided, having, besides his Annuity of 40 m. the Office of the *Dutch* Order, (which questionless, in matter of Gain, is the principallest place of the Empire) so that we may, upon good grounds, account his Revenues of both together, at 140000 *Florins*, *Rhenish*, 28000 *Pound English* yearly. Yet hath he so wasted himself with standing for the Crown of *Poland*, as of all the Brothers (the Emperour excepted) he is generally held the greatest in debt, and hath therefore betaken himself to a Students life, drawn in the charges of his Court, and lives solitary, to come forward again, as some interpret. So are the four Brothers. The Sister, and Widdow of *France*, lives at no greater cause of Charges in her Court and Retinue, than a principal Prioress. The rest, receiv'd out of *France*, which her Husband left her by Will, and her Portion in *Austria*, either she helps her Brothers with, or bestows it in Religious Uses, to repair Cloisters, maintain poor Scholars, Stipends of Jesuits, and the like. Now as concerning the Seats of the three Brothers, *Ernestus* here, *Matthias* at *Lintz*, *Maximilian* at *Newstadt*, it is deducted out of their Annuity, which they came unto, *Paſto, non Jure*, lest *Austria* should have been divided, and by division, either the House weakened, or the Love between them, as the manner is— Other Circumstances there are of great importance, but too long for a Letter, and out of these may well



well be observ'd, how much either Ambition, or Prodigality, or inforcing of Consciencs, or lastly, Lust and Pleasure, have decay'd almost the Noblest House of *Christendome*, in the Descent of one degree. I leave all to your Honour's Judgment and Wisdom, and my self to his Love; and I beseech our merciful good God to grant us an happy meeting in sweet *England*.

Written in regard of my Duty and Service toward your Honour this 17<sup>th</sup> of *April*, C L L XCI. Style of *Rome*, At *Vienna* in *Austria*.

Your Honour's Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

*April 21. 1591. Vienna.*

*My most Honoured Lord,*

I Have this present return'd unto your Honour the Book of Arms and Descents. The Picture of the States of the Empire sitting in Parliament, which belongs to an empty Page toward the end of the *Dutch Book*, is likewise sent withall. Concerning the *Steganography*, I can by none of those means that I advertis'd this last Week of, pass further than I have, and I am afraid I have gon too far, because in your last Letters I find some displeasure. No man is more sorry of his own Faults than my self, and especially then when I think to have done well,

X x

which



which I let rest as one of my follies, to his Love and Judgment that hath pardon'd many of them. The Portraiture of the Lust-houses I have not gotten, nor by reason of my short abode here cannot. The reason of failing in my promise is truly this, some eight or nine Weeks since, I determin'd to take a Painter with me upon the next fair day, which I signified by Letter. In the mean time ( while I waited on the Weather ) *D. Blotius* signified unto me, that the Master of his Majesties Architecture had it in length, breadth and heighth, ready model'd and squar'd out, with all Proportions, I found means quickly to have him mov'd in my behalf, and my self was present. His answer was unto me, that he had lent it out to a certain *Italian*, who was not as then in *Vienna*, but to return shortly, upon his first coming home he would *meiner gavislich ingedanck sein*, those were his very Words. I renew'd the promise afterward by others means. The *Italian* was not yet come; yesterday I went my self unto his house in the Town, and receiv'd answer, that he was not in the Town, but himself and whole Family in a house a mile from hence, where he meant to Summer. I walk'd out unto him, and maintain'd his promise, who gave me answer, that he had dealt with the *Italian*, but could not recover it again of him, and besides added, that it was a matter of some suspicion; by which word I well perceiv'd that he had it, but without some Crowns to still the suspicion, I could not come to it. So is the manner. I would willingly (my good Lord) have offer'd him secretly, that which I easily understood to be his desire, but mine own fury hinder'd me, and I departed from him in such a chafe, as I would not have given a *Dutch Heller* to have sav'd his Life, that  
had



had so little regard to save his Promise to me, and consequently mine to your Honour; but I excuse him in this point, and desire to have the whole fault laid upon my self, that trusted a Fool so far; I use these unreverent Words unto your Honour more than beseems me. In my last I advertis'd the general State and Condition of the Brothers of the House of *Austria*, with the incident Circumstances. We have since receiv'd intelligence of a dangerous matter discover'd at *Gratz*, where a Massacre of the *Lutherans* should have been committed, and the Complot written in ten sheets of Paper, which a *Bandito* (as some, and the most say, receiving from *Rome*, others, feigning and devising himself) sent by his Servant to the Chappel-Master in the Jesuit Colledg, commanding him to deliver it to his own hands. The Messenger went unright, and took his way directly to the Chappel-Master of the *Lutheran* side, by error of the word, who read the Discourse openly in the Counsel-house, caus'd the Gates to be well guarded, expostulated the matter with the Duke, made the *Italian* to be drawn in, advertis'd the Emperour of it by Post, and sent the Copy withall. His Majesties Mandate is expected, further we hear not yet. There is a certain *English Northern* man in this Town, born at *Newcastle*, who hath serv'd the King of *Denmark*, *Suecia*, and *Poland*, travell'd the seventeen Provinces, *Moscovia*, *Liesland*, *France*, been taken Prisoner in *Spain*, coulen'd by another *English* man in *Italy* of all his Money and Apparel, lives now by sweetning of Gloves, shall marry with a Concubine of the Jesuits, as some say, but as I hear more probably with a common *Cortesan*, upon condition if he can be made Burger of *Vienna*. He hath lately given up a Supplication to



the Arch-Duke to be entertain'd in Service, and receiv'd a round answer that touches our whole Nation, That the *Dutch* can get no service in *England*, and the *English* are like to find the like here: but if he want Money to bring him home, or buy him some honest Apparel, for the honour of his Queen he shall have so much given him. This answer was sent him yesterday by one of the Dukes Servants. His Name is *Abraham Miller*, of a very low Stature, a great Drunkard, full of Words and Lies, not able to keep his own Dishonesties close, which he tells with a pride, red-fac'd, if he come unto your Honour, you may know him by this Description. And thus ( my most honoured Lord ) craving Pardon for the Faults of my former Letters, which either want of Leisure or Judgment, have been cause of; I leave your Honour to the Almightyes Protection, and my self to the continuance of your friendly Love, which I humbly desire.

Written the 21<sup>th</sup> of *April*, in *Vienna* in *Austria*.  
CLo Lo XCI style of *Rome*.

Your Honour's Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

May



May 8. 1592. Florence.

Any point in this that concerns my self, I beseech that no man may see but your Honour.

*My most Honoured Lord,*

I Can defer this Duty no longer, though my leisure be this present little to perform so much as is occurrent unto me, concerning this last Journey of mine, or rather Adventure, which (leaving all unprofitable Words apart) hath been in this manner. Since taking of my humble leave of your Honour in *Padoa*, have passed three Months, of which time I have spent one Month and two Dayes in *Rome*, eight in *Naples*, the rest in continual Motion, till the 25<sup>th</sup> of *April*, on which day I returned to *Florence*. From *Venice* to *Rome* I had the Company of the Baron of *Berloc*, with whom, notwithstanding his Catholick Religion, I enter'd into very intrinsecal Familiarity, having persuaded him that I was half his Country-man, himself being born, though under the D. of *Cleeve*, yet not far from *Collen*, which went for my Town. I found him by Conversation to be very undiscree, soon lead, given much to Women, careless of Religion, (qualities notably serving my purpose) for while a man is held in Exercise with his own Vices, he hath little leisure to observe others, and besides, to feign my self an accommodable Person unto his humour in all points, was indeed most convenient for me, looseness of behaviour, and a negligent worldly kind of Carriage of a mans self, are the least Faults that States fear, because they hurt only him in whom they are found.



found. To take the benefit of this, I enter'd *Rome* with a mighty blue Feather in a black Hat; which, though in it self it were a slight matter, yet surely did it work in the Imaginations of men three great effects. First, I was by it taken for no *English*, upon which depended the ground of all. Secondly, I was reputed as light in my Mind as in my Apparel, (they are not dangerous men that are so.) And thirdly, no man could think that I desir'd to be unknown, who, by wearing of that Feather, took a course to make my self famous through *Rome* in few days. These Judgments and Discourses of the People passing by me, and some pointing at me, I was fain to suffer. Safety, and a Conscience clear before my God, were the things I sought there. Credit is to be look'd unto in *England*. And thus stood my Entrance. Ten days after my Arrival in *Rome*, I departed toward *Naples*, occasioned by a Fever that had taken me the day before, which I imputed partly unto the streight and rascal Dyet of that Town in *Lent*, and in part to the ill Weather which we had on the way; though perhaps indeed it were not without some disorder, after the *Dutch* Manner, amongst as mad Priests as I think may be found in this World. To *Naples* I came on the 18<sup>th</sup>. of *March*, certainly, through the goodliest Country that God hath allotted unto mortal men to run their Glory in, if Virtue were as frequent as Pleasure. From this Town I departed on the 25<sup>th</sup>. of the same, - by Water, in a Wherry of *Genoua*, that I might so consider the Maritime Towns, as before I had seen the principal Mediterranean of that Kingdom: a course not without danger, as well in respect of the *Turks* Corsaires, as likewise Smallness of the Vessels prepar'd for Transport of Passengers:

yet



yet was the Event good, and I arriv'd at *Neptune* in two days. *Neptune* is a Town situate upon the Bank of the *Tirrhen*, thirty six *Italian* Leagues from *Rome* by Land, and from *Ostia* by Water, belonging to the House of *Colonna*, though in the Pope's Territories: in commodity of Fish thought to bring yearly about 13000 Crowns; of reasonable Strength; but meanly peopled, and (as it seems) some Colony of the ancient *Greeks*, whose Attire the Women yet hold, though the men, as commonly more Stirrers from home, have heard of the *Italian* Civility. Here I kept my *Easter*, occasioned by change of the Wind from full-East to full-South, which otherwise I determin'd to have done at *Ostia*; for on *Easter-day* I meant not to accompany the Pope to Saint *Lateran*. When the *Easter* was for the chiefest part past, occasion wanting by Sea, I return'd to *Rome* on the *Tuesday*, by Land, and there continued three Weeks; and my purpose was to have made longer abode there, (notwithstanding the rumour of the solemn day to be celebrated here by the great Duke on the 26th. of *April*) because I found very profitable Points to be learn'd of the Pope's Court, and was grown somewhat cunning in the Prattick of *Rome*; but Fortune hath her part to play in all humane Actions, and I was driv'n away by intervent of that Gentleman that only hath seen your Honour's License; I desire pardon to describe him no farther. This man was by chance invited by a *Scottish* Gentleman unto Supper in the place where I had my Table, calling me unto a sudden and dangerous Deliberation, standing upon these two Doubts: First, Whether it were best for me to sup there, or no, that night. Secondly, If to change my Lodging, or leave *Rome*, were the discreetest part.



The first I had drawn into no question, but that the Circumstances stood perillously. The Table was cover'd, the Sallad (our first Dish) serv'd in, all the Gentlemen in the Chamber, save the *Scot*, and amongst them, my self, every man ready to take his place, and in that instant came the *Scottish* Gentleman in with his Guest, whom belike (after the manner of his Country) he sent first into his Chamber; giving me so much time to resolve the first Doubt, as till he came forth again. In short, I supp'd not with him, making the best excuse of Departure that I could accommodate unto the time. For determination of the second Doubt, I had a Nights respite; that the Man was dangerous, I set down for certain. His Conversation in *Venice* with Persons suspected, Practice and Familiarity heretofore with the old Earl of *Northumberland*, which I had receiv'd from his own Mouth, travelling to *Rome* without Language, Discovery of himself there to the *English* and *Scottish* Nation, were Points that pleas'd me not. (Not to hold your Honour long) I resolv'd to leave *Rome* as secretly, and with as great expedition, as might be; which I performed, my State seeming unto me not unlike a bad Game at *Mawe*, wherein the first Vye being seen, the Cards are given up before the second. And now (most Honourable) having advertis'd the generality of this my Journey, before I come to Matter of Publick use, I crave Pardon to say something of my self. No *English* man, containing himself within his Allegiance to her Majesty, hath seen more concerning the Points of *Rome*, than I have done; which I speak absolutely without Exception: I have been present at three Solemnities of the *Roman* Church, the Consecration of the Rose, Marriage, and



and Distribution of Dowries unto the Virgins, and the taking of Possession; which is accounted the principal Sight that may be seen in these Parts. The *Whore of Babylon* I have seen mounted on her Chair, going on the ground, reading, speaking, attir'd and disrob'd by the Cardinals, or rather, by *Montalto* alone, in both her Mitres, in her Triple-Crown, in her *Lettica*, on her Moyl, at Mass, and lastly, in publick Consistory. Certain other private Points, which are not to be committed unto Letter, (because I know not the event of a piece of Paper) I will defer till the rendring of my self unto your Honour's Sight and Service. Of *Rome*, in short, this is my Opinion, or rather indeed, my most assured Knowledge, That her Delights on Earth are sweet, and her Judgments in Heaven heavy. Now will I deliver briefly unto your Honour such Accidents as have been occurrent during the time of my Abode in *Rome*, and in the Realm of *Naples*; concerning this Pope's Humour, and Inclination of matters there, upon which certainly do depend the greatest and most important Conjectures of *Christendom* in the consequences of Estate. *Clement*, the eighth of that Name, and third Pope of *Florence*, is a man of scant reasonable Stature, sooner pale of Complexion than otherwise, gross of Body, of Countenance apt enough to Authority, and hath indeed the greatest Presence amongst the Cardinals, except *Montelbero*, and *Cajetan*, which some account one of his helps to the Seat. His Years, fifty five, he bears well, though his Spirits have been somewhat weaken'd with the Gout; yet some say, that he feigns that Disease, being very accommodable to excuse a coming forth now and then where the occasion requires; as hath been noted in other Popes,



Popes, and in him once since the Coronation. The colour of his Face was, as all generally agree, more fresh during the time of his Cardinalship, than since, and certain speculative Wits, that search out the causes of things, have found, that upon a *Pasquinata* set forth against him in form of a Propheſie, wherein stood expreſſ'd the 28<sup>th</sup> of *March*, for the day of his death, he fell into trouble of mind, which is taken to have wrought that effect in his Body; a Report truly, though mixt with envy, yet not wholly without ground, as hath appear'd by the ſenſible alteration of his Countenance ſince *April* began, and upon the expiring of that day in *March*, he is ſaid to have uſed, unto *Don Diego del Campo*, very cheerful Words at Night concerning that Propheſie; Superſtition never impair'd the Complexion of Saint *Peter*, though it have a ſtroke in his Succeſſor. To proceed further unto his Inclination and Nature, which rather hath been gather'd by publick Edicts, or out of certain open Facts done by his Authority, or laſtly, by obſerving the courſe of the Court; I ſpeak during my time in *Rome*, becauſe in his Letter I will advertiſe your Honour of nothing which I have not in part, or wholly ſeen my ſelf. Publick Edicts, or *Bandi*, from the time of my coming, to my departure have been ſix. 1. In the firſt was contain'd the Renovation of the *Taglia* concerning the *Banditi*, Prohibition of Weapons by day or night, even to a Knife. A box of the Ear given in the Suburbs made Capital, &c. Matter of ordinary uſe in all Popes times, but now commanded with more ſeverity. 2. In the ſecond *al diſhoneſte Donne* are baniſh'd out of the Corps of the City to the *Piazza padella* or *hortaccio*, by which remove, the Governour of the Town hath openly confeſs'd  
himſelf



himself to have gain'd 15000 Crowns with artificial handling of the matter; and the Pope being desirous to know the number of these Women, the cense was found 40000 and certain hundreds, as the Baron of *Didrichstein* reported from the Popes Mouth. 3. The third Edict was wholly against the *Jews*, imposing upon them, of three things, necessarily one; either to keep against the *Banditi* 400 Horse in *Campania*, or to maintain the Bread at one *Baiocco* the pound, or *imbagliare*. A Proposition scarce to be expected even in *tempi santascurorin*, as the Hebrews say, but we heard of no execution; for (as some hold) his Holiness, besides extream unction, hath been anointed with Crowns of the Son. 4. In the fourth *bando*, the *Julios* of *Bologna* are disvalued two *quatrini*, and some order taken for other Money; certainly a point of most necessary consideration in *Rome*, where great are the disorders that way; notwithstanding some think that *Palgotto* will retract the *Bando* if he come to be Pope. 5. In the fifth Edict, all Strangers are forbidden to carry out of the City above the value of five Crowns of Gold, a Statute very discommodious, profitable to Merchants, and therefore fear'd that the first motion came from the Bank. 6. The sixth and last, which I have seen, is an extention of the two, wherein all dishonest Women, of open Profession, are prohibited to wear any sort of Silk or Gold, either in Suits or Lace, to turn up or curl their Hair after the manner of *Rome*, with the like; and in this matter hath *Clement* the Eighth gone in short time further than *Sixtus* the Fifth, though impossible to effect, as he often said, during the time of his Life. Upon my departing from *Rome*, there was speech that the Pope meant to set forth an Edict concerning the brewing of  
Beer



Beer in *Rome*, which he hath determined to make as common there as in the Towns of *Almaigne*, and Order taken for import of Hops. The second means whereby I have been able to ghes at his Inclination, is, by certain open Facts in the Administration of Justice, done upon his Authority, wherein the Mortality of the Popes going before, Suspicion of some present, his Experience by Travel in the Humours of men, the exasperated minds of his Competitors, and lastly, the Examples of his own home, have made him a man of a very round and perillous proceeding. In the Week before *Easter*, on *Wednesday*, two Artificers, fighting only with their Fists in the open Street, and the Pope's Serjeants coming to imprison them, they fled into the Cardinal *Farnese* his House. The Officers pressing in, were at the door resisted by four of the Cardinal's ordinary Servants, and the *Maior domo*, who told them, that he would deliver the Malefactors unto them, and unto Justice, but desir'd withall, that they being the Pope's under Officers, would not enter the House so furiously, without Reverence or Respect of the Cardinal, his Master. In that sence were the words which he utter'd. The Serjeants retir'd presently to the Pope, who was then in the *Vatican*, and made relation how it stood. To be short, the next morning were the four Servants hang'd, and the *Maior domo* beheaded by the Bridge of *St. Angelo*. This *Maior domo* was a grave Aged Person, and had serv'd the old Cardinal *Farnese* even from his youth, having carried himself with such Fidelity, and generally to all in so good a sort, as he had won the love of many *Roman* Gentlemen, which certainly was the cause of his Death, so dangerous a thing is it to have the good will of some.



some. The Cardinal *Farnese*, having thus suddenly, without Process of Justice, lost in twenty four hours the chiefest Repose of his House, crav'd, as some say, the Sentence after the Execution, but that I have found false, and, as far as I could understand, he stirr'd no farther in it, than only in dispatching secretly two Posts, one to his Father the Duke, the other to the King of *Spain*; which the Pope understanding, sent away two other, with Commandment expressive, to open the Cardinal's Letters, and in case they were found only to advertise the Fact, to let them pass, if any other important Point were in them, to bring them back. The Cardinal had only signified the Fact, as suspecting (belike) the risconter of the Pope's Courriers, and since then that matter hath been quiet in open appearance.

*Nota*, From the day of the Execution, until the *Saturday* in the *Easter Week*, the Pope appear'd not publickly, feigning himself sick, for fear of Tumults abroad, as some say, as others, for a kind of male-contentedness with his own action. Howsoever, the Benediction was by this means not given throughout the whole *Settimana Santa*, as they call it, or the *Easter Holy* dayes, nor supplied by *Gesualdo* the Deacon. A notorious Defect, and never seen before since the Pope began.

Two dayes after the Possession taken, four of the principal Gentlemen of *Rome* were secretly hang'd in the Castle, amongst whom was an *Ursino*, a *Colonna*, and one of the *Sabelli*, only for having been found in their Houses certain Weapons, whereby was concluded a Confederation with the *Banditi*, upon very weak grounds; but the natural hatred between the Families of *Florence* and *Rome*, and certain other private



vate quarrels fallen out during the time of the Pope's Cardinalship, makes it now an easie matter to hang a *Roman Gentleman*; the manifest beginnings of a dangerous time, wherein Revenge is taken for Justice. These are the two principal Points of Fact executed by the Pope since his Coronation, and during my time in *Rome*. Lately is come forth two *Bandi*, citing to *Rome* one of the *Colonna's* and *Verginio Ursino di Lamentana*, Governour of *Verona*, who came with me towards *Rome* to fetch his Wife, but enter'd not the Town, because in a manner before he had been banded by *Sixtus* the Fifth. *Colonna* holds himself, or his Castle, not far from *Rome*, fearing the Lions den. *Verginio Ursino* is, as I hear, fallen in amongst the *Banditi*, and hath set up himself as a Leader, and makes great stir about the City, and in the Popes Territories. Of this I can affirm nothing, but the Intelligence seems very probable, and certainly ( if it be true ) it is likely to prove a matter of great consequence, the Gentleman being one of the chief of *Rome*, maintained by the *Venetians*, joyn'd in an affinity with the Cardinal *Salviati*, exceedingly favour'd by the great Duke; insomuch as it is probably thought that *Alfonso Picciolinis's* Death was hasten'd for his sake, having been his mortal Enemy. If this matter grow to a greater Maturity, your Honour shall not fail to hear of it. The third Means to sound his Disposition and Nature, is, by observing the course of the Court, and the Popes Devices to prolong his own Life, an Argument of great Vanity, because depending upon the Passions of Men, which vary as they love or hate. To which this may be the entrance, that howsoever matters are dispos'd abroad, yet doth the Pope live few days or many, according as points are establish'd



establiſh'd at home. To put down the Gentility of Rome is not enough, but preſently upon it hath follow'd the advancement of Strangers, ſo that the Barons of *Didrichſtein* and *Barriftain* are become *Camerieri partecipanti*, a favour more gracious than regular. *Don Diego del campo* of *Cambray*, one of the meanest Servitors of the Pope while he was Cardinal *Al-dobrandino*, now *Cameriere Canonico*, and even *Montalto* himſelf, or *Sforza*, muſt give him the *Illuſtriſſime Signor*, if he will come to ſpeak with his Holineſs; and indeed prefer'd unto it upon no ſpecial good Parts that are in him, but becauſe the Pope hath noted in ſome points his Fidelity, a vertue in ſuſpicious times of ſpeedieſt Operation to Advancement. Theſe three are the principal Perſons truſted to come near unto the Popes Body, about which he loves to have only *Dutch* hands ſtirring. Of Cardinals in generality, all are ſuſpected that are either meerly *Spaniſh*, or meerly hold of *Florence*, becauſe the Pope means to ballance his own Eſtate, and to carry himſelf as it were in a mediety between the King of *Spain*, and the great Duke, which humor of his is collected by words that he hath ſpoken. For in all Questions had of *France*, his Answer is, that he will compoſe thoſe matters, which word ſounding the like in their vulgar, as in our Tongue is interpreted, that he will draw the Parties to agreement without ſeeking either to advance the League, or help the *Navarriſh* ſide; and certainly he muſt play no otherwiſe as his Cards are. In ſpeciality are ſuſpected both the *Colonna's*, the Cardinal of *Arragon*, *Santaſevenna*, *Madrutius*, *Farnefe*, ſince death of the *Maior domo*, and even *Populi* too, notwithstanding his accompanying of the Pope at the Poſſeſſion, taken even into his inward Chamber, when all the other

Car-



Cardinals left him at *Monte Cavallo*, which I add by digression, to make your Honour laugh at a Fool. Cardinals whom the Pope doth use in all private Consultations are only two, *Salviati* and *Moriseni* the *Venetian*, whereby he is observ'd, to not do his matters upon his own Judgment, as *Sixtus* the Fifth, but rather after the manner of *Gregory* the XIII. or to compare him with the two of *Florence*, he is thought more of the impression of *Leo* the Tenth, than *Clement* the Seventh, notwithstanding, that in stiffness of Action, and round dexterity, he seeks to imitate the latter. His using of *Moriseni's* Counsel is thought a dangerous point, and much discours'd on, as being a Man somewhat suspected in the matters of *France*, for which he had almost lost his Head, in the first year of *Sixtus V.* *Salviati* is favour'd rather for Country-sake, and by him to sound out the Motions of the great Duke, than for other fitness; being indeed a man of very ordinary Vertue, though Papable, and further, greatly accosted by the *Roman* Gentlemen, which peradventure may make his dayes short; and thus it stands in the Popes Court, concerning such Persons as he doth either love or fear, wherein doth consist the ground of every Action at home. To conclude, all points consider'd together, it is thought, that not only by the strength of his Body, but further, by the craftiness of his proceeding, he will live long. Of the making of Cardinals, Peregrination of *Maximilian* Arch-Duke of *Austria* to *Rome*, Matters of *Poland*, some points of the Realm of *Naples*, and such accidents as have had their occurrence here for the great Dukes Court since my coming, your Honour shall (God willing) receive in my next, by the first Occasion. My Lord Zouch and *Henry Wotton* are especially laid wait for

in



in *Rome*, and thorough the King of *Spain's* Dominions, as I have been signified; and here in *Florence* I find the beginnings of a notable Villany, for one (either of *Venice* or *Padoa*) hath written unto a certain *Florentine*, of great prattick with Strangers, to enquire after me amongst the *Dutch* Nation, which was done not long after my departure from *Venice*. I have not yet search'd out the bottom of it.

Most Honourable, Pardon my many Words, and hold me in your Favour, and so commending your Honour's safety unto the Lords Protection, I rest at your Service.

*Florence*, and on the  
8th of May—92.  
style of *Rome*.

At your Honour's  
Commandment,

HENRY WOTTON.

Since I ended this, I have had a very troublesom fit of an Ague.

If any *English* Gentleman of your Honour's Acquaintance have occasion to repair to *Florence*, I humbly desire he may be commended to me, who will be ready to shew him all Service, and am now very desirous of the *English* Company.

I am

*Henrico Wottono Inglese*  
*nella casa di sip Baccio Boni*  
*in Via larga in Florence.*

Y y

May



May 29. 1582. Florence.

Most Honour'd Lord,

Since my last, written unto your Honour from Florence, till this present, I have had a very unquiet time; I was with my last Journey much distemper'd, which could not cause less than an Ague. In Sicknesse we have care of our Life, and forget our Duties: so that I have rested your Honour's Debtor, the Peregrination of the *Arch Duke Maximilian* to Rome, three Posts, which I will now pay.

His Highness arriv'd in the City on *Tuesday* in the *Settimana Santa*, as they term it, accompanied with three others, of which one went for the Master of all. The *Arch Duke* was attir'd in slight Leather, without any manner of Trimming, his hat button'd up on the one side, his Cloak clasp'd together in the neck, and turn'd over upon his shoulder, the one side of his Face, and a good part of his Forehead, handled like a Servant newly come from blacking his Masters Saddle. The first, second, and better part of the third day, he spent in Religious Services, as beholding the Relicks, Visitation of the seven Churches, &c. On *Thursday* toward Evening, he discover'd himself to two Jesuits, that were lately come from *Vienna*, in meaning to be brought by them unto the Cardinal *Madruz*. The Cardinal us'd prattick to bring him to the Pope, which then was not easie, for an accident had fallen out in Rome, that occasion'd the Pope to feign himself sick, from *Thursday* before *Easter* to the *Saturday* after *Easter*, as I signified unto your Honour. Notwithstanding



standing *Madruz* dealt in it with exceeding diligence, and the Arch Duke came to conference with the Pope in the *Vatican* on *Friday* at night before *Easter*. The cause of his coming was more conjecturable than certain: for though men of great Judgment held that it was only to withstand the Marriage between the King of *Poland* and Daughter of *Austria*, yet wanted not some that said, the Arch-Duke had given over those desires; the time was too scant for such an effect, the match cross'd not his proceedings; and further, the Pope was not to be dealt with that way, who had delegated, some thirty days before, the Card. *Razevil* into those Parts, to no other effect, than to consummate the Marriage; so that it was rather to be thought he came to have the Emperour solicited by Papal Letters to surrender unto him the *Roman* Crown, or that of *Hungaria*: This was the second Opinion. Since his departure (which was presently after the Holy Dayes) we hear the marriage day (appointed as on the 26 of *April* past) to have been rejourn'd till that day three Weeks following. Some stirs are expected. The Popes Present unto him at his leave-taking was, a *Medaglia* in Gold, of his own Person, and a hollow Jewel, having in it a piece of the Cross on which Christ was crucified (as he made him believe) and annexed unto it an Indulgence of 8000 years; (notable Religion) This Journey hath caus'd a Quarrel in *Rome*, and call'd the Cardinal *Madruz* and *Altemps*, Card. di *Santa Maria* in *Fraustevere*, almost to the question. *Altemps* storming that the matter was not participated to him, he was a *Dutch* man, as well as the other, and as secret, and as great with the Pope: and besides, had bestowed upon the Arch-Duke's Cousen German, the Cardinal of *Austria*, certain Spiritual li-



vings about his Bishoprick in *Switzerland*. As for *Madritz*, he had never helpt the House of *Austria* with one *Bajocco*. In these terms it stands between them. To come to other matters; the Pope continues his violent proceeding, *Roman* Gentlemen lose their Heads by eight, six, and four at a time: *Ursini*, *Sabelli*, *Colonna*, Principality of Family makes no stop: *Don Verginio Ursino*, Duke of *Bresciano*, with his Wife, the Neece of *Sixtus* the Fifth, are come to an accord with the great Duke, to sojourn some two or three years here in Court; he thinks it not amiss to have 120 *Italian* Leagues between him and the Pope. Of the other *Verginio Ursino di Lamentana*, Governour of *Verena*, (against whom was serv'd forth a Citation) we hear nothing; because he hath taken the Woods. *Zanchi Carnasecchi*, a Gentleman of *Florence*, return'd home out of *Spain* this last Sunday, where he was imploy'd to demand the 600000 Crowns that the deceased Duke *Francisco* lent the King out of the Treasury: His Majesty will pay his Debts when he hath won *France*, the Gran Duke must have patience. Of *Roman* and those matters it were in vain for me to advertise any thing, because your Honour intercepts the Market, which vantage we have here of *Venice* in the points of *Rome*. Only I will signifie the Occurrents of a Letter which a Gentleman imparted unto me yesterday, having interpreted it for the Gran Duke. In it the Prince is counsell'd, that if he think he shall want Souldiers in short time for any purpose, there may be answer sent speedily into *Germany*, for the Duke of *Lotheringe* hath sent secretly to have taken up for him four Regiments of *Dutch* Infantrie, so that it is to be doubted there will be a scarcity of good Captains hereafter, and therefore not unfit for the Duke to  
 speak



speake in time. This was the substance, the Letter was written by one *Gaus Conster van Rattevan*, who receives of the Gran Duke 1000 Crowns in yearly Pension, for no other service than taking up of *Dutch* Souldiers at his commandment, as occasions occur.

Touching my private self, I continue in the house of *Signor Bacchio Boni*, in *Via larga*, where I am reasonably well accomodated, but for my ten Crowns a Month; The times are dear in extremity. I think to remain in these Parts this Summer, and, as I imagine, between your Honours departure out of *Italy* and mine, there will be no great difference. If any thing occur wherein I may serve your Honour, I beseech it will please you not to let me be ignorant of it. And so (my good Lord) recommending my self unto your most honourable Favour and Love, I humbly take my leave for this present 29<sup>th</sup> of May, 1592.

Your Honour's Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

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June 13. 1592. Florence.

Most Honourable,

I Receiv'd your Letters of the third of June, on the eleventh of the same, and am glad to hear that your Honour is so royally well accommodated, my Cousen *Wrath* gave me some intelligence of his departure, by his of the 13<sup>th</sup> of May, the cause he



sought to hold from all, belike standing in terms of some uncertainty, the reason which your Honour adds is not small. You are fallen (my Lord) into a Punishment with the opening of *Wickam's* Letter, which is, that I intreat your Honour to do the like with all the rest, if any arrive to your Hands; there can never be written any Secret to me, which I will not (faithfully) be glad to have you know before me. It is likely enough that *Wickam* will come shortly to *Padoa* unto the Brother of his Baron (as I take it) resident there, a Gentleman of some eighteen years. I have of News better store than liesure to write them, which yet I will leave unto your Honour's Wisdom in short sums. The Gran Duke grows (as Weapons do) rusty with Peace, and we have an Action towards with the State of *Genova* about *Sarezana*, a Town pledg'd unto that Common-Wealth for Money, and retain'd as forfeited; because the contract being, that the Sum should be revalued by a certain day, before the Noon *Ave-Mary*; the Duke keeping (as the manner of Princes is) just his hour, was deceiv'd by the *Genuesers*, who caus'd it to be sounded an hour or two before ordinary. The King of *Spain's* Counsel hath been ask'd in it, as I hear, and the Duke been admonish'd to recover it by force of Arms. It is not amiss to put him in Negotiation at home. What the end will be I know not, but all the great Artillery are carried to *Pisa*, and by night, one after another, for secrecie sake: Souldiers are muster'd disperfedly; some think the Duke will have a cast at *Luca*, both under one, but those are Words. As it shall grow to a further Maturity, your Honour shall receive the Circumstances. The Baron of *Didrichstein* hath lately held a Disputation in *Rome*, whereunto he

invited



invited the Pope, and the Colledge of Cardinals. I hear him to have been very well approved in it. Of the first Cherries which the Pope had on his Table, he caus'd some to be carved unto him, with this Message in his Ear, that he was likely to get a Cap of that colour. A childish jest for the head of the Church. A certain *Ferrarese*, advancing in *Italy* the *Platonical* Doctrine, hath lately been call'd to *Rome*, whre he was put in presence of the Pope, to dispute with *Tolledo* the *Spaniard*, whom he so soyl'd, as presently upon it by commandment of the Pope he was clad in purple, and had a place assign'd him in the house of his Nephew *Conthio Aldobrandino*. The Baron of *Bemstein* is delegated into *Poland* with the Rose, which I saw consecrated in *Rome*; to present it unto the King. How that Marriage goes forward we hear nothing. The Pope begins to slack the Bridle, according to the old rule, that there is no diuturnities in Violence. Out of *Germany* is much written me: and amongst the rest this, that Sir *Edward Stafford* should be Secretary in *England*. I receive it in a Letter of the eighth of *May*, my Brother's last of the thirtieth of *March* makes no mention of it. The Bishop of *Strasberg Manderstried* is departed this life, and *Truchsess* is thought to be the Man that shall have the place, but with no great ease. *Richard* of *Simem* writes himself still Administrator of the *Palatinate*, notwithstanding that the young Prince (as your Honour knoweth) came to years on the fifth of *March* past, style of *England*, but there is little fear of him, being *Gar banfullig* of seventy years: there is other News out of those Parts, but stale, and no doubt occurrent unto your Honour at *Padoa*. The Duke of *Parma* was certainly shot in the right Arm two Fingers above the Pulse, and the Bullet



went up toward his Elbow, at the taking out of which, he caus'd many Souldiers to be present, that they might see it was a wound of no importance, a thing very considerately done, to avoid Rumors in the Camp. It is written in a private Letter, that the General of the *English* was slain with a Musket, the day after he had challeng'd the young Duke of *Guise* in private Combat, for having spoken bad Words of her Majesty. If it be true that *Renuccio Farnese* is slain, it will work two effects in these parts; The Great Duke must seek a new Husband for his Neece in Court, and the Cardinal *Duarte Farnese* is likely in short time to lay aside the *Capello*; I abound this Week in such points of little importance, of which your Honour hath the best. Of mine own Estate I have little to signifie. Private men, when they are once settled, receive small alteration, because Fortune hath, in such as I am, not much to work upon. I leave the care of the World to Kings. If any matter of weight stir in *Florence*, it shall not fail in five or six dayes to be with your Honour, whom I humbly desire not to trouble his better cares with answer, because I write not to that end, but to the performance of the Duty that I owe, though I will ever (my Lord) keep your Letters as most pretiously dear unto me. And so with humble recommendation of my self unto your Favour, I wish your Honour (in our *Tuscan* Phrase) a most happy Repatriation.

Written in *Florence* this 13<sup>th</sup> of *June* 1592. style of *Italy*.

Your Honour's Servant,  
HENRY WOTTON.

Unto



Unto the Deliverer of this, I beseech your Honour to *Dar dell buon viso*. He hath seen you in *Altorph*, and is a Gentleman of so good prattick in matter of Fortification, as the Gran Duke hath us'd him in divers things; and no doubt he had obtain'd a very important Office in this State, but for the implausibility of his Person, which Princes regard. In other points he is *Dutch*.

June 25. 1592. Florence.

Most Honourable,

BY the last ordinary I supplied not this Duty, because I wanted matter, since then there is something occurrent. The Marquess of *Guaſto* we hold to be arrived in *Milan*, having (as they say) cashier'd himself upon some difference between him and the Cavalier of *Piacenza*. (so is *Renucci Farnese* styl'd in the Camp) It may be that he is dispatch'd in Post upon some other Negotiation, and the former given forth as a colour. The D. of *Mantua* hath enter'd *Correggio*, (a Town on this side of the *Po*) and chas'd away 300 *Spaniards* that were in Garrison, upon death of the former Governour, who held the Town in absolute Authority, but yet at his Catholick Majesties Devotion: The thing is not in it self of so great importance, as consequence: because by this means humours that were before still and unknown, are now discover'd. The King of *Spains* Coat Cards begin to fall away. Earl *Peter Ernest* of *Mansfeld* is departed this life, and the P. of *Parma* return'd to *Brussels* on the second of this, having left his Son in the Frontiers of *France* to govern the remnant of the *Soccaures*. Of the Death of the Bishop



shop of *Strasburg* I advertis'd your Honour in my last, whom ( as they say ) a Son of the Elector of *Brandenburg* hath succeeded, and some stir at his Inauguration. The Pope is fallen to a marvellous calm in his Actions, having belike taken out of the way certain fears that troubled him. Of more Cardinals not a word stirring, and some say, it is to save charges, others attribute it unto his Judgment, that will do things considerately and not in haste; A third will have it, that he is not ambitious in the preferment of his Friends. The World is full of distinctions, so that shortly all Princes Faults will grow to be Vertues. Your Honour was wish'd here this Week, to have seen the Royalty of our Feast-day of *St. John*, wherein there were, in my Opinion, many things of very great magnificence. It was somewhat more than ordinary, upon the arrival of the Count *di Santo Frere* in the Court here, who is espous'd unto *Leonora Ursina*, but of the Marriage-day no speech; for the Great Duke hath desire to celebrate the Marriage of his Neece, and the other, both in one day, because they have been joyntly brought up together, and ( for congruity sake ) apparell'd all days alike. The fore-nam'd Earl is the Nephew of the lively *Cardinal Sforza*, a Gentleman of some eighteen years, his living as yet not above 2000 pound sterling, but after decease of the Cardinal likely to be very great; in Person not tall nor low, and one of the worst Faces that a man shall ordinarily see, so that some think *Lenora Ursina* would be contented to revoke the Match, and take her first offer. There hath been words of Marriage, the young Duke of *Bavaria* with the Gran Dukes Neece since the Rumor of *Renueci* his Death, which yet now is disverified. Out of *England* I have receiv'd no

Letters



Letters since my last unto your Honour, which I sent by a *Dutch Gentleman*. On *Thursday*, amongst other Solemnities, all the Cities and Towns of the Dukedom were call'd in order, which is promis'd me written, and (if men fail not with me) your Honour shall receive it by the next Post. I would there were any other good thing in these Parts that I might with Friendship or Industry obtain to shew my duty in, and to satisfie in some little part mine own desire to do your Honour Service. *Machiavil's Tales*, and certain other Works of his, not commonly seen, I am in some hopes to come unto. For mine own matters there is no alteration. I live here in a Paradise inhabited with Devils. *Venice* hath scarce heard of those Vices which are here practic'd; my best Commodity is the conversation of certain Gentlemen, and their Vulgar very pure and correct; so that here we have good means to learn to speak well and to do ill. I will not further hold your Honour from your better affairs, but commending my self humbly unto his love, in some haste, and all faithful duty, I take my leave.

Written at *Florence* this 25<sup>th</sup> of *June* 1592.  
style of *Italy*.

Your Honour's Servant,  
HENRY WOTTON.

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July 10. 1592. *Florence*,

Most Honourable,

MY last I sent by a *Dutch Gentleman*, who departed *Florence* the 14<sup>th</sup> of *June*. The Week following was very barren of good matter, since, the  
store



store is increast. Our Pope is fallen from the violent use of the temporal Sword to Spiritual Severity, and hath lately call'd, in the Church of *St. John Lateran*, the whole Clergy of *Rome* to examination, depos'd certain unfit, prefer'd the able, sent home Non-Residents, and in short, done many things that were not amiss, if they had a good ground. On *St. Peter's* day no Cardinals were made, in the mean time charges are sav'd; and such as reckon the Revenues of the Church at 3600000 Crowns the year, say, that the Pope hath laid up in *Contanti* 1200000 since his Election, allowing him 300000 for all expences. Others, that take the Church to be poorer in these times, cast the account according to the former proportion. *Pier Maria Aldobrandini* (with whom I spake yesterday) is return'd from *Rome* very melancholy, finding the Pope exceeding cold in the advancement of his Friends. He is no Builder, the League is not supplied, his Affinity blow their Fingers, we can hear of no Money sent to the Catholick Princes; So that it is held for certain, that the Pope is by nature a gatherer, to what effect no man can say yet with ground. *Donato*, the Ambassador of *Venice*, hath been call'd from *St. Pietro Mortorio* twice to the *Vatican*, where he very roundly told the Pope, that the *Signory* wonder'd to understand him offended at the taking away of *Marco di Sharra*, considering, that they had priviledge from the Seat of *Rome* to take any *Bandito* whatsoever out of the Ecclesiastical state, and imploy him in their Wars, which said, he drew forth the authentick of the Priviledge. The Pope answer'd, that their Priviledge extended it self no further than to *Banditi*, but *Marco di Sharra* was moreover attainted of Heresie in nine Articles. To which *Donato* repli'd very warily,



warily, that, of that the *Signory* had not understood, because as yet he was not declar'd an *Here-tick*, and so the Disputation receiv'd an end. The *Venetians* are esteem'd generally not to have done discreetly in that Action. For matters about us here, *Cosimo Scali* (one of ancient Family) yesterday Morning did here lose his Head, for having stamp'd of the Dukes Coyn in the Realm of *Naples*; and because he could not be drawn unto Auricular confession, they have buried him without the Walls in the Town-ditch. *Livigi Doara* (one of the Order of *St. Stephen*) hath abandon'd the great Duke, and is gone into *Spain*, having left a stipend (which he had here) of 1200 Crowns, upon Stomach to see himself cross'd in the Court by the Arch-bishop of *Pisa*, a Prelate, thorough whose hands doth pass the whole Government of *Hetruria*. The Marriage-day of *Leonora Ursina* there is yet no resolution, and less of the Dukes Neece. The Count *di Santo Fiore* is yet in Court. The old Corn which the Prince brought out of the *Denmark*, and other Ships that came into his Havens, and was kept at *Pisa*, shall, as I understand, be exchang'd for new of this year with the Husbandmen, quantity for quantity, but *ad agio*, because the fresh grain is fallen three *Julios* in our Market. Certainly the G. Duke hath a mind to hoord up Corn in great abundance, upon what fear or hope is unknown. Concerning the *Low-Countries* and *France*, matters proceed well. The Prince of *Semay* is return'd from *Roan* with almost three in his Company. The Prince of *Ascoly* is sent for into *Spain*, but to what effect cannot be conjectur'd. Where the D. of *Parma* hath been since his appearing before *Roan*, all our Letters leave in doubt. Some will have him at the *Spaw*, Others in *Paris*,



a third at *Brussels* ; but we conclude generally that he hath been very warmly receiv'd in *France*. This is all our News of substance. To which I can but add a Fortune of mine own to make your Honour merry. I have almost, after my three years travel, found a Person here in *Florence* so like me, as we are saluted in the Street one for another, and, as they make me believe, very hard to be distinguish'd ; so that now I determine to pass no further, having met with the Spirit of my self. It is one of the *Capponies*. A Copy of all the Towns in the Dukes Territories I have not yet obtain'd. Our *Florentine* Promises go the Crabs pace. I am deeper another way in your Honours Debt, and crave pardon for that and other Faults in the defect of Duties toward you. And so (most Honourable) I commend your continual safety unto the Lord.

Written this 10th of *July* 1592 style of *Italy*.

Your Honour's Servant ever,

HENRY WOTTON.

In the beginning of this, I err, taking my last unto your Honour to have been sent by a *Dutch* Gentleman, for now looking upon my *Calender*, I find that to have been dated on the 12th, and my last on the 26th of *June* ; it was an error in my Memory. Sir *Charles Davers* is in Town.

*July*



July 27. 1592. Florence.

Most Honourable,

YOur Letters of the first of July I receiv'd the sixteenth of the same. I am unworthy of so favourable Lines, which is my old confession. But since your Honour is pleas'd to work an Opinion in me of my self, it shall, with your leave, be this; that no Person upon the Earth is more desirous to serve you, neither for any other respect, than because I know your Honour most worthy of it, and my self most bound to do it, which, before God, is true. If the *Dutch* Gentleman cannot find the way unto your House, *a suo danno*, I beseech that my Letters unto your Honour may be cause of no farther trouble than the reading of them. I will come to our News. The King of *Spain* hath dispatch'd into *Germany* for the Expedition of 15000 Foot, *some di reali*, 140, which, after the account of 300 weight in silver *per soma*, and ten Crowns *di moneta per libra di peso*, amounteth unto 420000 Crowns. Peradventure all together it may pitch about half a Million. There is scant Water enough to drive the Mill, and therefore, concurring withall, that it is arriv'd at *Inspruck*, some are apt to think, that his Majesty meaneth to run further in debt with his Cousin German there. These Souldiers are prest for the *Low Countries*, the P. of *Parma* having with his last Journey somewhat worn his Legions. If the *Turk* come on in reasonable haste, the Emperour will be constrain'd to employ these Sould-



Souldiers for his own use, which part he play'd him at the beginning of this—92, with certain Bands taken up in *Bavaria* for the League, and sent by the Emperour into *Hungaria*. We hope Fortune will be favourable unto the jest. Certainly the money comes *Swissen Siel und bolts*. The Catholick Party in the stirs of *Strasburg*, is under-hand aided by the great Eagle, as the Secretary of the new Bishop of *Bamberg* hath written hither. For matters about us this Week there is little alteration. The Gran Duke attends the furnishing of *Pisa* with Corn. There is some rumour that the Arch-bishop of *Pisa* will buy the Cardinals Cap, and the Duke will allow it him out of the Treasury. That I must cry here in the Market, The price of a Cardinalship is an hundred thousand Crowns, for a Bishop of certain years standing, which comes not to the Church, but is the Popes peculiar—The Pope, in this last general Examination of the Clergy in *St. John Lateran*, hath depos'd four Canonists of that Church, the one, for having *Plutarch's* Lives found on his Table, the rest for failing in declining of Nouns and Verbs, the particulars are very ridiculous matter to write. Roan we hold yet not be Victual'd, by the Letters of *Antwerp* of the twenty fifth of the passed. I have lately understood, of a Gentleman of very good credit, that the D. of *Parma* joyning in this last Action with the Duke of *Mayn*, would not proceed forward to the Succour of the Town, unless the Duke would swear Fidelity (as Lieutenant General of the League) unto the Crown of *Spain*: A point of very great importance, which I will enquire after with more care, and advertise my Lord in the next. And so (most Honourable) ever  
rest-



resting with all faithfulness bound unto you, I  
humbly take my leave.

Written this 27th of  
July 1592, at Florence.

Your Honour's Servant

HENRY WOTTON.

I have a great fancy to pass with your Honour  
out of *Italy*, and leave you on the *Rhyne*-stream.

July 31. 1592. Florence.

Most Honourable,

THE omitting of the last Post hath made this  
Week swell with News. There are certain  
*Turks* in *Rome*, who have demanded the Pope's safe  
conduct for the *Mediterranean*, that the *Corfsaires* of  
*Malta* may be dealt withall by Papal Letters, upon  
which condition they will import so much Corn as  
shall reduce the *Rubia*, going now for 10 Crowns  
unto 7. The whole Ecclesiastical State hath receiv'd  
a mean Harvest this year in respect of other Parts of  
*Italy*; *Sicily* hath made amends for a year or two of  
Scarcity, and is now furnish'd for three years before-  
hand. There is a great Plague in the *Island* Provin-  
ces, which we fear in our *Peninsul*. The Pope ( con-  
trary to the Opinion of many ) is fallen into a  
piece of *Sixtus* the Fifth's Humour, and will pave



Rome in all haste, *alla Fiorentina*. A Band is come forth in the mean time, that no Burgeſs or inhabitant Forreſter, ſuffer any *bruttura* before his Door, under penalty of 5 *Piaſtre*. Charges being in hand, it hath not been thought amiſs to reſuſcite the *Gabell* of *Sixtus's* time, which *Pasquin* told him of. Another work of magnificence is talk'd of, which is the ruining of divers Houſes belonging to the *Aldobrandini* here, and building of a fair Palace in the place, at the Pope's charges. *In ſumma*, Men fall to this point, that the Pope's not making of Cardinals, neglecting of his Friends, ſmall ſtirring in Actions abroad, not building at home, have been hitherto to reſtore the prodigality of *Sfondrate*, and that hereafter he will better appear in his own Humour. A Clerk of the Chamber was lately beheaded in *Rome* for falſification of a *Bulla*, which example they ſay was only ſeen in *Sixtus's* Government. Upon it is ſuperinduc'd this *Elogium*, That *Clement the VIII.* hath *La ſantita di Pio quarto, la prudentia di Gregorii XIII. & la ſeverita di Siſto V.* The Picture of our Lady in *Santa Maria in Trafrevere* (the titular Church of *Altemps*) hath ſince my leaving of *Rome*, wrought, as they ſay, many Miracles, but will hardly work *Altemps* to the Popedom. The K. of *Spain* hath very lately ſet forth a ſpecial Ediſt, that no private Perſon, in familiar talk, diſcourſe of the accidents of *France*, and hath refer'd the Penalty to the high Court of Inquiſition. This is written from a *Spaniſh* Jeſuit out of *Spain*, to a *Theatin* Frier in *Florence*. The Letters of *Antwerp* have this Week loſt their Credit. The Execution of Sir *John Parrat* (as done on the 26 of the laſt at *London*) is ſignified by them, but ſo, as we receive it



it in *Florence* from *England* by the mediation of *Antwerp* in 29 dayes; we suspect the haste. *Mon Dragon* had not heard of the rendring of *Stenwick* in *Frisia*, at *Antwerp*, when the News came from *Collen*, so that no man makes haste to believe it till the next verification. The selling of *Vienna* in the *Delphinat* by *Mangeron* unto the D. of *Nemours*, for Crowns 40000, is receiv'd for certain, and in the mean time the Duke's Mother, with the Madam of *Guise*, personally gon to the King to intreat a truce. It were News to have a Civil War compos'd by Women, commonly very untoward Instruments of Peace. *Roan* will not yield, and the King is constrain'd to license Victuals for Money. We must take a violent course hereafter than the famishing of Towns. The Wars of the Empire in the *East*, and Brawls in the *West*, have caus'd the Emperour to dispatch divers Messengers for aid, and we say here, that there must consequently follow *O dieta O ruina*. The D. of *Parma* is still at the *Spaw*, recover'd of his hurts, and in Health. The Popes *Nuntio* return'd from him to *Collen*. With us here (since my last unto your Honour) there is no change to effect. There is some Rumor that the Arch-Bishop of *Pisa* (who is the greatest favourite of this Court) will buy the Cardinal's Cap, and that the Great Duke will disburst the Money out of the Treasury. The price of a Cardinalship is 100000 Crowns, for a Bishop of certain years standing, which is the Popes peculiar— There are certain other points, but of no great substance. I am very glad to hear that Mr. *Egerton* is remov'd a degree higher. I continue your Honours most faithful Servant, and commend his Prosperity unto the Lord.



Written in *Florence*, this last day of *July*, 1592.  
Style of *Rome*.

At your Honour's command-  
ment eternally,

HENRY WOTTON.

*August 6. 1592. Florence.*

*My most Honoured Lord,*

WE have this Week little store of either Rumour or Effect. Since my last unto your Honour, of the 27th of *August*, the points of any substance are these. *Sfondrato*, the Duke of *Monto Marciano* ( who was General of that Pope's Forces in *France* ) and *Peter Cajetan* ( Lieutenant of his Horse ) have fought in their Shirts a little beyond *Mantua*, and are both dangerously hurt. The present Pope is greatly offended with the Fray. Our Great Dutchess departeth ( as we imagine here ) the ninth of this Month, *per la Madonna di Loretto*. The Prince of *Parma* hath a third Humour toward *France*, before, at his King's commandment, now upon his own particular taste. The difference between *Renucci* and the Duke of *Mantua* is compos'd by the four Jesuits that were delegated by the Pope to that Design, but so, as through it the Duke his Father hath lost a good Souldier, the Marquess of *Guafo*, who hath cashier'd himself, and resides in *Milan*. *Marseilles* on the fifth of *August* stood in peril. There was an Ambuscado laid hard upon the Town, and Advice given in to certain Leaguers to be ready at an hour; but among those with-



without, a Souldier, filling his Flask out of a Barrel of Powder, set, by mischance, both on fire. The Noise discovered the Ambuscado. Thus it is written in a Merchant's Letters from thence. *Ogly Sigal*, the *Turks* Admiral, is returned home into the *Arsenal*, and was only abroad to disport himself with a Gally or two, so that, in that action, there was more Rumour than Substance. The *Gran Seignior* yet liveth in *Croatia*, his *Bassa* is 70000 strong, and his Army divided into four parts. The Plague is gotten into *Vienna*. *John de Taxis*, writing a Letter to *Lorenzo Guicciardini* here ) one of the forty eight ) did, in the sealing, mistake it, and sent one hither that was written to his Mistress in *Venice*. A shrewd Errour. Unless my Letter unto your Honour of the fifteenth of *August* be deliver'd, this cannot well be understood. I have, about some two dayes since, put forth a Book to be copied for your Honour, of which I will make all possible haste that may be. Of mine own Estate I am uncertain, because I have receiv'd instruction to remain in *Tuscany*, not far from the Great Duke's Court, till I receive Letters of recommendation, so that I wait to whom I shall be address'd. This fell out since my last unto your Honour. Notwithstanding, I am certain to depart out of *Italy* in six Months after the date of this, and determine to pass a year after in some nook of *France*; which done, I shall within a while shew at home the effects of time badly bestow'd abroad. For those hasty Lines, I beg your Honour's Pardon, and wish him with all my Soul (which is at his commandment) all Prosperity.



Written in most dutiful regard to your Honour,  
this sixth of *August* 1592, at *Florence*.

By your Honour's  
most faithful Servant  
during his Life,

HENRY WOTTON.

*August* 14. 1592. *Florence*.

*Most Honourable.*

**Y**OUR last, written on the 29<sup>th</sup> of *July*, came to me on the 6<sup>th</sup> of *August*, I thought the Bearer would return by *Venice*, till the Post of the last Week was departed, and so am forc'd to use this next. Mr. *Parvis* hath perswaded me that your Honour wisheth him well, he wanteth no more to make me travel for his good, I receive him as recommended unto me by the delivery of your Honours Letters, though his name be not in them; so apt I am to think that I am bound to serve them that bring me but even a Paper from you, but this was more; for it hath pleased your Honour to fill it with Words of your most great Favour, which (before God I speak it) is my exceeding comfort to read. The offer in the conclusion, is the chaining of him whom your Honour had bound before, wherein your Bounty makes me bold to say thus much, that I am not the richest man that way this present. My *Roman* Voyage did stand me 146 Crowns, with the best Frugality I could use, so that though there were Pleasure  
in



in it, and ( I hope ) some profit, yet did it pinch the Shoulder of a younger Brother. There is no Weather beats us more than the storm of Expences. I will come to News, with your Honours Pardon, which this Week, concerning publick Matters, are wild and raw. The Execution of Sir *John Parrat* is refuted. I have receiv'd Letters from my Brother *Edward* of the 20th of *June*, style of *England*, wherein, by reason of Grief, he wrote little. God hath taken to his Mercy his Wife, who died on the 8th of *May*, a Gentlewoman in my Opinion of most rare Vertue. This will make him ( as I imagin ) resolve to enter the State, both for certain other private respects ( which I would tell your Honour if I were present ) and besides, to wear away Sorrow with Negotiation, a frequent custom in the Ancients. My Brother *James* is gone to serve in the *Low-Countries*; my Brother *John* retir'd to a solitary Life, and at some difference with his Lady. These private points I beseech your Honour only to know from whom, I will ( *per dio, per dio* ) keep nothing. Concerning others, We expect the Lord *Darcy* here this Week, as Mr. *Guicciardin* told me, and I am informed by *Corsini*, that he hath commendatory Letters from the Lord *Treasurer* unto the Great Duke, which to me ( because I am through your Honour's Favour acquainted with your restraint ) is very strange. This is ventur'd. Hereafter, between your Honour and me, I desire my self may stand for the L. *Treasurer*, Doctor *Blotius* for the Great Duke, and *John de Taxis* for the Lord *Darcy*. The particularities shall be sent as they occur. We hear the Queen of *Scots*, with a *Scottish* Earl ( of whom she was inamoured ) conspired the Kings Death, which proceeded so far to Execution, as to slay some of his Court, with com-



pelling the King to run away, the certainty I am  
 promis'd the next Week. The Subjects of *Poland*  
 are malecontent with their King, and have assign'd  
 him a day to answer unto certain Articles; where-  
 in, as I understand, shall be propos'd for one,  
 that in case the King leave Issue Male, he shall be  
 incapable of the Crown; for though the State be  
 in form Elective, yet seldome is chosen a Forre-  
 ster, if the King leave Heir of his Body. The ap-  
 pointed day is the sixteenth of *September*. The  
 Assembly at *Warsaw* ——— Our Pope hath sent  
 a Patriarch into *Spain*, but as yet I have not re-  
 ceiv'd what he hath to negotiate. We expect dai-  
 ly from thence *Lenzoni*, the Orator of the Grand  
 Duke, who, as I hear, hath lain very fruitlessly at  
*Madrid* three years, and being now likely to lose  
 one of his Eyes, hath been licens'd to come home.  
 He was Leiger Ambassadour in the Emperour's  
 Court, and is here in state one of the forty eight.  
 The Emperour's Courrier came to *Rome* a good  
 while since, and was dealt withall by the Cardinal  
*Gesualdo* the Deacon, the Pope being as then either ill  
 at ease, or busie, or displeased with I know not what.  
 Howsoever, the point is come to this conclusion,  
 that his Majesty shall be allowed him out of the  
*St. Angelo* Crowns 600000 for a year, according to  
 the rate of 50000 the Month, some say upon two  
 Conditions, the one, that the Money be restored at  
 end of the Wars, the other, that his Majesty ad-  
 vance the cause of the Cardinal of *Lorain* in the matter  
 of *Strasburg* for whom the Pope is the more earnest,  
 because he hath taken upon him the conversion of the  
*Almaign* Princes, and being, as he saith, less heresie in  
 the East, it is not amiss to begin with the West. Play-  
 ing



ing at Balon is prohibited in *Rome*, under penalty of 50 *piastre*, and *tro tratti di corda*, because a great Dearth being in the City, Gentlemen were thought to spend too much that way. The Prince of *Anhalt* is with his ——— licensed out of *France*, who ( as we hear ) shall be General in the Wars of *Strasburg*, they are now with us call'd Wars, at the first Brawls. The four Protestant Cantons of the *Switzers*, and Towns of the Empire, are of cold bloud that way. The young *Frederick* Elector, hath sent home unto her Majesty the Garter of his Uncle, in which service I imagine one *Baltasar* ( that sometime serv'd Sir *William Pelham* ) to have been employ'd. *Antonio Perez* ( heretofore *Spanish* Secretary ) having been with the King of *France*, is gone to her Majesty, whom he promiseth notably to inform to the hurt of the King of *Spain*, and is, in my opinion, a Knave for his labour. Of important News there is no more come unto me since my last Duty unto your Honour. I crave ( my most dearly honoured Lord ) to have all my Faults pardoned, and my self held in your good grace, Your most faithful Servant ever.

Written this Fourteenth of *August* 1592. Style of *Rome*, at *Florence*.

At your Honour's Pleasure

HAR. WOTTON.

*August*



August 29. 1592. Florence.

My ever most Honoured,

THE last Duty unto your Honour was on the 15<sup>th</sup>. of August, which I sent to Mr. Pindar. How he conveyeth Letters to *Padua*, I know not certainly, ill to *England*. I have this week received a perfect relation of matters about the *Rhyne*, from a Friend of mine in *Heidelberg*, long expected, because the Cardinal, touching the Princess here so near in Blood, few Reports with us run against him. Your Honour knows the manner of Princes Courts. *Manderghiedt* being departed this Life, before Execution of his Will, little could be done. His Will consisted of many Particularities, as his Wealth did, because (contrary to the ordinary Custom) he had invested his money in precious stones; an humour (of which (even to his death) he kept the ground unknown.) The Testament being executed, either wholly, or at least such parts as depended not upon condition; the Canons, Protestant and Catholick, came together. Unto the Protestants were propos'd two, *Gebhard Truchseß*, and the Administrator of *Hall's* Son; *Stirs* being look'd for, *Truchseß* had few that went with him, because he was poor, his Family worn out, meanly back'd with great men, and himself odious through Excommunication; which even with *Lutherans* serv'd for an Argument of his Weakness. The Catholicks made more question of their man, a great part holding the Cardinal of *Lorraine* for the fittest. His Strength lay near the place; the Pope great-



greatly favour'd him as his Concreature. He was reputed for his years wise; had good Dealings with the Predecessor. The Duke of *Bavaria* was joyn'd in Parentage with the House of *Lorrain*, a man of a great Stroak in the matters of *Germany*; and lastly, as a principal Circumstance, he was recommended by the three Electors Catholick. So stood his case. Notwithstanding, there wanted not that oppos'd the Cardinal of *Austria* (Son of *Ferdinando*) against him, as being more royally allied, richer, of good strength in *Helvetia*, by reason of his Bishoprick on the *Boden* Sea, in that respect likewise as near as the *Lorrainer*, better able to keep down the *Switzers* Cantons, little odds in years, this the more personable man, and lastly, a natural born *Almain*, a thing much respected by the *Dutch*. As for the *Lorrainer*, he was a Stranger in Blood, and therefore almost incapable, surely unfit to govern a Town of the Empire, or if not naturally imperial, yet that recognis'd it self within the Jurisdiction of the *Roman* Crown. In conclusion, all points considered, and the Cardinal of *Austria* (as they say) being rather spoken for by others than suing for it himself, the other was elected; wherein, according to the Opinion of the most, there was more Chance than Judgment. Since his Election, they have proceeded even to the Walls of the City, with 1000 Horse and 4000 Foot, very experienced Souldiers. They have put all to the Sword that resisted them, sack'd many Castles and Villages, sent the spoil to *Nancy*, in summa, perform'd so much as hath greatly diminish'd the opinion of men concerning the force of *Strasburg*. Out of the Palatinate (for it toucheth that Prince as Guardian of the *Rhine*-stream) are passed 300 Foot against him and his Subjects, in Arms, thorough his whole



whole Territories. The Marquess of Brandenburg hath sent 300 Horse, *Bern* and *Zurich* 3000 *Switzers*; the two other Protestant Cantons, *Basil* and *Shafhausen*, are quiet; *Nurenburg* and *Ulm* do nothing; the Duke of *Wittenberg* in Arms, but at home, who yet (as it is thought) will, under a publick pretence, execute his old private Quarrel with the Duke of *Lorrain* for the County of *Mompelyard*. Thus it stood on the 19th. of *July*, Style of *England*. Since I understand that the *Lorrainers* have received a great Overthrow, in which, besides 400 Souldiers and certain other chief Captains, was slain the Governour of *Nancy*. Since my last unto your Honour (contrary to the Expectation of all) is the Marriage of *Leonora Ursina* accomplished at *Pratolin*, where the Cardinal *Sforza* arriv'd on the 16th. of *August*, and gave the Ring on Sunday last. I hear the Gentlewoman to be in some pensiveness of mind and to have abandon'd her *Cythern*, on which she was wont to play; having rather been the Wife of the Prince of *Transylvania* than of the Count di *Santo Fiore*, but that, since she saw him, or rather (as some say) since she tryed him. To grace her Husband the better, they style him Duke *Sforza*, which here we laugh at. From *Rome* thus: The Pope hath lately burn'd six or eight persons for the fault for which *Sodom* was burn'd. A Fact of horrible Villany was found in the Amphitheater of *Titus*, namely a Gentleman of *Rome* murdered, and for farther revenge upon the dead Body, a Dog (being kept hungry before) tied in such manner unto it, that he might eat humane Flesh. For the discovery of this deed, the Pope hath set a great *Taglio*, but as yet none can be found that knows the Dog. The two Sons of the D. of *Bavaria* are expected in *Rome*, where



where their Father will have them spend this next Winter. The Baron of *Bernstein* hath dispatch'd his Legacy in *Poland*, saluted the Emperor in the Pope's name, cross'd *Moravia*, and is returning to the City, where he hopes to receive the Cap. Two *Bandi* are come forth in *Rome*, the one against the *Hebrews*, not to chase them away, but to limit their Knavery, and in exceeding streight terms. The other contains the Banishment of all *Spanisk* Cortesans from *Rome*, which the Pope put forth at Intercession of the Dutcheß of *Sessa*, Wife to the *Spanisk* Orator, who had received by their means I know not what Disgrace. *John de Taxis* is not yet arrived here. I imagine, that he stayeth for some Present out of his Country to present, &c. Thus much in haste to keep my self in the exercise of my Duty unto your Honour, whom I will never cease to serve most faithfully: and till I am able in greater matters, I take pleasure in these little.

My good Lord, the most *Merciful* protect you in all security.

Written from *Florence* this 29<sup>th</sup>. of *August*, 92.  
Style of *Rome*.

Your most affectionate

Servant ever,

HENRY WOTTON.



September 12. 1592.

Most Honourable,

Since my last of the 6th of September the occurrences are thus. The great preparation of our Princess for the *Madonna di Loreto* is come to nothing, and her self growing to be great another way, which hinder'd the Journey. The Court still at *Pratolin* attending unto the fresh Air. The Pope hath not stir'd in any matter of Substance, but, as I am inform'd, hath been sounded what we may hope of him here by divers Requests, and some of them no Trifles; as to make, at the Dukes request, two Cardinals, the Arch-bishop of *Pisa* for one, and the other, a Kinsman of the Princess, so that here we shall know our Cards shortly. Toward the *Turkish Wars* the King of *Poland* doth contribute 20000 Horse for his Wives sake. The Arch-Duke *Ferdinando* gives 20000 Dollers and 5000 Foot. The Arch-bishop of *Strazburg* is charg'd with 30000 Florins of the *Rhyne*, and 3000 Foot. The Lords of *Moravia* will defend their own Borders, and upon a Magnanimity have quit his Majesty of all Debts in their Books currant since he received the Crown. The Emperour will to the Borders in Person, and there is News come, that the *Ottoman* Heir apparent is arriv'd in the Camp. *Ernestus* his Rider (an *Italian*) arriv'd in *Florence* the 9th of this, and is departed toward the Kingdom for Provision of Horse. While his Majesty is in Negotiation, we hear the *Venetians* have taken from him a Town in *Triuli*. Concerning the Civil Wars in the *West*, either the Great Dutchess her *Consanguinity* with the Cardinal



Cardinal corrupts our News here, or the *Strasburgers* go down; for we say that the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, his youngest Brother, hath in a *Skirmish* slain most of those *Switzers* that were sent by *Zurich* and *Bern*. The *English* Agent in *Constantinople* hath carried himself very roundly in a matter of dangerous importance, and labour'd the Gran Signior to an absolute denial of the Spanish Orator, who waited long at *Ragusa* for answer of admission, or the contrary, and is now imbarck'd toward *Otranto*, and so to *Naples*. Out of *England*, since my last Duty unto your Honour, I have receiv'd nothing. I want further Matter, and therefore will crave Pardon to end, and leave my most honoured Lord to his worthier Cares, and in our good Gods Protection ever.

Written in great haste this 12<sup>th</sup> of *September*, 1592.  
style of *Rome*.

Your Honours most  
faithful Servant  
during his Life;

HENRY WOTTON.

*September*



Septemb. 19. 1592.

My most Honour'd Lord,

Since my last Duty unto your Honour ( on the twelfth of *September* ) we understand here of few changes, yet our Letters this Week both from *Milan, Colen,* and private out of *Germany,* do concur, that the Cardinal is in possession, that the decision is committed to the Prince Electors, that the *Strasburgers* are bound to repair the damages of the War, a conclusion redounding to the shame of the whole Empire, and notably agreeing with the Pope's purposes, who has taken upon him the Conversion of the *Almain* Princes. Our next News will be, that there is a Seminary Colledge establish'd in the Town. In the *Turkish* Wars, *Ernestus* is made General of the Imperial Army, the Marquess of *Burgaw* Lieutenant-General, *Maximilian* without Charge, either because his Majesty had more humour to his next Brother, or because it was fear'd, lest *Maximilian*, having the government of the Army, might perchance have a cast at the Crown of *Poland,* thoughts, not as yet extinguished in him. Howsoever, this point, with other differences concurring, have caus'd a dangerous Enmity between him and his Brother *Ernestus*, not consisting in Words and Bravado's, but mortally enrag'd one against the other, as we have by Letters and Relation. It is thought the Christian Army will amount to 35000 Foot, and 6000 Horse; the *Turkish* doth pass 70000. His Majesty will not go in Person to the Borders, but likes better



ter a warm Stove for this Winter. The Pope hath been ( but we know not upon what grounds ) at hot terms with *Montalto* ; if that continue, his days are short. There is an accord made between the Great Duke and *Don Petro*, as yet at *Madrid*, but we expect him shortly in *Tuscany*. So hath your Honour from me now receiv'd the falling out of two *Almaign* Brothers, and composition of two Brothers *Italian*, wherein the Reconcilement may peradventure prove as dangerous as the Enmity. This is all, which I have written to hold my hand in Service towards your Honour, whose most great Favours towards me I will ever confess with my Tongue to others, and with my Pen unto himself, and am sorry that I can go no farther than Words and Paper. I am preparing to remove to *Sienna*, as I signified to your Honour before, but not directly, because I intend first to see a Port or two of the Great Duke's. I imagine to depart *Florence* this next *Thursday*, which will be the 24th of this Month. I only stay for certain things for your Honour, which I have mention'd in my former Letters, which I will send by the *Procaccia* of this next Week to *Heldevir* in *Merzena*, and give order to Mr. *Hungerford* for the conveyance. I beseech your Honour to pardon all my boldness, and not to deny me your continual Favour ; And so with my humble reverence I take my leave.

Written this 19th of  
Septemb. 1592.

Your Honour's most faithful Servant  
during his Life.

HENRY WOTTON.

A a a

John



*John de Taxis* is arriv'd, and, in my opinion, a most exceeding courteous Gentleman. He ask'd me for your Honour, and whether you had not yet seen these Parts; adding, that he heard your Honour to have been in *Rome*, which was once told me before of another. So that, you have (my Lord) the Report, without the Effect. Your Favour turns wholly to my Credit, for such as are desirous to enquire of you repair to me, who can press from me no other than most worthy reports of your Vertue, because (by God) I know no other.

*Iterum Vale.*

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Octob. 3. 1592. Florence.

Most Honourable,

**Y**OUR last of the second of *September* I receiv'd the twenty third of the same. It seems to have lain in Mr. *Pinder's* Window a Post or two, being good not to dispatch matters rashly. All Words are laid aside, and Titles, and whatsoever else that is not the sincere profession of my heart, yet shall your Prosperity be ever in my Prayers to God, and your Praise in my mouth to men, which both are the fruits of your Love, and of your Favour, which is rather in true Experience than in Hope.

The Book that I put to be copied for your Honour, is not yet ended, nor the *Tariffa* of all the Towns in the Gran Duke's Territories, in my hands; for which I have tarried eight dayes in

*Flo-*



*Florence* longer than my determination. I use a Gentleman in my matters, upon whom the Prince hath lately bestow'd two Offices of great importance, which hath hinder'd me. So that what I promis'd from *Florence*, I must necessarily perform from *Sienna*; toward which Town I am going on *Monday*, in the company of my Lord *Darcy* and his Brother; we take the course of *Poggie*, *Prato*, *Pistoia*, *Luca*, where I shall leave them, and so from *Pisa* and *Livorno* to *Sienna*.

In that which I sent by Mr. *Pinder*, it pleased your Honour to mistake me. I was bold to discover mine own Estate, fearing to be thought unmindful of that I owe already, and not desirous to proceed farther. Your Honour's trouble that way I desire this may prevent, and do withall render him great thanks. Concerning *John de Taxis*, I will sound out the matter with better ground, and without delay advertise it from *Sienna*. Our Journey serves that effect. From my Friends in *England*, I have this Week receiv'd nothing. And so in most great haste I make an end, recommending my self without end unto your favour.

*Written this third of October,  
being Saturday, 1592.*

With his leave, his Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.



Octob. 25. 1592. Sienna.

Most Honourable,

**T**Horough *Prato, Pistoia, Luca, Pisa*, and most of the Towns which are scituate in the Plain of *Hetruria*, I am at length arrived at *Sienna*, in the company of those Persons whom I signified unto your Honour in my last from *Florence*. I continued to *Pisa*; there we brake off: they taking their course to *Volterra*, and I to the Port of *Ligorno*, where all the Gallies of the Great Duke were now come, on the day before, and there mann'd for *Marsilia*. This was on the ninth day of this present *October*. Concerning *John de Taxis*, and that point, wherein your doth so much desire to be certified, I imagine my self to have almost founded the bottom of it, but because it hath dependance upon other Secrets, I am bold to stay the signifying of all till I receive answer from Mr. *Hungerford*, that he hath from *Venice* dispatch'd this Letter to your Lodging in *Padoa*, because perchance there may be some alteration in your Honour's Estate. I have included a Cypher, which I will observe. The former sent before stands *ver niente*.

The cause of my staying in these Parts of *Tuscany*, not far distant from the Great Duke's Court, I did my Duty in acquainting your Honour with before. Concerning my Debts, I fear to lose your Honour's good conceit of me, which, I protest, I would not do, for more than I know  
my



my Fortune is born to. When your determination is to depart out of *Italy*, I humbly crave pardon to desire to know, that I may take order for the Payment. I do now with this Post send to *Florence* for the Book of Cultivation, which I put out forty days since to be copied for your Honour, and hope withall to receive the Tariffa of all the Towns in the Great Dukes Estate, which shall presently be sent away to *Venice*, that so I may shew my self desirous to perform, though the least grateful point unto your Honour, to whom I owe *omnia mea desideria, labores omnes, omnes curas*. My next stirring will certainly be towards *Venice*, and I think to cross the *Genouesato* and Dukedom of *Milan*. Few are likely to know of that, for those Parts grow dangerous, and the Pope more and more receives Spirit; But, I defer that matter until my next. I am here by the means of certain Persons (to whom I was recommended) gotten into the House of *Scipione Alberti*, an ancient Courtier of the Popes, and a Gentleman of this Town, at whose Table I live, but dearly. With such Letters as are sent me, I take this course to have them recommended, *Al Signior Agostino detto il Meschino Cancelliere delle Poste*, who is instructed to that effect. So have I been bold thus to acquaint your Honour with my particular motions and designs, which I would they were any thing else than a most perfect description of the bad use of Time; yet comfort I my self, that in wandring up and down in a strange Land, I imitate, though not the nature, yet the fortune of Vertue, which certainly is *Peregrina in terris, in Cælo Civis*. I beseech you, my Good Lord, to continue your Favours towards me,



and to love me for the will I have to serve and honour you. And so I commend your Honour's Safety unto the Almighty.

Written from *Sienna* this twenty fifth of *October*, 1592. Style of *Rome*, in great haste.

At your Honour's command-  
ment ever,

HENRY WOTTON.

25 November, 1592. *Sienna*.

Most Honourable,

I Have for fourteen dayes expected certification from Mr. *Hungerford*, whether my Letters unto him ( wherein my last unto your Honour were inclosed ) have been deliver'd ; that I might satisfie your Honour's demands concerning the *Frenchman* and *Monsieur du Plese* ; which I could not conveniently do till my former were receiv'd ; but being yesterday from my Friend advertis'd, that your Honour resided still in *Padoa*, and that my last were recapitated thither ; I now proceed to effectuate your Will. That the French-man was recommended by *Monsieur du Plese* to the Master of the *Vatican Library*, I think to be false ; neither was there in that Packet ( of which I wrote your Honour before ) any such recommendatory Letter,



ter, yet he told me, that the Master of the *Vatican Library* had shew'd him especial Favours, which I understand to have been by defending him from the Inquisitor of *Rome*. The Point stood in these terms. There was a Book written against *La Noue* by *Possevinus* the Jesuit, comprehending matter of infamous consequence ; Your Honour knows the imaginations of men ; This Book, the Frenchman, having no other way to resist, or retract, bought up all the Examples. The matter ascended to about two hundred Crowns. Upon this, the Inquisitor of *Rome* began to stir against him. The Frenchman solicited the Master of the *Vatican Library* to back him in it ; who authoriz'd the Fact ; commanding ( as far as in him lay ) the Inquisitor to silence. The Inquisitor not daring directly to proceed further, inform'd the Colledge of it, as the manner is in such cases. In this deliberation, by the diligence of the Master of the *Vatican* , and gracious speech of the Cardinal *Mendouir* ( who greatly favour'd the cause of the Frenchman : a thing to be noted of some to his great danger ) there was no farther dealing against him. But, I hear, one informing him afterwards that the Book would be printed again in some other *Italian Town*, and that in the Preface there would be some dishonourable mention made of him, to his prejudice, he then began to alter his Countenance, and very much to repent him that he had ever dealt in it so far. But howsoever that may prove, sure it is this matter hath mightily kindled the Coals against his Nation, and greatly inrag'd the Inquisitor. Especially, because he hath been inform'd, that the very same French-



man hath had his hands in more secret Plots, as that he doth exercise a kind of correspondency with a Servant of the Cardinal *Mondouir*. There are likewise others of his Nation suspected, so far as perhaps may go near to cost an Head or two. As, for better exemplification, I have heard one, with very sound probabilities, accus'd, during his abroad in *Rome*, at Midnight to have entered the House of the fore-named Cardinal, delivering him a Packet of Letters from his Father. I will name the man unto your Honour in my next. This is all, that by direct or indirect means is come to my Ears.

Concerning mine own Estate, I am right sorry that my coming to *Venice* is rejourn'd a Month or two longer, upon the occasion that I wrote your Honour before, and I do most humbly crave to know (if your good leave afford it me) when your determination is to draw towards *England*, that I may provide some convenient means to pay your Honour those thirty Crowns, to whom I am besides in debt as much as my Soul can compass. Our Occurrences, which are many, I will defer till the next Ordinary. False News is very current; for I am by Mr. *Nevil* lately inform'd, that there runs a voice in *Venice* that I have been in the *Inquisition*, which, if it be proceeded as far as your Honour, I fear lest it may very much prejudice my Credit, that held it from him to whom I am so much bound to reveal all; and therefore do now, to prevent the Rumour, affirm it to be false. Of that other Book which I sent out in *Florence* to be copied for your Honour, I have, notwithstanding my writing thither, as yet receiv'd



ceiv'd no Answer, but it shall most certainly be provided for you. And so recommending my self ever in great particularity to your Honour's Favour and Love, and good report of my bad deserts, I leave him for this present in the merciful defence of God.

Written this twenty fifth day of *November 1592.*  
at *Sienna.*

Your Honour's Servant  
during his life.

HENRY WOTTON.

*In Casa d' Alberti rincontro  
alla fontana del Casato.*

I crave pardon to desire to hear of the Receipt of this.

Mr. *Hungerford* will more diligently convey your Letters than *Pinder*.

Being yesterday with Mr. *Nevil*, he most expressly charg'd me at my next Writing to remember his Duty unto your Honour.

*December*



December 3. 1592. Sienna.

Most Honourable Lord,

**I**N my last unto your Honour from this Town, I made answer to the commandment of your Letters received in *Florence* eight dayes before my departing thence. The case requir'd close proceeding, which made me use such a manner, as I cannot be understood without receipt of all my former from *Sienna*: so that upon doubt lest some have miscarried, I have in this, included a Post-cypher, serving for the Letter that I sent by our last ordinary, which was inclos'd in one to Mr. *Hungerford*. I find his means better than that of *Pinder*. If your Honour have occasion further to touch any of those points (pleasing him) it shall not be amiss to use the same Names. I do in this make haste, being written by the extraordinary; which is here our best course, because otherwise our Packets breathe in *Florence* from *Wednesday Noon* to *Sunday Morning*; so inconvenient is the Postage in *Towns di Passaggio*, as they term them. I cannot keep from your Honour, that I lately have receiv'd information, that there are two Books written in *Italy* against my Lord Treasurer, the one in Latin, the other in our Vulgar. They were printed in *Rome*, and thought to proceed from one *Banes*, who is an attendant of our Cardinal, and with whom certain *English* are run too deep in correspondency. I have about that matter much to deliver in your Honour's Ear; I dare not trust, yet this I will venture to signifie, that I conjecture there was lately from hence dispatch'd a  
man



man of purpote to obtain an example of those Books in *Rome*, who went upon the *French Mans Charges*, of whom I advertis'd your Honour in my last, and now in the inclos'd Cypher. This I do hazar-dously, that your Honour may have it while the Action is warm. Concerning this point, there run certain other Suspitions, in part dependant upon it, and partly consequent; which it hath happen'd unto me to look into with the rest, and hath occasion'd me to change my Resolution of keeping secret the Conference I had with *Robert Bellarmine* during my aboad in *Rome*, signified your Honour in my first from *Florence*, and as yet to no other Person living. My Reasons are two. First, because it can import me no Danger, my second having proceeded no further with him than to ordinary talk in matter of Learning, and besides, as a poor *Dutchman*; Secondly, I find some (that think their badness secret) so likely to be deceiv'd, as I begin to confess all, fearing lest whatsoever is close, have shortly the name of ill, to which estate I see things receive an Inclination. In this, your Honours advise is humbly desir'd. Concerning other points of my estate, I depend upon Letters out of *England*, and am till then nail'd in *Tuscany*. Of my good Lords Determinations, with his Pardon of my boldness, I shall be most glad to hear. We have for matter of News, few effects, but mighty expectations; for it is thought the next Promotion at *Rome*, will be very numerous. The two younger Princes of *Bavaria*, *Philip Bishop van Regenspurg*, and his Brother *Ferdinando*, were seen here this last *Friday*. They supp'd with the Governour, and dind with the *Bali*, and departed the next day toward *Rome*. Their

enter-



Entertainment was gallant here, and the like commanded thorough all Towns of his Highnesses's Estate, so that we are put into a *Bisbiglio*, and some say, that between the House of *Medici*, and *Bavaria*, there is a Match in hand; *Maria Medicea*, the Duke's Neece, doth loose years. These two Princes were accompanied with two Jesuits, who do only sit at their Table, and suffer—A Regularity now become the Companion of a Prince. Out of *England* I have very lately receiv'd nothing to participate with your Honour. Sir *Walter Raughly* out of the Town, which the great Prize, lately taken, wherein he had the best Venture, is thought to have hastned; The Sea, and Earth, and all the Elements, are for him. My Cousin *John Wrath* is yet in *Antichi termini*, and concerning that place in *Constantinople*, her Majesties conceit toward the Agent there, doth daily increase by the singular good demeanour of himself. My Brother *Edward* (which I only writ to this end, because I am bound to write all) hath either against his Will (as some say) or with it (as I say) been Knighted. I have no more, but rest with earnest desire to have your Honour's Favour continued towards me, which I beseech him not to deny me; and so leave him in Gods Protection.

Written at *Sienna* this third of *December*, 1592.

Your Honours Servant  
most faithfully,  
H. W.

I desire, so it please him, that the Fire may keep this from others. The Name that I promis'd your Honour in my last, is *Thomas Sackvill*.

*Decemb.*



Decemb. 28. 1592. Rome.

( rather Sienna )

Most Honourable.

HAVING in my three last unto your Honour signified by Cypher certain dangerous points, I will in this set down the occurrences in matter of Publick Estate. The great expectation which ran of these last four *Tempora*, concerning the number of Cardinals, is fallen out quite contrary; the Pope having on *Wednesday* morning in the Consistory us'd to the *Illustrissimi* these words; *Ora Sono Papa, fin ora non son stato Papa, non adheriro, a nessun Principe, non faro de Cardinali, Iddio vi benedica*; Words directly proceeding against the Opinion of all, but crossing none more immediately than the Father *Toledo*, toward whom the Pope is known to have particular inclination. Thus much is certain, That *Toledo* having given order to one of the *Buonacorsi* in this Town to be ready upon his call, did dispatch a *Corrier* for him the *Saturday* before the four *tempora*, something seeming to have fallen between the *calicem supremaque labra*. The Colledge hath lately lost the Cardinals *Canano*, *Mondovio*, and *Sans*. The first died in *Modena* to the especial discomfort of the House of *Esti*, as if all Stars that gave light that way, were under the Horizon. By the Death of the other two, the *Conclave* hath received little alteration; though *Mondovio* were papable,



pable, and a great *Soggetto* in the List of the *Foresters*; and sometime School-master to the King of *France*. The two Princes of the House of *Bavaria* ( who pass by these Parts toward *Rome*, as it were making haile ) were entertain'd a while at *Caprarola* upon the *Pope's* Commandment, that things might be prepared the better in the mean time, as it is interpreted. Of the elder Brothers promotion there is now general silence, men seeing Servitors of the Court, and even Nephews neglected; which, some say, the *Pope* hath done to conclude his first year with a point of great Moderation. In the Great Duke's Estate there is little change, or inclination to change, save that *Signieur Silvio Picolhuomini* is made Admiral of his Gallies; either for his own sufficiency that way, or ( as some think ) to sweeten the humours of that Family, not a little inasperated by the Death of *Alfonso*. *Don Pietio di Medici* we hear to be married in *Spain* to the Daughter of the Duke of *Alba Regale*, having obtained of the King the Chancellorship of the great Order of *St. Jago*. The Marriage of the Prince *Doria* with the Daughter of *Marcantonio Colonna* ( sometime Viceroy in *Sicily* ) hath been gallantly celebrated in *Genova*. The Elder Baron of *Harrach* is expected dayly to pass by these Parts, as the Emperours *Lieger* in *Rome*, whom I hear to be a Gentleman of very mature Judgment. The Death of the Duke of *Parma* hath put many into disputation about the Successor, and some are of Opinion that the King will divide the Charges, placing in the *Low-Countries* two Persons, the one Regent for his Majesty, the other Lieutenant General over the Garrisons, Artillery, Munition, and all points Military. The Prince's Death



was in the manner of a Dropſie, occaſioned through drinking of too much Water, which was counſel'd him againſt his Gout. His *Requiem* they ſang in *Rome* on the ſeventeenth of the preſent. The Cardinal *Duartes*, his Son, as then retir'd out of the City. It is ſaid to have cauſ'd ſome ſlight Mutiny in *Antwerp*. The Effects that are to follow will, I hope, afford me better Matter for my next unto your Honour; of whoſe eſtate I moſt humbly deſire to hear. And ſo in great haſte (my good Good Lord) I commend my ſelf unto the continuance of your Honours Favour and Love towards me, wiſhing him in earneſt, a bleſſful end of his Deſigns.

Written this 28<sup>th</sup> of December 1592.

Your Honour's moſt  
faithful Servant

H. WOTTON.

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Auguſt 22. 1593. Geneva.

My moſt Honour'd Lord,

**N**O Man that knoweth your Honour can doubt of your Proſperity, of whom, I humbly thank you, that I am one. I writ this to congratulate with your ſafe return into your Country: as I rejoyce to do,



do, and as I am many wayes bound to do. It hath been signified me by divers, and even now in one from my Friend *Charles Cluse*, of the 23 of *July*, mentioning your Honour's unto him of the 6th of *June* from *London*.

We concur both in the faithful desire of your Happiness. Since my last unto your Honour, I have not only chang'd Place, but Nation. For after I had seen the better Towns of *Lombardy*, as *Genova*, *Milan*, and the rest, I took my course thorough the *Grisons* to *Geneva*, leaving a discreet Country in my Opinion too soon.

Here I arriv'd the 22th of *June*, stile of *England*. The Town seems unto me marvellous unpleasant, and the *French* a badly grounded People; so that my abroad here depends upon my profiting in the Language, which I am fain to seek upon these Skirts of *Savoy*.

About the beginning of the next Spring (when nature doth put in all things motion) I determine (if it please God) thorough a part of *Switzerland* and certain Provinces of the *Low-Countries* to end this patience.

Here I am placed, to my very great Contentment, in the House of Mr. *Isaac Casaubon*, a Person of sober Condition among the *French*; and this is all that I can signifie of my self, my little affairs allowing me not much to speak of. Concerning News, your Honour knows we are here rather Scholars than Polititians, and sooner good, than wise: yet thus much I must say, that the state of the Town is undone with War, even in Manners; for certainly I have not seen worse Temptations in *Italy*. Not to let your Honour be melancholy, I cannot abstain



to tell you that since the dayes began to shorten, the Women (before seeming to have digested certain Humors with walking) do now shell Hemp till an hour or two in the Night, upon the Banks in the Street, and Fires before them made of those Shales; a custom drawing with it many pretty Examples and Opportunities. In short, it was three dayes since forbidden with the sound of the Trumpet. Some excuse the War, and lay the fault upon the *Dutch*, as having brought into the Town Intemperance and Ebriety, and such other Evils as follow them. To end your Honours Torment out of these Trifles, We have lately chang'd the Form of our Prayer for *Henry of Borbon*, who hath chang'd himself, and forsaken the God whose Mercies he had seen, and whose Judgments he must expect: an Example, calling us with great amazement to the consideration of the inconstant state of men, among whom there is nothing certain under the Heaven that covers us.

Before I conclude this, I must advertise your Honour, that I have certain Papers for you, and amongst the rest, the manner of Service in the Courts of *Rome*, with Points appertinent, discribed at my request by *Scipione Alberti*, my Host in *Sienna*, and sometime *Maior duomo* of the Duke of *Paliano*. I was the more earnest with him, remembering your Honour to have wish'd for such a thing in the Cloyster of the *Duomo* at *Padoa*, which I ingrav'd in a bad Memory. I have likewise written by the same man the Death of the Dutchess of *Paliano* in the bloody Times of *Paulus* the Fourth. Farther, I expect daily certain other Discourses in matter of State from the Nephew of the Cardinal of *Verona*, one of my very intrinsecal Acquaintance, and that hath some



light of the Truth. I will end, beseeching the continuance of your Honour's Favour towards me, and so I commend his safety to God.

From Geneva this  
22th of August.

Your Honour's  
Servant ever,

HENRY WOTTON.

*To the Earl of Essex, from Sir  
H. W. then his Servant. 1597.*

*My most Honourable Lord,*

**T**HIS Morning I have receiv'd a Letter from one Paolo Lentulo an Italian Resident at Bern, among the Switzers, of no very ancient date; wherein (giving his Judgment of the present Condition of that Popular State) he writeth thus; *Ne' Suezzeri ve' molto disgusto contra del Re di Francia per Cagion delle gran Somme (cresciute gia col interesse di tempo) che deve, tanto al Universale come alli particolari; & perche gli Anni della Confederatione con Francia sono ultimamente spirati, Il Re di Spagna circa con large promesse & doni (mediante il suo Oratore) tirargli a se: Onde (molti delli Capi che per pagar i soldati che hanno condotti in Francia sono stati costretti di vender le case & beni loro, non essendo stati pagati del detto Re, & promettendo il Re di Spagna di voler pagar tutti i debiti di Francia & accrescer ancora le pensiori Militari) vi sono*



*sono molto inclinati.* I could not in my Duty forbear to advertise your Lordship (though in the midst of these your nearer Cares) of so great a point as this diversion of the Cantons: touching immediately *France*, but consequently her Majesty, by the necessity (which will grow if it be effected) of *English* Infantry in the Kings Wars. He likewise writeth, that the Emperour hath restrained the Liberty of Religion in all his Hereditary Dominions: Whereupon his Natural Subjects being (as he saith) in worse Condition than his Elective, refuse to contribute to his Wars.

The rest of his Letter is only of his private Estate, in which part he seemeth to intreat me, that I make him known unto your Lordship, for a man desirous to do you Service in those Parts; for which I will with all possible haste presume to deliver him thanks from you, being indeed, besides his Learning and sound Affection to this State, a man well tumbled and practic'd in the World. Before I conclude this, I will most humbly beseech your Lordship, that if there grow any Actions between her Majesty and the Emperour, wherein your Lordship may make any use of that time which I bestowed in those Countries, and in this Court, it please you to employ me.

At *Plimouth* the 30th of  
*October*, 1597.

Your Lordships most bounden  
and faithful Servant for ever,

HENRY WOTTON.

F I N I S.











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